



Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2015

# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal,

UNDER EPISCOPAL SANCTION.

---

THIRD SERIES.

VOLUME XIII.—1892.

---

“ Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis,”

“ As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome.”

*Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9.*

---

DUBLIN:  
BROWNE & NOLAN, NASSAU-STREET.

1892.

---

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

*Nihil Oostat.*

GIRALDUS MOLLOY, S.T.D.,

CENSOR DEP.

*Imprimatur.*

✠ GULIELMUS,

*Archiep. Dublin., Hiberniae Primas.*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

---

	PAGE
Alcohol, The Physical Effects of. By Rev. John Nolan, C.C.	1025
All Hallows' College, Dublin. By Rev. John Curry, P.P.	874
All Hallows' College, Reminiscences of. By Rev. Richard Howley, D.D.	1122
Apostleship of Prayer, The. By Rev. J. Cullen, S.J.	131
Blessed Trinity Reflected in Man, The. By Rev. J. S. Vaughan	319
Book of Deer, The. By Most Rev. John Healy, D.D.	865
Butler, D.D., The Most Rev. James, Archbishop of Cashel, 1774-1791 By Rev. T. E. Power	302, 522
Cardinal Maury. By Rev. T. B. Scannell	990, 1066
Catechisms, Our: Is there room for Improvement? By the Archbishop of Dublin	1
Catholic Church in the United States, The. By Very Rev. John Canon O'Hanlon, M.R.I.A.	490
Catholic Lending Libraries, On. By T. B. Griffith	1004
Catholic Population in England, The Loss of the. By an Irish Priest in London	699
Christian Art in Belgium, The Revival of. By F. E. Gilliat Smith	138
Church and Divorce, The. By Rev. R. O'Kennedy	289, 414
Comparative Religion, The Importance to the Clergy of the Science of. By Merwin Marie Snell	225
<b>CORRESPONDENCE :—</b>	
Benedictio in Articulo Mortis	276, 362, 446
Ceremonies of some Ecclesiastical Functions	270, 437
Consecration of an Altar	567
Epitaphs of Irishmen in the "College Des Lombards"	86
Irish "Ordo Officii Divini Recitandi," The	176
Matter and Form of the Sacraments, The	373
Napoleon's Divorce	849, 936
Old English and Anglo-Irish	1140
Our Catechisms	173, 259, 267, 269, 469, 569, 746, 941
Danish Wexford: A Historical Sketch. By John Cullen	687
David Grieve, The History of. By Evelyn Mordaunt	795
De Burgo, Thomas, Author of the <i>Hibernia Dominicana</i> , and Bishop of Ossory. By Rev. Ambrose Coleman, O.P.	587, 707, 828, 1010
Did Moses Write the Pentateuch? By Rev. Joseph M'Rory	481, 978

	PAGE
Divorce of Napoleon, The. By Rev. R. O'Kennedy, C.C. . . . .	886
Divorce of Napoleon, The. By Rev. T. B. Scannell . . . . .	600, 729
DOCUMENTS :—	
Ablution of the fingers in the first and second Masses of Christmas Day . . . . .	856
All Souls, or the following Sunday, Is it allowable to wear a black stole when preaching on? . . . . .	855
Blessed Sacrament, When it is exposed immediately after Mass for a <i>Te Deum</i> and <i>Benediction</i> , is it necessary for the celebrant to put off the chasuble and maniple, and put on the cope? . . . . .	855
Blessing of Bells . . . . .	853
Blessing of the Font in Parochial Churches on Holy Saturday and the Vigil of Pentecost . . . . .	1047
Commemoration for a Bishop on the occasion of the anniversary of his consecration, Is it to be omitted on days which exclude <i>festæ duplicia</i> ? . . . . .	855
Consecration of a Portable Altar . . . . .	852
Control of the Schools, The . . . . .	1141
Feast of the Blessed Virgin falling in Holy Week, What should be the colour of a preacher's stole? . . . . .	855
Feast of St. Joseph. Special Rules of Transference . . . . .	1046
Holy Family Association, The . . . . .	750
Holy Communion, The manner of distributing, to Nuns who have a choir behind the altar . . . . .	855
Irish Bishops, Resolutions of, on the Education Question . . . . .	285
Irish Bishops, Resolution, Statement of, on Education Bill . . . . .	472
Irish Bishops, Resolutions on the question of Managership in the National Schools . . . . .	1141
Leo XIII. Letter of His Holiness to the Bishops of the Province of New York . . . . .	664
Leo XIII. Briefs of His Holiness referring to the Pious Association of the Holy Family . . . . .	750
Leo XIII. Encyclical Letter of His Holiness on the Rosary . . . . .	942
Mass of a Confessor Pontiff who is also a Doctor. The Post-communion Prayer . . . . .	856
Mass of The Inventio S. Stephani, The Custom of saying the "Credo" in the . . . . .	1048
Matrimonial Decree, Important . . . . .	377
Office for the Dead, What prayer is to be said in, when offered for a priest on the 3rd, 7th, 30th, and anniversary day? . . . . .	855
Office for the Dead on the Feria Secunda . . . . .	1050
Officium Defunctorum, When only one Nocturn is said on the occasion of a funeral which should be used? . . . . .	855
Officium Defunctorum, When one Nocturn is said in the evening, which should it be? . . . . .	855

# Contents.

v

PAGE

## DOCUMENTS—continued.

Paschal Time. Should <i>Alleluia</i> be added to Versicles of the Litany of Loretto, of the <i>Te Deum</i> , &c., at public exercises of Devotion (such as Benediction)?	856
Requiem Mass, On what days is it allowed if the corpse is unburied, but not present in the Church, owing to a civil prohibition or the danger of contagion?	850
Requiem Mass, When offered for one who has died in a distant place, what prayer is to be said as soon as the announcement of his death is received?	855
Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, Decisions of the Statues in a Church of persons not canonised	659 1051
<i>Te Deum</i> , The, when it is solemnly sung immediately after Mass, on a day when violet vestments are used, should the celebrant retain them at the <i>Te Deum</i> , or change them for white?	855
The reverence to be made when the name of the saint whose Mass is being said occurs in the Mass	850
Vespers of a <i>secondary</i> feast of the B. Virgin in concurrence with a <i>primary</i> feast of a saint with the same rite	850
Vespers of the Feast of the Seven Dolors occurring in Passion Week. How to arrange the hymn	856
Vestments, Portable Altars, Relics, the Keeping of the Holy Oils, &c., Decrees of the S.R.C.	1049
Votive Mass, When one says it on Wednesday, and does not recite the Votive Mass, where is he to find the Votive Mass?	855
Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart out of Paschal Time, Should <i>Alleluia</i> be omitted?	855
Votive Mass of the Blessed Trinity, when said within an octave of a feast of the Blessed Virgin, what should be the third prayer?	855
Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart	1048
Votive Office of the Sacred Heart, May one saying it offer the Votive Mass of the Passion, &c., and <i>vice versa</i> ? If so, what will be the second prayer?	855
Votive Office of the Angels in Paschal time. Versicle	856
When the second prayer in the Mass is the <i>A Cunctis</i> , may the third be the <i>Defende</i> ?	855
East v. West, in the Sanctuaries of the Holy Land. By Rev. J. L. Lynch, O.S.F.	623
Evangelism by Little Ones. By J. C., Director of the Holy Childhood	219
Father Edmund O'Reilly, S.J., and his Theological Essays. By Rev. Matthew Russell, S.J., Dublin	157
History of David Grieve, The. By Evelyn Mordaunt	795
Holiness and Light. By Rev. W. H. Kent, O.S.C.	641
Holy Robe at Trèves, The. By Rev. W. H. Kent, O.S.C.	403

	PAGE
Hours of Labour, The. By A. Hinsley, B.A. . . . .	911
Illustrations of the Passion from Literature and the Drama. By Orby Shipley, M.A. . . . .	506
Importance to the Clergy of the Science of Comparative Religion, The. By Merwin Marie Snell . . . . .	225
"In Conceptione Beate Marie :—" A forgotten Office. By F. E. Gilliat Smith . . . . .	1109
Labour, The Hours of. By A. Hinsley, B.A. . . . .	911
Lending Libraries, On Catholic. By T. B. Griffith . . . . .	1004
Leo XIII. and the Social Problem. By A. Hinsley, B.A. . . . .	55, 385, 769
LITURGICAL QUESTIONS :—	
Benedictio in Articulo Mortis . . . . .	171, 1037
Cope, May it be worn by a preacher? . . . . .	935
Ecclesiastical Calendar, The . . . . . 75, 166, 251, 554, 649,	735
Form of the Lunette, The . . . . .	170
Feast of the Sacred Heart, and the "Ordo" for 1892, The . . . . .	568
Feast of the Sacred Heart and the Transference of Succeeding Feasts, The . . . . .	657
Fifty-two Short Instructions on the Principal Truths of our Holy Religion . . . . .	767
Incense in the Burial of the Dead, The Use of . . . . .	85
Mass, When should the number of Prayers said at, be odd? . . . . .	1138
Rubrics of the Mass and the Purification of the Chalice and Ciborium, The . . . . .	356
Sign of the Cross, The . . . . .	258
Stations of the Cross, Public Recital of the . . . . . 742,	1043
Sacred Heart, Devotion to the . . . . .	934
The Way by which to Approach and Depart from the Altar . . . . . 742,	931
The Reverence to the Cross on the High Altar . . . . .	744
The Reverences to be made between the Last Gospel and the "De Profundis" . . . . .	745
Loss of the Catholic Population in England, The. By an Irish Priest in London . . . . .	699
Man, a Microcosm. By Rev. J. S. Vaughan . . . . .	29
Matter and Form of the Sacraments, The. By Rev. T. B. Scannell . . . . .	112
Maury, Cardinal. By Rev. T. B. Scannell . . . . .	990, 1066
Modern Science, The Spirit of. By Rev. T. E. Judge . . . . .	1081
Most Rev. James Butler, D.D., Archbishop of Cashel, 1774-1791. By Rev. T. R. Power . . . . .	302, 522
Mystical Sense of Scripture, The. By Rev. Reginald Walsh, O.P. . . . .	611
Napoleon's Divorce. By Rev. T. B. Scannell . . . . .	600, 729
Napoleon, The Divorce of. By Rev. R. O'Kennedy, C.C. . . . .	886
NOTICES OF BOOKS :—	
Autobiography of Archbishop Ullathorne, with Selections from his Letters, 286 ; Birthday Book of the Madonna, The, 480 ; Canon of the Old Testament, The, 477 ; Ceremonies of some Ecclesiastical	

NOTICES OF BOOKS—*continued.*

Functions, 177; Chapters towards a Life of St. Patrick 764; Christian Anthropology, 570; Christianity and Infallibility, 572; Confessor after God's Own Heart, 860; Correct Thing for Catholics, The, 191; Creed Explained, The, 1054; God, the Teacher of Mankind, 383; Hand-Book of the Christian Religion, 671; Hail Mary, The, 959; Ireland and St. Patrick, 89; Irish Catechism for the Diocese of Raphoe, 187; Life of Jesus Christ according to the Gospel History, 185; Life of Most Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick, D.D., 190; Little Grain of Wheat, and Other Suggestions of Devotion, 576; Letters of Archbishop Ullathorne, 861; Litany of Loretto, 672; Manual of Church History, Vol. II., 181; Meditations on the Principal Truths of Religion, 187; Meditations on the Life of Our Lord for Every Day in the Year, 379; Notre Seigneur Jesus Christ Dans Son Saint Evangile, 955; Peter's Rock in Mahommed's Flood, 93; Relations of the Church to Society, The, 381; Reasonableness of the Practices of the Catholic Church, The, 768; Roman Question, The, 957; Science and the Saints, 188; Sermons on the Blessed Virgin, 1142; Slavery and Serfdom in Europe, 956; Story of a Parish, 574; St. Patrick's Hymn Book, 1052; St. Patrick's Hymn Cards, 1052; Thoughts and Teachings of Lacordaire, 574; Third Report of the Society for the Preservation of Memorials of the Dead in Ireland, 670; Tom Playfair, 766; Theologia Pastoralis Complectens Practicam Institutionem Confessarii, 951; Tales and Legends, 1056; Verses on Doctrinal and Devotional Subjects, 667; Works of St. John of the Cross, 182.

O'Reilly, Fr. Edmund, and his Theological Essays. By Rev. Matthew Russell, S.J.	157
Our Catechisms: Is there room for Improvement. By the Archbishop of Dublin	1
Our Martyrs. By Rev. Denis Murphy	42, 125, 350, 720
Pain, On, considered as a Motive. By Rev. John S. Vaughan	1057
Physical Effects of Alcohol, The. By Rev. John Nolan, C.C.	1025
Pilgrimage to Kilmacduagh, A. By Rev. Wilfred Dallow	900
Poetry and Truth. By Rev. W. H. Kent, O.S.C.	816
Purgatory, The Pains and Consolations of. By Rev. N. Murphy	1096
Reminiscences of All Hallows' College. By Rev. Richard Howley, D.D.	1122
Revival of Christian Art in Belgium, The. By F. E. Gilliat Smith	138
Sacraments, The Matter and Form of the. By Rev. T. B. Scannell	112
Shall and Will: The Irish Difficulty. By G. M.	97, 202, 328, 430, 539
St. Finian of Clonard. By John M. Thunder	810
St. Wolstan's, Celbridge. By Rev. M. F. Hogan, C.C.	244
Stowe Missal, The. By Rev. Sylvester Malone, P.P., M.R.I.A.	842
St. Livinius of Ghent. By Rev. J. F. Hogan	961
Temperance and the Schools. By Rev. James Halpin	48, 193

## THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS:—

PAGE

Domicile . . . . .	1134
Masses of Obligation, When does delay in saying them become grievously culpable? . . . . .	65
Transfiguration, The. By Rev. John Carroll . . . . .	673
Twenty Years on the Mission. By P. D. F. . . . .	790
Unity of Faith. By Rev. J. S. Vaughan . . . . .	577
Who is to Educate the Child? By Rev. John Doheny, c.c. . . . .	232

# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

---

JANUARY, 1892.

---

## OUR CATECHISMS: IS THERE ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT?

IT is now more than two years since I felt myself bound, as a matter of diocesan duty, to take in hand the work that has led to my writing this paper. By that time, a deep conviction as to the necessity of the work had forced itself upon my mind. This conviction has since grown stronger from day to day. I fear, however, that the statement of it must fail to meet with anything like general acceptance amongst the readers of the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

I am fully aware of the extent and depth of the feeling of veneration in which the Catechism known as "Butler's" is held in the Irish Church. Within certain limits I fully share in that feeling. Yet, notwithstanding all this, I have to express my firm belief, that in the sphere of the religious instruction of our Catholic children, there are at present few more urgent needs than that of a Catechism which, in view of all the circumstances of the time, could be regarded as really satisfactory. This belief has been formed as the result of six years' experience gained by direct personal contact with many thousands of children, in town and country, throughout the diocese of Dublin. But, of course, I speak of things only as I find them, within the limits of my experience, in this diocese.

I have no doubt there are many to whom the view

I have now put forward, implying the existence of any serious shortcoming in Butler's Catechism, must seem altogether mistaken. It would, I fear, be a fruitless expenditure both of time and of energy if I were to endeavour by force of argument to alter their judgment on the point. Therefore I do not purpose attempting anything of the kind.

But it has been suggested to me that, notwithstanding the strength of the prejudice which any statement of a view such as mine upon the question of the Catechism will inevitably have to encounter, it may not be without interest to many readers of the *I. E. RECORD* if I set forth in these pages some of the chief grounds on which my view has been formed. I am the more willing to adopt this suggestion as I am not without hope that such a statement may possibly be effective, where formal argument would probably fail, in bringing round some converts to my opinion. But I do not aim at making converts to it. I write merely to state my own view of the case, setting it forth for the consideration of those who can bring to the consideration of it an open mind, and leaving in undisturbed possession of their old unqualified regard for "Butler," those who do not care to have that kindly feeling disturbed.

I think it useful to begin by pointing out a fact which, I have no doubt, is far from being generally known in those districts in Ireland where Butler's Catechism has long been in general use. The fact is of some importance in the general consideration of the question. It is that, at all events until quite recently—and I am not sure that the state of things I describe does not even still exist to an extent by no means inconsiderable—our Irish Church presented a spectacle of singular variety in the Catechisms in ordinary use throughout the country. Abundant experience of this was to be had at the Junior Entrance Examinations in Maynooth. "That question is not in the Catechism I learned," was a common form of answer to a question from "Butler." Then, in reply to a further query

as to the Catechism taught in the particular diocese or parish from which the candidate for admission had come, we had the answer that it was "Dr. Reilly's" Catechism, or "Dr. Devereux's," or "Dr. Murphy's," or "Dr. Moriarty's," or "Dr. MacHale's," or "Dr. Doyle's." With all these various elementary expositions of the Christian Doctrine, the person presiding at the Examinations was supposed, then, to be sufficiently familiar.

This was at a time when most people in Dublin knew nothing, or next to nothing, of any other Catechism being used in Ireland than that which had been in universal use here for many years, under the elaborate title of "The Most Rev. Dr. James Butler's Catechism, revised, enlarged, approved, and recommended by the Four Roman Catholic Archbishops of Ireland, as a General Catechism for the Kingdom."

Moreover, as I have already said, it is by no means to be assumed that, even now, the variety, which I have described, in the Catechisms in use throughout Ireland has altogether passed away.

I have before me, as I write, a very recent edition of the Catechism known as "Dr. Doyle's." This Catechism has prefixed to it a letter of its illustrious author, "J. K. L.," addressed to the children of his diocese, in which he gives them the following description of it:—"This Catechism, first composed by Dr. James Butler, of happy memory, Archbishop of Cashel; afterwards revised and approved of for general use by the four Archbishops of Ireland; and *rendered more plain and better fitted to your tender minds* by the care and attention which, for your sake, has been bestowed upon it by me."

I have also before me, in comparatively recent editions, the Catechisms known as "Dr. Moriarty's," "Dr. Devereux's," and "Dr. Reilly's." One or more of these I know to have been in general use in some districts of Ireland at a date subsequent even to the publication of the revised edition of Butler's Catechism, issued eight or nine years ago, and generally, but inaccurately, spoken of as the "Maynooth" Catechism.

This last-named publication is described on its title page and on its cover as, "The Catechism *ordered by the National Synod of Maynooth*, and approved of by the Cardinal, the Archbishops, and the Bishops of Ireland for general use throughout the Irish Church."

It may, however, be useful to note that, whatever may have been the nature of the approval subsequently given to this edition of the Catechism, the edition itself in no way emanated from the Maynooth Synod. This is sufficiently obvious from the fact that it is nowhere mentioned in the Decrees of the Synod. As a matter of fact, indeed, it never came under the consideration of the Synod for approval or even for examination. This may be seen by reference to the *Acta*, or general Minutes, of the Synod, published in the beginning of the volume containing the Decrees.

The only references I can find in these Minutes to the revision of the Catechism are the following :—

"CONGREGATIO PRIVATA III. Perlegit Secretarius duo Postulata: unum de Parvo Catechismo. . . . Utrumque Postulatum ad Deputationem de Fide remissum est, sed *nihil decisum est.*"

"CONGREGATIO PRIVATA XVI. Parvus Catechismus, a Deputatione de Fide redactus, coram Patribus delatus est a Secretario: quem prelo subjiciendum statuerunt Patres *ut singulis Episcopis exemplaria mitterentur*, quod tamen ob defectum temporis *fieri non potuit.*"

The so-called "Maynooth" Catechism was not, in fact, published for many years—seven or eight, I think—after the date of the Maynooth Synod. At first, it seemed not unlikely to make its way into general use in Ireland. But there were several dioceses in which it failed to find a footing. In those dioceses, at all events, the Catechisms previously in use were not displaced. I understand too that, of late, the use of this "Maynooth" Catechism has been discontinued in more than one diocese where it was at first adopted, and where it had continued to be used for some years.

The facts I have now mentioned, especially in reference

to the "Maynooth" Catechism—the only edition of Butler's Catechism that now is in anything like general use in Ireland—may be of some help towards the removal of what seems to me the most serious difficulty in the way of getting a fair consideration for my view, or, indeed, a fair consideration for any view that clashes with the old traditional doctrine that Butler's Catechism is a model of everything that a Catechism ought to be.

Convinced as I have, on the contrary, for some time been, that our Irish Catechism—I take it in the revised form in which we now have it—still leaves abundant room for useful revision and improvement, I felt it my duty, now two years ago, to take what seemed to me the only feasible way of having the work of revision effectively carried out. The object in view was to obtain by means of this revision a satisfactory Catechism for diocesan use. A Diocesan Committee, then, was nominated, comprising within it a representation of every element that could be considered of practical utility in view of the work that was to be done—professors of theology, moral as well as dogmatic; priests of long and of wide experience in the work of instructing children in the Catechism; experienced examiners of children; accomplished scholars and writers of English; members both of religious and of secular collegiate communities; and representatives of the missionary priesthood, secular and regular.

Since its appointment, more or less continuously, the Committee thus constituted has laboured with exemplary diligence in a work which, to all engaged in it, has proved to be of singular and unexpected interest.

At first, nothing more was thought of by many members of the Committee than a somewhat careful revision of "Butler," with the omission of whatever might appear to be superfluous matter, some few plainly necessary additions, and, possibly, some changes—on lines which I had thought it useful to suggest—in the direction of greater simplicity in wording and in general form.

The advantages that might result from such a revision,

and the existence of a need for it, were not, at first, obvious to all the members of the Committee. But as the work of revision went steadily on, from month to month, there was a general opening and widening of view, and the need for a revision amounting practically to a reconstruction of the Catechism became plainer and plainer.

At the close of the first stage of the labours of the Committee, there was placed in my hands the first draft of what is in a great measure a new Catechism. This is now being subjected, at the weekly meetings of the Committee, to a thoroughgoing and painstaking revision, not likely at its present rate of progress to be brought to an end for several months to come.

It may, perhaps, be of interest to many, outside the diocese of Dublin as well as within it, to know something of the general principles that have been kept in view in the progress of this work. I transcribe, then, in a slightly modified form, with some additional explanatory observations under each section, a paper of suggestions which I put before the Committee at its first meeting, to serve as a general guide to it in the work in hand. Possibly, some readers of the *I. E. RECORD*, on reading these suggestions and the observations that I now add in explanation of them, may be moved to give some useful help in a work so important in its bearing upon the religious education of the young. For my part, I shall feel most grateful for any such help, whether given through the pages of the *I. E. RECORD* or addressed to me personally.

The suggestions, then, which I put before the Committee, were the following :—

“ I.

“ One of the chief features of the work to be done should be the introduction of short Reading Lessons, one to be appended to each Chapter of the Catechism. These Reading Lessons should deal, in somewhat fuller form, with the matter dealt with in the questions and answers of the Chapter.

“ The insertion of such Lessons would make it possible to omit without loss, many questions the answers to which now impose a heavy burden on the memory of the children. In

this way, room would be made for the insertion of several matters of importance at present not to be found in the Catechism.

"In each Chapter, the answers should comprise only such matter as it is really of importance should be formally committed to memory: everything requisite, or useful, by way of further information, or of illustration, might find a place in the appended Lesson.

"If these Lessons are written with care and skill, and in a style attractive as well as simple, the children will soon have them learned by heart, from the mere fact of repeatedly reading them, and without any formal effort at committing them to memory.

"The additional matter dealt with in the Lessons could be made a subject of examination, at all events in the more advanced classes. The advantage of adding an examination of this kind to the examination in the mere questions and answers of the Catechism is obvious."

As to this first suggestion, I need only say that the Lessons have been written, and that they now only await a general revision to make them fit in with the Chapters, when these have been finally revised.

## II.

"Our present Catechism seems to me to be defective in its omission of many matters that plainly are of practical importance in the fulfilment of ordinary Catholic duty.

"Moreover, some matters of this description which are dealt with in the Catechism, are dealt with much more in their merely doctrinal bearing than as matters of practice.

"Almost any practice or observance of religion that may be mentioned will illustrate one or other of these defects. Take, for example, these obvious instances—the Feasts of the Church, such as Corpus Christi, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, the Feast of All Saints, &c.; solemn Ceremonies of the Church, such as the Exposition and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament; devotions such as the Devotion to the Sacred Heart, the Rosary, the Stations of the Cross, &c.; and pious practices, such as the use of Scapulars, and the use of Holy Water.

"Again, the absence of all instruction as to the virtue of Temperance seems a somewhat serious omission. As a result of it, our people are left singularly exposed to the damaging influence of unauthorised teaching, a great deal of which is far from being in harmony with Catholic truth."

As to all this, I find it hard to see how, in view of it, anyone can fail to recognise that, in the matter of elementary

religious instruction, there is a large gap left unfilled by the information conveyed in Catechisms such as Butler's.

Especially as regards the requisite fulness of exposition, the insertion of the Reading Lessons will make it much easier to provide for some of the points that are not comprised in our present Catechism. Several of these are of such a nature that it would obviously be impossible to deal with them in any useful way by means merely of questions and answers of a character suited to a Catechism.

### “ III.

“ Our Catechism also seems open to objection on the score of the prominence occasionally given in it to the controversial element, as distinct from the positive exposition of Catholic truth—in other words, the object sometimes seems to be to insist rather upon what a thing is not, than upon what it is.”

Thus, for instance, we find the Catholic doctrine upon the Invocation of Saints, the honour due to the Saints, and the respect to be paid to sacred images, dealt with exclusively in connection with the First Commandment. The prominent scope, then, of the questions and answers in reference to these important points, is not a direct exposition of the Catholic doctrine upon these matters, but rather a negative statement of that doctrine, put forward mainly in repudiation of the grotesque perversions of it which are so persistently ascribed to us as Catholic doctrine in Protestant misrepresentations of the teaching of the Church.

The following passages, quoted from the various answers in the Catechism, illustrate this point:—

We are “ not forbidden ” to honour the saints ; but we are to honour them “ only ” as God's special friends and faithful servants. We do not give them “ supreme or divine honour.” This “ belongs to God alone.” As for the saints, we “ only ” ask the assistance of their prayers. This is quite “ lawful.” Again, it is “ proper ” to show respect to the crucifix and religious pictures ; but then we are “ not to pray to the crucifix, or to the images and relics of the saints.” Finally, it is “ not forbidden ” to make images ; but this concession is made subject to the proviso, that we do not “ make them for gods, to adore and serve them as the idolaters do.”

In comparison with the fulness of this elaborate repudiation of error, and of protest against a fabric of misrepresentation and calumny, there is, it may be said, almost nothing in the Catechism in the nature of a direct positive explanation of the Catholic doctrines in question. Practically nothing is done to lay a solid foundation for the practice of devotion to the saints. Even as regards the controversial aspect of the matter, the treatment of the important doctrines in question seems defective. In the anxiety, commendable no doubt, to demonstrate that Catholics are not heathens and idolaters, it seems to have been altogether lost sight of that a plain exposition of the truth forms the best of all foundations for an effective refutation of the errors opposed to it

A similar tendency is manifested, to a certain extent, in the treatment of the doctrine of Indulgences.

In connection with this doctrine, I may call attention to a point that has always seemed to me a sad drawback to the fulness and efficiency of the elementary religious instruction of our people. It is, that there is not, as surely as there ought to be, in the Catechism, somewhere or other, a connected statement of the general outline of the Catholic doctrine upon the subject of the temporal punishment due to sin—I mean, as to the fact that a debt of temporal punishment remains to be discharged after the guilt of sin has been forgiven; the necessity of having this debt cleared off either in this world or in the world to come; and the various means of obtaining remission of it, such as the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, Indulgences, the penance enjoined in Confession, personal works of penance, and the acceptance of sufferings and of crosses in a penitential spirit.

#### “ IV.

“ Sometimes difficulties arise from the questions and answers being so planned as to require the children in repeating the answers to move upon the lines of some scientific classification.

“ In cases where matters are needlessly complicated by such an arrangement, it surely ought to be found possible to retain all the advantages of the scientific classification without putting the

formal enunciation of the classification as a task upon the children. To force this upon them has, so far as I can see, no other effect than that of putting an additional and sometimes peculiarly unwieldy burden upon their memories.

"I take as the groundwork of this suggestion my belief—in which, however, I may be altogether astray—that although, to persons of maturer minds, most useful help is given towards the mastering of a complicated subject by a skilful division of it into sections, the case is very different when there is question of conveying information to children, in cases where, as in the learning of the Catechism, the necessity of committing the whole matter, word by word, to memory has to be absolutely insisted upon."

The defect pointed at in this suggestion is not, perhaps, of very frequent occurrence. But the following series of questions and answers may be taken as furnishing an example of it :—

"Q. How does a person sin against faith?"

"A. A person sins against faith by not endeavouring to *know what God has taught*, by not *believing what God has taught*, and by denying or not professing *his belief in what God has taught*.

"Q. Who are they who do not endeavour to *know what God has taught*?"

"A. They who do not endeavour to *know what God has taught* are those who neglect to learn the Christian Doctrine.

"Q. Who are they who do not *believe what God has taught*?"

"A. They who do not *believe what God has taught* are the heretics and infidels.

"Q. Who are they who sin against faith by *denying what God has taught*?"

"A. All those sin against faith by *denying what God has taught* who by any outward act, profession, or declaration, deny the true religion in which they inwardly believe."

So far as I can see, this extensive collection of words,—most bewildering to children in its involved arrangement, and in the repeated recurrence of whole phrases almost, but not quite, identical—is employed merely to give expression to four or five simple truths. Each of these truths is capable of being expressed in a very few words, and without the slightest approach to complication in the matter of general arrangement.

“ V.

“ It will be found in some instances that there is room for improvement in the direction of a more rigorous accuracy of expression.”

Instances of inaccuracy, at all events in the matter of expression, are to be met with, both in the ordinary editions of Butler's Catechism and in the edition known as the “ Maynooth ” Catechism, rather more frequently than seems usually to be adverted to.

Take, for instance, the following :—

“ Q. What are the principal mysteries of religion ?

“ A. The principal mysteries of religion are : the Unity and Trinity of God, the Incarnation, Death, and Resurrection of our Saviour. . .

“ Q. What do you mean by mysteries of religion ?

“ A. Mysteries of religion are revealed truths which we cannot comprehend.”

In the older editions of Butler's Catechism there was a question as to why the “ mysteries ” here mentioned were called the “ principal ” mysteries. In the answer it was given as a reason, that these were the mysteries “ most necessary ” to be “ explicitly believed.” And then, strange to say, the word “ explicitly,” which obviously required explanation no less than the expression “ principal ” mysteries, was left to speak for itself!

In the “ Maynooth ” Catechism, the word “ explicitly ” is expunged. In place of it, we have the more intelligible statement that these “ mysteries ” are necessary to be “ known ” and believed. This, to a certain extent, evades a somewhat serious difficulty. But what of the far more serious difficulties that underlie this whole matter?

First: are the “ mysteries ” that are here in question “ the principal ” mysteries of religion, in the sense indicated? That is to say, are they the principal, in the sense of being “ most necessary ” to be “ explicitly ” believed, or to be “ known and believed ”? Plainly they are not.

But secondly: there is a more fundamental difficulty still. For it is obvious that, of the five doctrines mentioned, no fewer than three—that is to say, the Unity

of God, and the Death and Resurrection of our Saviour—are not “mysteries” at all. I use the word “mysteries,” of course, not as we use it in speaking of the fifteen “mysteries” of the Rosary, but in the strict theological sense here expressly defined—“a revealed truth, which we cannot comprehend.” Nothing can be more manifest than that the three doctrines enumerated are not “mysteries” in any such sense of the word.

Another example of want of strict accuracy is the following :—

“ Q. Where was Christ's body while His soul was in Limbo ?

“ A. When Christ's soul was in Limbo, His body was in the sepulchre or grave.”

This plainly conveys the idea that our Lord's soul did not descend into Limbo—it possibly may even suggest the serious error that His soul remained united with His body—until the body had been taken down from the Cross and was laid in the tomb.

Moreover, is it not misleading to use the word “grave,” in reference to the burial of our Lord? If an additional word is needed, in explanation of “sepulchre,” would not “tomb” seem more appropriate?

Another example of inaccuracy—and in this instance in a matter of distinctly practical importance—is the wide extension so misleadingly given in the Catechism to the obligation of Christian charity :—

“ Q. How does a person sin against the love of his neighbour ?

“ A. A person sins against the love of his neighbour . . . by not assisting him WHEN ABLE in his spiritual and corporal necessities.”

And again, in an answer in a subsequent chapter :—

“ We are required never to injure our neighbour . . . and to assist him, AS FAR AS WE ARE ABLE, in his spiritual and corporal necessities.”

It is indeed, by no means easy, in a sufficiently brief and

compact answer, satisfactorily to state the extent of the obligation of charity towards our neighbour. But the difficulty of attaining accuracy can be no justification for the insertion of a false and seriously misleading statement. The point seems to be one in which a Reading Lesson, constructed on the lines indicated in the first suggestion, may be found of special usefulness.

#### “ VI.

“ In some answers in the Catechism words are used of needless difficulty or length.

“ Even where fairly easy words are at present used, it might be well to replace them by still easier words, by the easiest indeed that can be found.”

One of the worst drawbacks in the use of difficult or even unfamiliar words in a Catechism—and the same holds good in the case of Prayers—comes from the tendency, especially of very young children, to substitute for such a word some other, more or less similar in sound, with which they happen to be familiar. Substitutions such as the following are to be met with:—

“ Christ promised to His Apostles that He would send the Holy Ghost . . . . to *divide* (for ‘abide’) with them for ever.”

“ Faith is a *fine* (for ‘divine’) virtue.”

“ To thee do we send up our sighs *morning and evening* (for ‘mourning and weeping’) in this valley of tears.”

A special difficulty arises when words that are in familiar use are employed in the Catechism in a sense different from that in which they commonly occur.

There are cases, however, where the use of words that cannot but give rise to some difficulty, is practically unavoidable. As to this, I have to observe that my view, expressed in this sixth suggestion, as to the paramount necessity of using in all cases the simplest and easiest words, was largely modified as the work of revision proceeded.

In place of words, for instance, such as “revealed,” “sanctified,” “intercession,” “infallible,” and the like,

simpler words or forms of expression, might, no doubt, easily be substituted. But it is open to serious question whether it would not be a mistake to remove from the Catechism words such as these. They are recognised ecclesiastical terms; and, consequently, they must be of frequent occurrence in sermons and other instructions. The advantage, then, of making even children, as far as possible, familiar with their use is obvious. At first, no doubt, children may merely repeat such words without attaching any very definite meaning to them. But very soon this drawback gradually disappears. Even independently of the help derived from ordinarily competent teaching, the meaning of a word, previously obscure, is not unfrequently made sufficiently plain by the general drift of the answer in which it occurs.

But the case is different with words that are difficult or unfamiliar, and that have no special claim to be retained in the Catechism as words specially consecrated to religious use, such, for instance, as “discern,” “divers” (in the expression “divers tongues”), “contemneth,” &c.

Where words, the meaning of which presents any difficulty, have, for any reason, to be retained in the Catechism, reliance must, of course, be placed on the intelligent help to be given by the teacher.

It might be useful, in reference to all such cases, to place at the end of the Catechism a carefully-compiled Vocabulary, giving in plain language the meaning of every word that may seem to require explanation, and even doing this with special reference to the answers in which the word requiring explanation occurs.

There are some editions of the Catechism in which there is prefixed to each chapter a short Vocabulary in explanation of the difficult words that occur in the chapter. It is necessary only to read through any dozen words in one of these vocabularies, to see with what absolute want of consideration difficult and out-of-the-way words have sometimes been employed in Catechisms without the slightest necessity.

“VII.

“Some of the answers in the Catechism are inconveniently long.

“This fault may arise from the unnecessary grouping into one answer, of matter that might equally well be dealt with in two or more distinct answers.”

A striking illustration of this defect is furnished by the answer given in all but the more recent editions of Butler's Catechism to the question, “Which is the best method to prepare for a good Confession?” This answer comprised no fewer than 85 words.

As the answer now stands, in the “Maynooth” Catechism, the number of words is brought down to 50, little more than half the original length. The answer is also made more compact in structure and more symmetrical in form.

The improvement has been effected by the simple expedient of cutting away from the answer the long and cumbersome array of words and clauses that occurred in it, under the head, “secondly.” This portion of the answer formerly stood as follows:—

“Secondly, to examine ourselves carefully on the commandments of God and of His Church: on the seven deadly sins; and particularly on our predominant passion, and the duties of our station in life, that we may know in what, and how often, we have sinned by thought, word, deed, or omission.”

In the “Maynooth” Catechism it stands simply thus:—

“Secondly, to examine our conscience.”

All that followed in the older editions, as above quoted, is now put as the answer to a further distinct question, “On what are we to examine our conscience?”

On the other hand, the statement of the Fourth Precept of the Church, which was not altogether free from complication in the older editions, has become most inconveniently complicated in the “Maynooth” edition.

The original form of it was:—

“4. To receive worthily the Blessed Eucharist at Easter, or within the time appointed: that is, from Ash-Wednesday to the Octave Day of SS. Peter and Paul inclusive.”

Considering especially that this occurs as the statement of but one in a series of six commandments, all to be recited in the same answer, I think it obvious that it would have been far better to omit from that necessarily long answer all the words following the expression, "the time appointed." A distinct statement of the time in question could then be brought out in a separate answer.

This remark applies with notably increased force to the form in which this Fourth Precept of the Church is stated in the "Maynooth" Catechism:—

"4. To receive worthily the Blessed Eucharist at Easter, or within the time appointed; that is, from Ash-Wednesday to *Ascension Thursday*, or, *where it is so permitted*, to the Octave Day of SS. Peter and Paul."

The insertion of the words that I have italicised, and the consequent reference to the four points of time, Easter, Ash-Wednesday, Ascension Thursday, and the Octave Day of SS. Peter and Paul—with the additional confusion caused by the occurrence of the clause, "where it is so permitted"—leads, I have no doubt, in many cases, to the children's having no very definite idea as to what precise time is in question, or, indeed, as to what the whole involved statement means.

#### "VIII.

"A fault much more serious than that of needless difficulty in the words is that of needless complexity in the structure of an answer.

"Each answer should, as far as possible, be put in the form of a direct simple statement, free from qualifying or other clauses that might hinder children of the duller class from taking in a clear view of the meaning of the answer as a whole."

For a reason that will appear in connection with the next suggestion, it is in this case more convenient to quote, not from the "Maynooth" Catechism, but from one of the editions of Butler's Catechism as previously published, without the modification resulting from the introduction of the words of the questions into the answers.

I take the following, then, as an example of the drawback called attention to in this suggestion:—

“Q. Is an indulgence a pardon for sins to come, or a licence to commit sin?”

“A. No; *nor can it remit past sins*; for sin must be remitted by penance, *as to the guilt of it, and as to the eternal punishment due to mortal sin, before an indulgence can be gained.*”

It may be worth while analysing this answer, to bring into prominence its various elements of complexity. To children, of course, every step, however trifling, in the direction of a departure from simplicity of form in an answer brings in a new element of difficulty. Such matters, I fear, are too often overlooked by those who have to do with the teaching of children. Being themselves thoroughly familiar with the matters treated of, they pay little heed to the mere form of treatment. They fail, then, even to advert to the fact that an answer may, to the minds of children, seem difficult or even hopelessly obscure, although it sets forth nothing but simple elementary truths, and expresses those truths in words which, taken one by one, are transparently clear in meaning.

Let us look, then, at the question and answer I have just quoted. Here (1) we find set down, as a question, what really is a combination of two questions. Then (2) both these questions are disposed of in the answer by the one word, “No.” The answer then (3) starts off to deal with a new point which was not in any way raised in the question. Moreover (4) it devotes to the answering of this unasked question no fewer than 35 words, whilst, as we have seen, only one word was devoted to the answering of the two questions that were asked. Again (5) the answer to this unasked question not merely states the Catholic doctrine on the point, but gives a theological reason in proof of the doctrine, though nothing of the kind is done in reference to the questions asked. And (6), in giving this reason, it uses the somewhat philosophical form, not very easily grasped by young children, of considering the remission of sin under different aspects—“remitted . . . *as to the guilt of it, and as to the eternal punishment,*” &c.

Whatever other merits may be claimed for this answer, it certainly is not a model of either directness or simplicity.

But for children, I should say, one of the most serious forms of embarrassment that can arise is when the direct easy flow of a sentence is interrupted by the occurrence of a dependent clause containing a verb distinct from the leading verb of the sentence, and qualifying, or in some way modifying, the statement made by that principal verb. Every such subordinate clause, in so far as it is understood at all, brings up before the child's mind a new set of ideas which have, somehow or other, to be fitted in with the ideas embodied in the principal statement. Surely, the complication of form, which in this way is given to the whole answer, is not a desirable feature in a Catechism for children.

Here are some specimens of this special form of drawback. For the same reason as before, I again quote, not from the "Maynooth" Catechism, but from an earlier edition of Butler's Catechism, where the answers appear in their original unmodified form.

"Q. What does the resurrection of Christ prove?

"A. That *as by* dying on the cross he showed Himself a real mortal man, *so by* raising Himself from the dead He proved Himself God."

In the following case, I quote only the question. It is so framed as to give a forcible illustration of the defect in construction which I have in view:—

"Q. *Is a person in the way of salvation who believes in the true Church, and says that he is attached to it, but who, through pride, human respect, or worldly motives, does not make open profession of it, or does not comply with its essential duties?*"

Is it to be supposed that when children, after listening to this long string of clauses, enunciate the monosyllable "No," they have any very definite idea of the purport of the reply they have given?

In the "Maynooth" Catechism the difficulty is rendered more embarrassing by the transfer of all this complication

into the answer. Here is how the question and answer, as modified in this way, stand:—

“ Q. Have you anything further to add regarding the profession of faith ?

“ A. He who *believes* in the true Church, and says that in his heart he is *attached* to it, but through pride, human respect, or worldly motives, *disguises* his religion, or *does not comply* with its essential duties, *sins* against the obligation of *professing* the true faith.”

For my part, I cannot but think it little short of cruelty to children to worry them with the necessity of committing to memory so complicated a collection of words and clauses.

#### “ IX.

“ Closely connected with the point dealt with in the preceding suggestion is the difficulty that has arisen from the change made in the Catechism, some years ago, by introducing the words of the questions into the corresponding answers.

“ This change has added enormously to the difficulty of learning Butler’s Catechism, partly from the additional length, but much more from the additional intricacy, which it has necessarily introduced into the answers. It is not surprising, then, that it is very generally regarded with anything but favour.

“ Yet it must not be lost sight of that the change has resulted at all events in one decided improvement.

“ There cannot, I should say, be room for difference of opinion as to the advantage of having each answer in the form of a distinct statement or sentence, so that the answer, as it is committed to memory by the child, may be a definite intelligible statement of some Catholic truth.

“ In most cases this can conveniently be brought about by repeating in the answer the words of the question.

“ But then, both question and answer should, in the original composition of the Catechism, have been so framed as to allow of all this being done without producing, as the result of the fusion, an answer of embarrassing length or of complicated structure. The questions and answers in Butler’s Catechism were not so framed. It is from this, then, and not from the mere fact of the answers being thrown into the form of sentences, that the serious difficulty so generally complained of in the case of the ‘ Maynooth ’ Catechism has arisen.”

In what I have to say under this heading I must assume the desirability of having the answer—in a Catechism of the Christian Doctrine stand as distinct sentences, fully expressing

each of them, independently of the question, everything that the answer is intended to express. In other words I assume, as obviously true, that when children commit to memory the answers of the Catechism, it is advisable they should commit to memory distinct statements of Catholic truths, rather than a number of disjointed scraps of phraseology, such as the following. I transcribe them from an unmodified edition of Butler's Catechism where they occur as so many distinct answers :—

“Original sin.”

“Christians.”

“Yes ; and all the punishments due to them.”

“Heretics and Infidels.”

“To Purgatory.”

“Only in the one true Church.”

“It is a most grievous sin.”

“Glorious and immortal.”

That such a form of answer is open to grave objection seems beyond question. But, on the other hand, merely to take Butler's Catechism with its questions and answers as they stand, and to throw the answers into the form of sentences by embodying in them the words of the questions, plainly is a process that could not fail to result in the production of a number of answers altogether unsuited to the purposes of a Catechism.

I have noted in the “Maynooth” Catechism three instances where the adoption of this process of fusion has had the following results :—

1. An answer of 27 words prolonged into one of 39 words.
2. „ „ „ 27 words „ „ „ „ 42 words.
3. „ „ „ 17 words „ „ „ „ 40 words.

The third of these answers is an admirable illustration of the drawback resulting from this process, in its tendency to increase, not only the length, but, what is much more objectionable, the complexity of an answer.

I quote the question and answer, first, in their unmodified form, from one of the older editions of Butler's Catechism :—

“Q. What must persons do who did not carefully examine

their consciences, or who had not sincere sorrow for their sins, or who wilfully concealed a mortal sin in confession?

"A. They must truly repent of all such bad and sacrilegious confessions, and make them all over again."

Now let us take the corresponding answer as we find it in the "Maynooth" Catechism.

"A. Persons *who did not* examine their consciences, or *who had not* sorrow for their sins, or *who* wilfully concealed a mortal sin in confession, *must truly repent* of all such bad and sacrilegious confessions, *and must make* them over again."

Here (1) the answer has been prolonged from 17 words to 40; and (2) it has been most seriously complicated by the introduction of three relative clauses. Moreover, (3) these three clauses deal with three very distinct cases; (4) they differ in form, two of them being negative and one affirmative; and (5) they all occur between the subject of the sentence, which stands in the *first* place in the sentence, and the verbs depending on the subject, which stand respectively in the *twenty-fifth* place and in the *thirty-sixth*!

It may, then, be taken as unquestionable that, if it is sought to have the answers of the Catechism in the form of independent sentences, this cannot profitably be effected by the rough and ready expedient of embodying in the answers the words of the questions as they stand. The work must be faced of so framing every question that it may admit of being answered by a distinct statement fully intelligible in itself, and free, as far as possible, from every element of complexity.

Besides it is to be remembered that the form of each question must be judiciously chosen so as to preserve throughout the Catechism sufficient variety in the questions. The importance of this point is obvious in view of the illustrations to be given under the tenth suggestion.

Other points also have had to be kept in view in reference to the judicious framing of the questions, so that to this portion of the work alone an amount of time has had to be devoted—to say nothing of the ingenuity expended upon it—of which no idea could be formed by anyone not having personal experience of the working of the Committee.

## “X.

“Needless difficulty is sometimes created by the recurrence of almost identical forms of expression, or of an almost identical arrangement of words or phrases, in different questions.”

As instances of the defect here mentioned I take the following questions :—

“How did God make the world?”

“Why did God make the world?”

“How did God the Son become man?”

“Why did God the Son become man?”

“What is forbidden by the first commandment?”

“What else is forbidden by the first commandment?”

“Is there anything else forbidden by the first commandment?”

## “XI.

“A similar, but still more embarrassing, difficulty is caused when the defect mentioned in the last suggestion occurs in the answers.”

One of the most fruitful sources of error, in the answering especially of the younger children, is the occurrence of the precisely identical phrase, “the Scripture says,” in a number of different answers. Thus we have :—

“Venial sin does not deprive the soul of sanctifying grace . . . but it hurts the soul by lessening its love for God, and disposing it to mortal sin. *The Scripture says—*

‘He that contemneth small things shall fall little by little.’”

“It is necessary to keep every one of the ten commandments; for *the Scripture says—*

‘Whosoever shall offend in one shall become guilty of all.’”

“As the souls in Purgatory are still members of the Church, they . . . are relieved by our prayers and other good works; for *the Scripture says—*

‘It is a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead, &c.’”

“Our good works must be enlivened by faith, because *the Scripture says—*

‘Without faith it is impossible to please God; and he that believeth not shall be condemned.’”

In countless instances I have found a child going off from the phrase, "the Scripture says"—as it occurs in any one of these four answers—sometimes to the first, sometimes to the second, sometimes to the third, sometimes to the fourth, of the texts so injudiciously introduced. One cannot but be struck by the resemblance of all this to what takes place on a railway when a train passes over a junction of lines—the direction in which it leaves the junction being determined solely by the way in which the "points" happen at the time to lie.

This source of confusion obviously is one that can be got rid of without any difficulty.

The phrase, "St. Paul says," is, from its repeated occurrence, another source of needless embarrassment.

Frequently, too, children get involved in difficulties by the approach to general resemblance in the two following cases:

"Q. What is Confession?

"A. Confession is a sorrowful declaration of our sins, &c.

"Q. What is Contrition?

"A. Contrition is a heartfelt sorrow and detestation of sin,"

&c.

In these answers, dealing with the two not dissimilar words, "confession" and "contrition," there is a confusing resemblance in general rhythm. For (1) we have "*sorrowful*" in one case, "*sorrow*" in the other; (2) "*declaration*" occurs in the former case, "*detestation*" in the latter; and (3) we have the words "*of our sins*" in one case, and "*of sin*" in the other.

Surely, in dealing with words such as Confession and Contrition, so closely related as regards the ideas they express, and by no means dissimilar in form, every possible care should be taken to keep clear of all danger of confusion arising between the two answers from any resemblance, either in the sound of the words or in the general structure or rhythm of the sentences.

I may also point out as a source of confusion, with not a few children, the general resemblance in form between the following :—

“ [Limbo] . . . *a place or state of rest, . . . where the souls of the saints who died before Christ were detained* ”—and,

“ Purgatory,” “ *a place or state of punishment . . . where some souls suffer for a time before they go to heaven.*”

#### “XII.

“The question of the general order best suited to a Catechism is one that will not arise, unless, in the progress of the work of revision, it should be found by the Committee that something more than a mere revision of our present Catechism is advisable.

“The order almost universally followed in the various diocesan Catechisms in use throughout Germany and the German-speaking districts of Switzerland seems an admirable one.

“These German Catechisms are based on the Catechism of the Jesuit Father, Deharbe. They are laid out in three parts :—

“ I. What we are to believe ;

“ II. What we are to do and to avoid ;

“ III. The Means of Grace.

“To the whole there is prefixed a short Introduction, setting forth the great fundamental truth of the Christian life—that man is placed in this world to love and serve God, and so to reach the enjoyment of the perfect and never-ending happiness of Heaven : in this way an aspect of practical importance is given to the Catechism from the very outset.

“In almost every German diocese there are three Catechisms in use—the Smaller, the Middle, and the Larger Catechism. All three throughout are arranged strictly upon the same plan.”

The general question of order had, in fact, to be considered by the Committee ; and the arrangement described in the above suggestion was, in substance, adopted.

It is probable that of the thousands who are familiar with every word of Butler's Catechism, there are comparatively few who have adverted to the plan upon which that Catechism is arranged. It is not, I think, out of place, then, to give an outline of its general arrangement.

The prevailing idea seems to have been to follow the order of the Apostles' Creed.

Thus, after the first and second chapters, the Apostles' Creed—which is introduced by a question and answer, evidently inserted for the purpose, at the end of the second chapter—is made the subject of the third chapter. Then, in the fourth chapter, come the questions upon the Blessed Trinity, which lead up to the treatment of the doctrine of the Incarnation.

Next, a foundation for the treatment of the Redemption is laid in two chapters—the fifth and sixth—on our First Parents, the Temptation and Fall, and Original Sin. These serve as an introduction to the seventh and eighth chapters, on the Birth of our Lord; His Life, Sufferings, and Death; His Descent into hell; His Resurrection; His Ascension; and His place in Heaven “at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty.”

Then follow three chapters—the ninth, tenth, and eleventh—on “the Holy Ghost” and “the Holy Catholic Church.” The eleventh chapter closes with a brief reference to “the Communion of Saints” and “the Forgiveness of Sins.” After this, by a natural transition, come the subjects of Sin, and the Punishment of Sin, followed by the treatment of the doctrine of Purgatory: these subjects occupy the twelfth and thirteenth chapters.

At the close of the thirteenth chapter, a transition is effected by means of a device which is frequently employed throughout the Catechism. This is the putting of a question, or of a set of questions, for the purpose of bridging over a gap between one topic and another. In the present case the transition is effected by the following questions and answers:—

“Q. Is it sufficient for salvation to be members of the true Church?

“A. It is not sufficient for salvation to be members of the true Church; we must avoid evil and do good (1 Pet. iii. 11).

“Q. What good shall I do that I may have life everlasting? (Matt. xix. 16).

“A. If thou wilt enter into life, says Christ, keep the commandments (Matt. xix. 17).

“Q. What commandments am I to keep?

“A. I am to keep the Ten Commandments of God.”

This answer is manifestly an imperfect one, and apparently it is left imperfect to leave room for the employment, later on, of the same device of which it here forms part. At all events, by means of it, the subject of the Ten Commandments is brought in. This subject occupies the chapters from the fourteenth to the nineteenth inclusive.

Then, at the beginning of the twentieth chapter, the ground left uncovered by the incomplete answer which introduced the Ten Commandments is brought into view by the following question and answer :—

“*Q.* Are there any other commandments besides the ten commandments of God ?

“*A.* Besides the commandments of God, there are the commandments or precepts of the Church, which are chiefly six.”

This introduces the Precepts of the Church, to which two chapters are devoted—the twentieth and the twenty-first.

At the end of the twenty-first chapter we have another transition effected by the same device as before :—

“*Q.* What is necessary to keep the commandments of God and of His Church ?

“*A.* The grace of God, which is obtained chiefly by prayer and the sacraments, is necessary to keep the commandments of God and of His Church.

Thus the subject of Prayer is introduced. It occupies the twenty-second and twenty-third chapters. The Sacraments are next dealt with, occupying the six chapters from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-ninth inclusive.

The subject of the thirtieth and last chapter is the General Judgment. The transition to this subject seems somewhat abrupt, but it is merely a return to the line that was digressed from at the end of the eleventh chapter. In this last chapter of the Catechism, then, we have the explanation of the two remaining articles of the Apostles' Creed—“the Resurrection of the Body,” and “Life Everlasting”—with the explanation also of the closing word “Amen.”

It will be seen that in the main the result of the somewhat artificial plan followed out in Butler's Catechism is not

very different from that which is much more naturally reached by the adoption of the simpler arrangement on which the German Catechisms are planned.

In conclusion, I have only to observe that, especially on one account, it has been a source of pleasure to me to write this paper. The publication of it may do something towards securing an adequate appreciation of the labour expended by the Diocesan Committee upon the work with which it was charged. So much of that labour has been directed to the shortening and simplifying of the Catechism, that I should be inclined to fear that the very success of the work in these respects might be a serious obstacle to the adequate appreciation, whether of the persevering industry, or of the zeal and ability, by which a success so notable has been secured.

The following statement gives, at least as regards one of the points kept in view by the Committee, a fair idea of the extent to which its labours have been successful.

A careful comparison has been made between the first part of our new Diocesan Catechism, on the one hand, and two existing Catechisms, both of them published in recent years, on the other. One of these is the so-called "Maynooth" Catechism. The other I need not here describe or even identify it individually, but I may say of it that, from the circumstances of its publication, the high ecclesiastical sanction it has received, its extensive use, and the general commendation that has been bestowed upon it, we may seem to apply a somewhat startling test in taking it as a standard by which to measure the excellence of any newer work.

For convenience of expression, I shall name the three Catechisms in question, the "Draft" Catechism, the "Maynooth" Catechism, and the "Standard" Catechism, respectively.

The point of comparison to which I here refer, is the length of the answers, as measured by the number of words.

The total number of answers in each of the three Catechisms respectively, is, I should premise, as follows :—

Number of answers in the “Maynooth” Catechism,	426.
„ „ „ „ “Standard” Catechism,	422.
„ „ „ „ “Draft” Catechism,	324.

Omitting the answer enumerating the Ten Commandments—which of necessity is a long one, and is common to all three Catechisms—the number of these answers that exceed 25 words in length, is :—

In the “Maynooth” Catechism,	. . .	161.
„ “Standard” Catechism,	. . .	147.
„ “Draft” Catechism,	. . .	75.

The further distribution of these answers, as regards the various numbers of words exceeding 25, is shown in the following table :—

TABLE.

Number of words in each Answer		Number of Answers of each length		
		In the “Maynooth” Catechism	In the “Standard” Catechism	In the “Draft” Catechism
26 words and under 30	...	52	48	28
30 „ „ 40	...	74	63	38
40 „ „ 50	...	27	25	7
50 „ „ 60	...	8	7	2
60 and upwards	...	—	4	—
TOTAL	...	161	147	75

In bringing this unduly prolonged paper to a close, I beg to renew the request I have made in one of the first pages of it, for any suggestions that may occur to any reader of the I. E. RECORD, as likely to be of help in this important and arduous work.

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH,  
*Archbishop of Dublin,*

## MAN. A MICROCOSM.

"Omnis creaturæ aliquid habet homo : habet namque homo communia esse cum lapidibus, vivere cum arboribus, sentire cum animalibus, intelligere cum angelis."—S. Greg. Mag. *Homil.* 29, *super Evangel.*

"Las acciones emanadas de nuestra sustancia pertenecen á cuatro clases, como lo puede observar cada uno en sí mismo. Unas nos son comunes con todos los cuerpos de la naturaleza en general, otras con las plantas solamente, otras con los brutos, otras, en fin, nos son propias, exclusivas, en términos que por ellas nos distinguimos de todos los seres con quienes nos hallamos en relación. —(La Relig. Católica, por José Meliá, page 353.)

OF all visible creatures existing on the face of the earth there is not one half so deserving of our study and contemplation as man. Man has been called a microcosm (*μικρὸς-κόσμος*, or little world, because he contains within himself the elements and properties of all that exists around him. He has existence in common with the rocks and the soil : he possesses the power of growth and development in common with plants and trees ; he enjoys the capacity of sensation and motion, and the faculties of sight, taste, smell, &c., in common with the birds of the air and the beasts of the forests and the fields : and, lastly, he has the glorious gift of reason and intelligence in common with the highest angels and archangels of heaven. He thus unites and, as it were, concentrates within his own insignificant bulk qualities the most unlike and capacities the most diverse, which are distributed in an ever-varying measure over the rest of creation. *In this respect*, indeed, man surpasses the highest of the angels,<sup>1</sup> and even in heaven might well excite their envy, were envy possible in the

<sup>1</sup> The saintly L. Lessius calls attention to this gratifying fact, when contrasting the relative positions of men and angels in heaven. *En carta* :— "Homo aliquid habet amplius, et quodammodo erit beatorum spiritibus. Par enim illis erit impossibilitas, celestitate, vi penetrandi, potentia movendi, visione, amore, et fructu beata, et cognitione rerum omnium, tam spiritualium, quam corporaliū. Et præter hæc habebit gloriam corporis, et multiplicem in corpore et per corporis sensus voluptates, quibus angelis caret. Unde homo erit beatorum extensivè ; quia ejus beatitudo non continebit se in anima, sed effundet se in corpus," &c.

regions of perfect bliss. Man has been defined a rational animal—"animal intellectu praeditum." He belongs to the genus animal: the specific difference, however, between him and all other animals is, that he is rational, *i.e.*, endowed with reason.

A little reflection will at once convince us of the justice of the definition. Man is truly an animal. As truly an animal as a dog or a horse, a peacock or an owl, or any other furred quadruped or feathered biped. He is endowed with limbs and organs, nerves and muscles, stomach and brains, just as they are. Like other animals, man breathes the air, and lives by food, and needs rest and sleep at certain intervals; and, like them, he would speedily expire if these were denied. The greatest king on earth has just as much need of a heart and lungs, a spinal cord and an alimentary canal, and of muscular and nervous tissues, and the rest, as the costermonger's donkey that kicks up his heels or browses the thistles on the king's highway. The sun scorches, the rain wets, and the frost bites one as the other. If you beat them, they will suffer; if you prick them, they will bleed; and if you poison them, they will die. Man, like the beast, is subject to disease, decrepitude, and to old age. One no less than the other, after the lapse of a few years, sickens, disintegrates, falls into pieces, and sinks into a common grave, to be heard of no more in this world.

So far as man's merely physical condition is concerned there is very little to choose between him and the beasts. In fact, other animals not merely equal, but surpass him in almost all his corporal gifts; so that, considered simply as an animal, man is a very poor and inferior one. The ox surpasses him in strength of limb; the squirrel, in agility; the deer, in swiftness and sureness of foot. The eagle possesses keener and clearer vision; the fox and the hound, a truer scent; the crocodile, stronger jaws; and the boa constrictor, a greater power of digestion. Man can neither dive like the otter, swim like the fish, nor cleave the summer air with pinions spread like the swallow or the swift; he can neither scale the craggy mountains of eternal snow, like the grizzly bear; nor leap from peak to peak, like the goat or nimble-footed

no. His cry is not so loud as that of the angry lion, nor his minstrelsy so sweet as that of the lark or the nightingale.

In strength, in endurance, in subtlety, in grace of movement, in length of days, in power of resistance, and in almost every physical quality, man is bound to confess himself immeasurably inferior to the beasts. So far as his body is concerned, he is a very contemptible and sorry animal, indeed.

God, however, has bestowed upon him one great and priceless gift in the order of nature, which compensates, and even more than compensates him for all these disadvantages — a gift which at once renders him superior to all other animals, however powerful and strong; and, that is the marvellous gift of reason.<sup>1</sup>

It is reason that at once and, as it were, with a single wave of a magician's wand, transforms this feeble and helpless creature into the mighty and all but resistless sovereign whom we contemplate with so much wonder and admiration. It is reason alone that constitutes man the undisputed ruler of the earth; that places the imperial crown upon his head, and the sceptre of authority in his hand, and proclaims him king of the visible world.<sup>2</sup>

By aid of this priceless gift, he makes the very elements his slaves and obsequious servants. He can harness the winds to his ships of war, like mettlesome steeds, and so traverse the broadest and the stormiest sea undaunted. He can make the lightning his trusty messenger; and compel fire and water to labour for him, and to set ten thousand wheels in rapid motion in factories and mills scattered over all the land: here grinding and crushing the hardest gold-bearing quartz; and there spinning and weaving the softest cotton into the most delicate and gossamer fabrics. He pierces the mountains, skins the seas, or ascends into the clouds. Nay, more: he can hold converse with the most

<sup>1</sup> Consult an interesting little pamphlet by M. Sturm, entitled *Le cher Mensch ein Thier?* (Pub. Aachen.)

<sup>2</sup> There is, of course, another side to the picture, suggested by these lines of Schiller (which scarcely bear translating), viz. —

„Der Mensch erstreckt sich Morast, um weiter  
eine Weile im Morast, und macht Morast, um  
gährt wieder zusammen in Morast;“ etc.

distant extremities of the world, and while seated comfortably at his breakfast table, read, over his tea and toast, detailed accounts of what is taking place in the furthestmost parts of the earth—the inundations in Spain, the strikes in Germany, the earthquakes in Japan, the riots in China, or the famine in Russia.

All creation he forces into his service, and treats as an irresponsible autocrat. He robs the sheep of its fleece; the seal, of its fur; the bear, of its winter coat; the elephant, of its ivory; the whale, of its precious oils; the swan, of its down; and the bee, of its honey. The spirited horse must carry him; the hound must hunt for him; and the patient lowing herds must supply his dairy with milk and cream, and stock his larder with wholesome and nutritious food. Thus God's good gift of reason enables this puny defenceless creature, man, to lay all creation under contribution; and to force, so to speak, both great and small down on their knees before him, ready to follow his will, and to carry out his bidding.

Such, in the barest outline, is the inestimable value of the gift of reason.<sup>1</sup> We call attention to it, in order that, realizing to some extent its priceless worth, we may render the heartier thanks to God, and strive the more earnestly to employ it ever in the service of the Giver. Indeed, if properly used, there is no more powerful auxiliary in our struggle after sanctity. It is true that some very silly people try to persuade themselves and others that the Church fears or despises knowledge and intelligence in her children. She does nothing of the kind. On the contrary, she knows full well, and is the first to acknowledge, that reason, when not distorted by prejudice nor blinded by passion, leads to God,

<sup>1</sup> Though marvellously precious is the gift of reason, it is nevertheless surpassed by that of free-will, which is even a more resplendent reflection of God in the human soul. The magnitude of this endowment is well expressed by Dr. W. G. Ward:—"Each of us possesses true liberty; in other words, each one possesses *what might have seemed the inalienable prerogative of God*, in being (as it is expressed) a self-originating principle of causation. Each one of us then is entrusted with the charge of that most precious deposit—his own moral character, his own permanent and eternal interest."—(*Nature and Grace*, page 317.)

and that some of the greatest saints that have ever lived have been at the same time the greatest philosophers and the profoundest theologians; and as conspicuous for learning as for sanctity.

It is certain, of course, that true and solid sanctity has its root in the will and not in the intellect. "Non nisi *voluntate* peccatur," says St. Augustin; and again: "totum habet, qui bonam voluntatem habet."<sup>1</sup> Anyone who can, at all times exclaim *sincerely and from his heart*—"Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven," is in very truth a saint. Sanctity, in a word, is nothing more than the complete and perfect conformity between the created will of man and the uncreated and eternal will of God. Hence, on Christmas night, the angelic hosts, after singing "Glory to God in the highest," went on to proclaim "peace to men on earth"—not to men of great influence and position; not to men of great wealth and intellect, but "peace to men of GOOD WILL."—(Luke ii. 14.)

Still, while admitting all this, we must not lose sight of the fact that the will is not absolutely a self-acting power. It does not; nay, it cannot, unaided, originate a single effort. It can no more stir without a motive than the sails of a wind-mill can revolve in a dead calm. We teach, as all Catholic theologians and philosophers, that the will of man is free. Truly. But free to do what? Free to act without any impulse? No; without an impulse it can never put forward the slightest effort of any kind. Its freedom consists in the *liberty of choice*. It may choose between two or more motives. It may follow this one rather than that; it may prefer the less worthy rather than the more worthy, or set aside a thousand for the sake of one; but to dispense with motive altogether is impossible. Then what faculty, we may ask with some degree of interest, supplies the motives, or the motive power, to stir up the lethargic will? What is the faculty which spurs and whips on the will to vigorous action? The intellect; or, in other words, reason.

<sup>1</sup> St. Bernard remarks:—"Bona *voluntas* in animo, est origo omnium bonorum, et omnium mater virtutum; e converso, mala *voluntas* est origo omnium malorum, et vitiorum."—*De Vita Soli.*

Reason places before the mind certain motives, and it is only when stimulated by these motives that the will is enabled to exert itself at all. Irrational animals and insects need no such special appeal, of course, because they act, not by reason, but by instinct. An example or two will make this clear.

A bee, without any consciousness of the beneficial results of its industry, will collect honey with infinite pains, and construct the most perfect hexagonal cells for its reception; so, too, a bird will build the most exquisite nest; and a spider spin a faultless web. But they labour without any freely directed or conscious intention. Instinct is their sole guide. Hence they require no instruction, and no teaching, but execute their various tasks as perfectly the first time they perform them as the last. Man is quite differently circumstanced. He is a helpless creature till reason dawns. In infancy he is so dependent upon others, that he must inevitably perish if left to himself. He will not and cannot exert himself or make the slightest effort till reason, at last, like a kind monitor, takes him in hand.

Again, whether bees are fed artificially or not, they will continue to gather honey and construct their cells with equal industry, because instinct is indiscriminating. Not so, man. If he hungers he will labour; yes—to *obtain bread*: but if he have all his wants supplied, he will not give himself any needless trouble.

We must all have noticed that men will labour and toil, and suffer and endure, and brace themselves up to the most herculean tasks; but *never without a motive*. As the possession of free will enables them to choose between motives, so the possession of intelligence checks them from acting in the absence of motive.

Gaze over the far-stretching earth. Behold how men toil; and wonder as you behold! Go where we will, the same strange scene meets our eye, and repeats itself again and again in every clime. In the continent of Europe; in distant Australia; beneath the burning, blistering sun of the Tropics; amid the eternal snows and the piercing winds of the frozen North; in fact, wherever human

foot has trod, and wherever men have penetrated, there is sowing and reaping, buying and selling, bartering and bargaining, and toiling and moiling, and sweating. The buzz of machinery, the whirl of wheels, and the rush of steam everywhere fill the air. Yet, among all these millions of active, energetic, slaving men, there is not one who is not acting under the influence of some motive. Not one arm is raised; not one muscle contracts; not one head throbs, not one brow is wet with honest sweat," but in response to some mental picture of gains to be won, or pains to be warded off, or love to be indulged.

Ask old farmer Giles why he tills his fields, and breaks up the stubborn clods, and scatters the grain in the newly-turned furrows, while heaven and earth are in contention, and bluff Boreas is stalking over the land, plucking at his gray locks, and taking liberties with his loose jerkin and flaunting smock-frock. Is it because he finds pleasure in the work itself? No, for he will tell you that the labour is hard; that the winds have no pity on his weather-beaten form; and that the chill rains and the angry storms beat upon him and flout him without mercy all the day long. But he endures it all for sake of the harvest. It is the hope of reward that makes what is in itself repugnant and distasteful sweet and pleasant. Or enter into any of the great shops in London, Dublin, Paris, or Berlin. There we may watch both men and women, week in, week out, from morning till night, standing behind the counters, and waiting in readiness to serve all who chance to enter—displaying their goods, and tempting the unwary to buy. Consider their behaviour. If they grow weary and sick of heart, they must not let it be seen: if inwardly annoyed and irritated by the unreasonableness or the exactions of purchasers, they must restrain themselves, and hide their anger under a bland smile and a suave manner, for else their trade would suffer. Observe, further, that they must be at their post early in the morning, and remain there all day. They must sacrifice their time: they must give up their liberty: they must control their tempers and exercise an infinite patience. Their position and occupation require it. And all this they actually do, and do

willingly, and why? For the sake of the kingdom of God? For the sake of an unfading crown? No! For such motives, few would do so much. It is for the sake of twenty-five or thirty shillings a-week! And they who work not for gain, work through fear of pain.

Many a poor wretch would gladly lie down and rest, but poverty and all its attendant evils force him to take up his spade or shovel, and to set to work again. Hunger is a hard master. It goads on the most reluctant, and forces even those who are unfit for work to labour still. And to these two great motive powers we must add a third: *i.e.*, the incentive of affection, the strongest of all;<sup>1</sup> "*Omnia vincit amor*," and "*Amator amicæ mancipium*," are proverbs recognised as true by all the world.

When tender love unites two hearts, and binds men together, who will measure its influence? On occasions when a man would stir neither hand nor foot for his own advantage, how often will he rouse himself into action for very love of the wife of his bosom, whose sorrowful upturned eyes and beseeching looks he is powerless to resist! How many a mother, too, otherwise careless and deaf to all persuasion, will, at the prayer of her children, apply herself to the most arduous tasks. Her strong affection for them becomes a principle of untold strength. She will court every danger, risk death itself, and attempt even the impossible, in order to succour and safeguard those whom she so loves; and will count her sufferings even a joy, if only they enable her to bring the necessary food and warmth to her starving young.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, every reasonable creature that wilfully suffers and

<sup>1</sup> "*Nihil est tam durum atque ferreum quod non amoris igne vincatur.*" St. Aug.

<sup>2</sup> The strength of maternal love in the human animal, is wonderfully nearly approached by the parental instinct in irrational beings. Thus, "swallows will fly into burning houses to save their young. When a young whale is harpooned, the mother will not desert it, while it lives. If polar bears are compelled, when chased, to leave their young, they presently return to look for them, and shed (according to Brehm) great tears, and swim round the coast for several days in their distress. Many animals try to draw the attention of the pursuer from their young to themselves." See H. Höfding's *Psychology*.

toils, does so for one of three great motives :—1, for desire of gain ; 2, through dread of pain ; 3, for sake of love.

The soldier who fights, fights for gain of some kind. It may not be for silver or gold. He may be no mercenary. It may be for glory, or for fame ; or, like Napoleon I. and renowned Alexander, for empire and a throne : but some such motive must urge him on. So is it with the artist and the poet, the judge and the barrister, the politician, the physician, the musician, and all others down to the common beggar and rag-and-bone merchant. Each applies himself in his respective sphere of life, but always in obedience to some impulse, always by reason of some motive presented before the mind by the intellect. It may be wealth, or it may be fame ; it may be ambition, or it may be greed ; it may be pleasure, which the mere exercise of power yields ; or it may be to be spoken of and lauded by posterity. It may be any one of these, or any combination of them, or all of them together ; but a motive there must be, or all hard labour must cease. And, however varied, and even contradictory these motives may appear, they may all be reduced to one of the three classes enumerated above.

Without such motives all human energy would be paralyzed and the great pulse of human life would stop. This much must appear perfectly obvious to anyone who seriously considers the ways and doings of men. The important and practical point, however, is to apply this truth to the spiritual and supernatural life.

Man's primary duty in this world is to sanctify his soul, and to fit himself for an eternal throne of glory in heaven. This is no child's play ! It means downright hard work, constant application, and concentrated attention. It involves many a severe struggle, many a hard-contested battle. The *unum necessarium* of the Scriptures is not to be attained without much self-sacrifice, serious efforts, and repeated victories over self. Yet, in spiritual things, as in temporal things, men will not labour nor deny themselves without a motive. A life of virtue is as impossible without an adequate inducement as is a life of hard physical labour.

Sanctity supposes a certain definite line of conduct.

Conduct is made up of a series of particular acts; each particular act<sup>1</sup> in the series demands a special motive. Ergo, &c.

Now, do supernatural motives exist? Are incitements to virtue arising from fear, desire, and love, to be found in the order of grace as of nature? Are there *stimuli* to help us, and to urge us on in the spiritual conflict, as in the physical? Evidently: and, what is more, they are immeasurably more cogent, forcible, and weighty than any we have to influence us in the affairs of this world.

What racking pain, what loathsome disease, what fell disgrace or burning shame, can compare with the unending tortures and superhuman agonies of hell? What reward that the world has to offer us, whether it come in the form of wealth or station, or fame or influence, or health or beauty, can approach in grandeur or magnificence the imperishable rewards of heaven? What motive founded on the love of father or mother, brother or sister, wife or children, husband or lover, can come even within a measurable distance of the ineffable love of the Infinite Goodness the uncreated Beauty, and the divine and everlasting Truth?

Furnished with motives such as these, we may surely expect almost any degree of sanctity of even the most pusillanimous. Who, indeed, with such incitements before him will find it impossible, or even difficult, to follow the path of perfection, however strait, and steep, and thorn-strewn? If men so labour for the bread that perishes, surely we have a right to conclude that they will be far more ready to labour for that which endureth for ever! If a mere earthly love will set a man's heart on fire, fill it with the courage as well as the strength of a lion, and incite him to deeds of heroism and daring surpassing all belief, what an immeasurably greater effect should the immeasurably higher love of God produce! Calm plain reason itself will unhesitatingly declare

<sup>1</sup> We refer here, of course, not to the *actus hominis*, but to the *actus humanus*; not to what the Germans call "Die Thätigkeit des Menschen," but to "Die Menschliche Thätigkeit;" i. e., "Actus qui voluntate deliberata procedunt," ut dicunt theologi; and which alone are meritorious.

that the eternal must outweigh the temporal, and the things of heaven all possible things of earth.

Undoubtedly. Yet, we shall be reminded that the facts are against us. The reader will simply point to the men and women who make up the bulk of the fifteen hundred millions of people now inhabiting the world.<sup>1</sup> He will say — "See. They are full of worldly ambition and earthly aims: they do far more for the sake of temporal than for the sake of eternal gains. Will not many a poor devil (does he deserve a better name?) toil all day to escape poverty, who will neither confess his sins nor humble his pride to escape even hell itself? Is not the promise of a handful of gold or silver often a more powerful stimulus than the promise of the empyrean heaven and all that it contains? That hundreds of thousands stand in greater awe of the police and of imprisonment than of all the furies of hell combined; and that they will do, and are doing vastly more for earthly lovers than they will ever so much as attempt for the love of God, are propositions almost as indisputable as that two and two make four."

We do not deny one word of the indictment which we have put into the mouth of the supposed reader. Evidences of its substantiated truth are daily before our eyes. Yet our contention remains untouched. The motives for loving God and for leading a life of virtue are, *in themselves*, infinitely stronger than all the motives the world has to offer, even though you were to multiply their number and their intensity throughout all eternity.

Then why, in the name of common sense, are men not more affected by them? Why, in a word, does that which is immeasurably small outweigh that which is immeasurably great? Why does a withered leaf, or a particle of dust, produce a more palpable effect than all the inestimable treasures in the treasury of God? Why do considerations of true influence more than those of eternity? Why do the promises of man excite and stimulate people more than the promises of God?

<sup>1</sup> The total population of the world, according to *The London Times* was, four or five years ago, 1,455,933,000. (Feb. October 25th, 1887.)

The answer is plain. It is not enough that a motive exists, nor even that it is strong with the strength of God. It must, furthermore, be known; it must be duly considered, and in some degree, at all events, appreciated. The great principle underlying the whole difficulty is this, viz.:—*a motive, however powerful, and however irresistible in itself, is simply no motive at all to the mind that fails to master it and grasp its real significance.*

As Goethe so justly observes :—

“Was man nicht versteht, besitzt man nicht.”

What doctrine is better calculated in itself to scare men from sin than the doctrine of eternal punishment? Yet who will reckon the millions who (while professing to believe in it) yet sin, and sin, and sin, without the slightest fear! Yes, men who tremble at the thought of earthly pains, men who are intensely apprehensive of the evils of imprisonment and transportation; and who grow deadly pale at the threat of the gallows or the guillotine, or even of the lash, are not afraid of the fires that are never quenched, and dare to laugh at the judgments of an irresistible God! But why? Well because to them they are not realities. To such as these, indeed, hell is nothing more than a painted fire, and its fiercest terrors but the foolish fancies of a diseased imagination. They cannot see the glow of the furnace; they cannot hear the shrieks of the lost; they cannot feel the gnawing of the worm that never dies; therefore hell is a figment, nothing more.

They may confess the doctrine, but they do so without understanding what they confess. They neither dwell upon it, nor familiarize themselves with it. Such thoughts, in fact, are found to be too troublesome and disturbing; so best allowed to sleep. Hence, from want of reflecting upon them, men cease to be influenced; and weaker and weaker these great motives become, till worldly-minded people end at last by being affected by nothing but what they can either see, or hear, or feel, or actually experience for themselves. The invisible world, though far more real and firmly established than any object we now gaze upon, speedily becomes in their

eyes just exactly as though it had no existence whatever; and thus the truth of the old adage "Out of sight, out of mind" receives its confirmation and exemplification.

Here we put our finger, as it were, on the very seat of the disease which is destroying the spiritual life of the world, and sowing the seeds of eternal misery. "The just man lives by faith;" the unjust, by sense. The man of God has the eyes of his soul open to contemplate heavenly things; the man of the world sees only with the eyes of his body, and is essentially earthy, of the earth.

The saints, even the greatest of them, were formed from the same clay as ourselves; their minds and intellects were created on the same plan as our own. Hence, it is abundantly clear that motives that influenced them so strongly would influence us equally, *if we saw them as they did*. The self-same motives that induced the great heroes of the Church to fling to the winds riches and honours and earthly delights, and to esteem them all as dung, for the sake of Christ, exist at the present moment in all their pristine force and cogency, undiminished by time, unaffected by age. They will influence us as they influenced others; but always on one condition—on condition that we perceive them, realize them, drink in their meaning and thoroughly imbue ourselves with a sense of their intense reality and objective truth.

Like Bartimæus of old, the world sits by the wayside, blind and unconscious, while Jesus Christ is passing close by. Would that, like that poor son of Timeus, it were aware of its blindness, and would cry out, as he did, refusing to hold his peace: "Rabboni, grant that I may see." (Mark x. 51.) "Lord, that our eyes be opened." (Matt. xx. 33.) Then Christ would work the same miracle again that He worked by the walls of Jerico well-nigh two thousand years ago, and the world would receive its sight, and at last realize its position.

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

## OUR MARTYRS.

THE question is sometimes asked: How comes it that Ireland, the Island of Saints, has had no canonized saints for the last seven hundred years? Holy men and holy women in every calling of life surely she has produced in vast numbers—martyrs, confessors, holy virgins. And yet during that time other countries have seen some of their children honoured on their altars; not only Catholic nations, as France, Italy, and Spain, but even Protestant Holland has had her martyrs of Gorcum, and in our own times Protestant England has seen several of those who were put to death during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth enrolled in the ranks of the beatified by a solemn decree of the Church.

To such a question we may, perhaps, say an answer will be found in the last instance brought forward, in the history of the process of the English martyrs. Some fifty years ago the English bishops brought the matter under the notice of the Holy See. They asked whether it would not be well to enter then on the preliminary inquiry which, as we shall see, is of absolute necessity before the case can be introduced to the Congregation of Rites. They were told that such action would be just then premature, and that at a future time, perhaps not far off, the case could better be commenced. In 1860, Cardinal Wiseman and the other English bishops petitioned Pius IX. to institute for the whole of England a festival in honour of all the holy martyrs, that would include even those who, though not yet declared to be such, have in latter times for the defence of the Catholic religion, and especially for asserting the authority of the Holy See, fallen by the hands of wicked men, and resisted unto blood. But the petition was not granted, the practice of the Congregation of Rites being that a festival can be instituted in “regard only to those servants of God to whom ecclesiastical honour (*cultus*) had been already sanctioned by the Holy See.” “In these last years”—I quote from the Decree of Beatification of Cardinal

Fisher and the others—"a new petition was presented to our Holy Father, the Sovereign Pontiff Leo XIII., by his Eminence Cardinal Henry Edward Manning, the present Archbishop of Westminster, and the other bishops of England, together with the ordinary process which had been there completed, and other authentic documents in which were contained proofs of the martyrdom of those who suffered from the year 1535 to 1683, as also certain concessions of the Roman Pontiffs in regard to some of them;" and as a result the beatification of a considerable number of the English martyrs took place some four years ago.

Here we see an example of what we may call an *oeconomicum silentium* on the part of the Head of the Church. The wisdom of such a course it is not for us to discuss, much less to censure. We know what a cry of "papal aggression" the appointment of bishops in England caused; what a commotion, ill-grounded indeed, yet real, the pronouncement of the Pope's infallibility raised in our time. By the enemies of the Catholic religion and of the Holy See the beatification of the English martyrs might have been used as a favourable opportunity of raising a clamour of sectarians and unbelievers, to the serious harm of the Church as a whole, and of many of its members. All this holds good in a degree which some will think greater, others perhaps less, in reference to our Irish martyrs. The cases are in very many respects similar; and in dealing with them and their surroundings, prudence and foresight were equally needed in both. If there is anyone whom this explanation of the causes of delay does not satisfy, to him we would address the brief argument—better late than never. More peaceful times have come round: whether owing to increased reverence for the Catholic Church or to less concern about religion of any kind, let others determine; and much may be done safely to-day which the past generation would fear to attempt openly. Yet our martyrs have not been forgotten. Fully two centuries ago a beginning was made in the causes of several of them; and documents duly authenticated, describing their heroic death, were drawn up in Ireland, some by bishops, others by the superiors of religious Orders, to be transmitted in due course to Rome.

Some of them would seem to have been lost on the way. Others are in the archives of these Orders or of our colleges in Spain and elsewhere. Some years ago one of our bishops, who had very special facilities for completing such a task, began the preparation of a history of our martyrs, with the ulterior object of bringing their cause before the tribunal of the Holy See. Other duties, however, called him away; not, however, before he left us a most valuable history of three of them, and republished a work hitherto exceedingly rare, containing the best history of the martyrs up to the time when its author wrote—the early years of the seventeenth century. A few years ago the work was resumed. The documents bearing on the cases have been collected together, the list of martyrs duly made out, and the preliminary court of inquiry will be held here immediately.

To come to our subject. What is a martyr? A martyr is primarily a witness; and martyrdom is the testimony offered to divine faith by suffering death voluntarily for the faith, or for some other virtue having relation to God. As baptism in the case of adults, so, too, martyrdom requires the consent of the will. “Martyr quisque esse potest sine voluntate, sed non contra voluntatem,” says St. Bernard; meaning, of course, that an actual intention is not necessary. The Congregation of Rites would not allow the title of martyr to be given to one who had unwittingly drunk a poisoned draught that was given to him “in odium fidei.” So, too, he who suffers death while resisting violence by violence, or who takes up arms in self-defence and is slain, or who falls fighting against the infidel, is not reckoned a martyr. Of her martyrs the Church sings:—

Caeduntur gladiis more bidentium,  
Non murmur resonat, non querimonia,  
Sed corde impavido mens bene conscia  
Conservat patientiam.

Nor are they reckoned martyrs who die of disease—of the plague, for instance—contracted while serving those affected with it, voluntarily and without any other motive than the love of God. F. Theophilus Raynaud, indeed, styled them so; but the S. Congregation of the Index bade him expunge

the word, or at least show by an addition to the context that he attached to it a meaning different from that in which it is commonly used.

But death need not follow immediately from the sufferings inflicted; it is enough if death takes place before the cause of suffering is removed. The reason is, that though this suffering does not of itself bring about death, yet when it could be put an end to by denying Christ, he who continues to endure it in order that he may not deny Christ, completes and consummates his testimony by his death. "The constancy of those," says St. Cyprian, "who, though not put to the torture, yet die a glorious death in prison, is not the less, nor should the honour due to them be diminished, nor should they not be reckoned among the martyrs." And having set forth at some length the proofs of his statement, he concludes: "When to the will and to confession in prison, the end of life is added, the glory of martyrdom is complete." The number of those who, in consequence of such sufferings as I have described ending in or continued to death, are styled martyrs in the Roman Martyrology, is very great. Instances will be found on January 3rd, of St. Florence, Bishop of Vienne; February 11th, of St. Lucius and his companions; March 6th, of SS. Claudian and Bassa, who died in prison, after being confined there for three years; of St. Felix, who, having confessed Christ, and his torture being deferred, as St. Augustine testifies when addressing the people on the day of his feast, was the following day found dead in prison; and of St. Leocadia, whom Dacian detained for a long time in a cruel prison, where hearing of the frightful torments of St. Eulalia and many other martyrs, she knelt down to pray, and surrendered her pure soul to Christ. Many other instances of the same kind might be found in the Martyrology.

Lastly, it is the cause for which he dies that properly constitutes a martyr, according to the saying of St. Augustine—"Martyrem non poena facit sed causa." It is not suffering death that makes the martyr, but the cause for which he dies. The end or purpose of his death must be to bear testimony to the faith of Christ, either in itself formally, or implicitly as

contained in some good work approved by faith. "All good works," St. Thomas tells us, "in so far as they are directed to God, are protestations of faith by which it is made known to us, and in so far they can be the cause of martyrdom." Instances from the Roman Martyrology will occur readily to any one. St. John Nepomucene was a martyr, because he suffered death rather than violate the sacramental seal; St. Alban, who gave himself up rather than surrender the priest whom he had sheltered; St. Thomas Beckett, because he defended the immunity of the Church; and so others too, almost without number.

Many other questions of interest in reference to martyrdom will occur to the reader's mind. The discussion of them would be out of place here. We will confine ourselves to practical matters, such as the mode of procedure necessary for canonization, say, in a case like that of Dermot O'Hurley, Archbishop of Cashel, who was martyred in Dublin, June 19th, 1584. In ancient times the canonization of such a one would be a very short proceeding indeed. No long judicial process would be needed; no tedious delays, extending possibly over centuries. The popular voice would proclaim his virtues, the manner of his death. The bishop would intervene by right of his office and decide the case. But for many centuries past the Holy See has reserved to itself exclusively the right of canonizing saints, and by so doing has given a far higher degree of assurance to the faithful that such persons are the fitting objects of their devotion. The initial stages of the process are now what they were then. The first action comes from the body of the faithful among whom the martyr has suffered death. Some of them were witnesses of his heroism. They will naturally make such an important event as this the subject of their conversation, and so the facts will pass on from one to the other, until they become a matter of public notoriety. Among some of them, at least, there will spring up a reverence for the martyr; this will give rise to a desire to pray to one who has shown his love to God in a way "greater than which no one can show it." Each one will wish that this "cultus" should not be confined to himself and to his private devo-

tions, but he will desire that others should take part in it, and that some public acts of reverence should be shown at certain times, at least—say, on the anniversary of his death—to one who professed his faith so openly before men. Now, here, in virtue of his office, the bishop intervenes; and, as a rule, the bishop of the place where the martyr has suffered death. This will explain what seems at first sight somewhat paradoxical; why it is, for instance, that Oliver Plunkett and Richard Creagh, both Archbishops of Armagh; John Travers, the Augustinian; Charles Mahony, the Franciscan—all of them Irish, as their names tell plainly—should be placed on the list of English martyrs. The reasonableness of this will appear still clearer as we go on. But the bishop has other duties to perform in his diocese, and he cannot devote his undivided attention to this work alone. He will seek help; and the first he will call in is the Postulator or Procurator of the cause. His appointment is by a formal document, duly signed and sealed by the bishop. It runs somewhat after this fashion:—

“The bishop of . . . to our well-beloved in Christ, N.N.  
—The report of the holiness of the servant of God, A.B., growing day by day, we have thought it right to assent to the wishes of the faithful of Christ, who earnestly desire the beatification and canonization of the aforesaid servant of God, for the greater glory of God and the good of the Church; wherefore we choose and name you, of whose science, and virtue, and skill too, in the management of business, we are assured, to the office of Postulator in the processes belonging to the said cause; giving you all the legal faculties necessary and suitable to enable you to carry on said process, even by another ecclesiastic lawfully substituted by you before judges to be appointed in any ecclesiastical court in the city or elsewhere, to tender any lawful and true oath, call witnesses, and do anything else necessary and suitable for this business until the cause itself, by God's aid, is brought to an issue. Given, &c.”

D. MURPHY, S.J.

*(To be continued.)*

## TEMPERANCE AND THE SCHOOLS.

"Do not let us forget that at this moment drunkenness is spreading amongst children, and that boys and girls are to be seen drunk in our streets, and that there are drinking places habitually frequented by boys and girls of fourteen and fifteen years of age."—CARDINAL MANNING.

"It was a matter that the school boards should take up and press forward; and, as in American schools, temperance instruction should form part of the curriculum. A temperance text-book should be one of the books of every school."—MR. W. T. STAED.

"Continue to teach them to read fluently, to write accurately, and to sum well; . . . but, over and above all this, I would ask you to make them acquainted with the first and the most useful scientific discovery of the present day, viz., that alcohol is a poison."—MR. WILLIAMS, B.A., Inspector of Board Schools, London.

MANY thoughtful people have come to look to the young for the only possible solution of our drink problem. Prevention is so much more easy than cure, that we must not wonder if many turn in despair from the present to the brighter hopes of the future, and from the old, with their long-formed habits, to the young, whose habits have yet to be formed. "Let us pledge our youth," they would say, "till their twenty-first year; let the old incorrigibles pass away, and a new generation of men and women take their place, and then, surely, we may look for a temperance millennium." It is beautifully simple; but perhaps it may be found too simple to work. To pay all possible attention to the young, is well; yet so that we do something, and even all we can, for the old. Charity, that should begin at home, should also suggest to us not to forget our own time. To brand the present age as hopeless, to wait till it "shuffles off this mortal coil," and then epitaph it as "incorrigible," is, surely, not pleasant for any age, and least of all for one that used to vaunt itself as the enlightened "heir of all the ages." For the children themselves, too, we shall be doing best, and then only shall we have any full measure of success among them, when we shall enforce our excellent lessons by our more excellent example, when we shall preach tempe-

rance as a virtue for adults as well as for children, and when we shall be seen to be making honest and constant efforts to, at least, abate an evil which we may not hope to utterly destroy. Already, some one had drawn attention to this point in the pages of the *L. E. RECORD* : but it is important enough to be repeated. When our pledged youth shall have come to their twenty-first year "without the taste, and therefore without the danger," of intoxicating drink, we shall be warranted in the hope that many of them will, as if instinctively, drop into the society for adults, *if such a society exist*. But if there be no such society ; if there be no strong public opinion on the subject of drunkenness ; if we have not been striving to make it a *shame* as well as a sin ; but if, on the contrary, we have come to look on temperance as a virtue for the young only, we must not be surprised to learn that many of them are sighing for their liberty ; that they will enjoy it when it comes, if indeed they have not been enjoying it long before. For who are these young people ? They are members of the same families as their adult friends, engaged at the same works and pastimes, attending the same markets and social gatherings : and, unless we believe that there is some magic in the line we draw at twenty-one, it will surely be a moral miracle to find all temperance at its one side, and all intemperance at its other. Temperance reform is not a work which we may hand down quietly to posterity ; we must essay it ourselves : for this among other reasons, that our example will be in some way the measure of our success among the children.

If, however, we rely chiefly on the children, it is obvious that we should do what we can for them. The observation, that youth is the time to make lasting impressions, is almost too trite to make ; writers, sacred and profane, have constantly been repeating it ; and to the pagans themselves it was familiar, for one of them has written : — "*Natura tenacissimi sumus eorum quae rudibus annis percipimus ; ut sapor, quo nova imbuas, durat ; nec lanarum colores quibus simplex ille candor mutatus est, elui possunt.*"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Quintilian, *De Orat. Institutione*, i. 2.

We have been teaching temperance, indeed, in the Church, but not in the school; we have done hitherto little, if anything, to rest our teaching on what I may venture to call a scientific basis; and because I believe with many that this is much to be regretted, I write to plead for temperance teaching in our schools. What is it that we might do? and then, what has been done elsewhere? And, first, what has temperance to do with the school? Very much must be the answer, because our drunkenness has much to do with it. If drunkenness has filled many a jail, and peopled hospitals and workhouses beyond number, it has emptied many schools as well. If the young of our great cities are ignorant, it is generally because the old are intemperate; and even when attendance at school is secured, the evil example of home is often more than a match for the best efforts of the most zealous teacher. Have we ever thought of the relative expenditure for our drink and for our education? We are hastening fast to the end of this nineteenth century; we have long convinced ourselves that the world has never seen anything like our marvellous civilization; and yet in London, the centre and heart of the whole system, what do we find? That in a certain quarter of it, while education costs the family something less than 4s. a-year, drink costs it in the same period more than £11! "When Mr. Forster was passing his Education Bill," said Mr. Mundella, in 1883, "Mr. Baitley made an investigation, which showed that less than one penny a-week per family in a square mile in the east of London was spent on education, and more than 4s. 3d. in drink. That means, in the whole of this area of wretchedness of a mile square, that education cost less than 4s. a-year for the family, and the drink more than £11." He continues to speak of a block of houses, with ten hundred and eighty-two families, in which there are three schools, two churches, three chapels, and forty-one public-houses,<sup>1</sup> which means, as he points out, that for every twenty-five of those families, "wretched, poverty-stricken, and miserable in all their surroundings," there is one public-house.<sup>1</sup> If

<sup>1</sup> Gustafson, *Foundation of Death*, page 399.

men have been driven by facts and figures like those to the conclusion that we can have no solution of our social question, with its "submerged tenth" and countless "prisoners of poverty," without solving our drink question at the same time, it must be very evident also that our education question, at least in large centres, will be solved on no other conditions.

That the curriculum of our primary schools, male and female, is capable of change for the better, few will question. Passing by the question of religious instruction for the present, and without indicating more precisely the direction of the desired changes, most of us would like to see the teaching imparted better adapted to the position and future prospects of the pupils. It would be a gain, we should think, if the girls were taught a little about the simple rules and principles of hygiene, and about cookery, which some one ill-natured person has called "one of the lost or undiscovered arts;" the nature of the atmosphere, nutrition, and food; and, finally, something about thrift and household economy. Most of the same subjects would be as useful for boys; and when we shall have come so far, it will not be hard to find a place for a little temperance teaching; for it will be found to have much to do both with the questions of health and of domestic economy. It is not, therefore, suggested—and this must be noted, for those temperance people are always presumed to be aiming at something extreme and unreal—to crush out any legitimate or useful subject of instruction, much less to admit anything to which objection could be taken. Only fair play for the children, from whom we expect so much. If they are to walk on a higher level than their elders; if they are to see evil example without being seduced by it; and to listen to our silly fallacies about the omnipotence and necessity of alcohol, without being affected by them, let us, at least, give them knowledge wherewith to protect themselves. Let them know a few solid facts, principles that are unquestioned, and conclusions about which the highest authorities in medical science are unanimous. For such teaching I claim a place for two reasons: firstly, because of its intrinsic importance; and

secondly, because it is necessary to counteract and replace the thousand foolish ideas that prevail on the subject. Whether we will it or not, our youth are being educated about it ; at home, if not in the school ; in folly, if not in truth ; not in the useful and certain conclusions of science, but in “the immortal fallacies that live on when sense and force have alike deserted them.” Scientists may meet in congress to disprove the immortal fallacies, and to proclaim the greatest “scientific discoveries of the age ;” but unless we teach our children, they will grow up like their parents, strong in the conviction that alcohol is the joy and stay of life and health, and the panacea for every ill that flesh is heir to.

As to the subject-matter to be taught, there will be no difficulty. Dr. Richardson's little book<sup>1</sup> has much useful information : but, except for teachers and higher classes, it would be found, perhaps, too abstruse and technical. It was written for the National Temperance League, and its object, in the words of the author, is “to promote temperance in communities by the simple process of diffusing knowledge on the nature and effects of alcoholic drinks.” It has chapters on such subjects as—Natural Drinks ; Artificial Drinks ; Food ; Alcohol as a Food ; Alcohol and Cold ; Alcohol as a Poison. I do not know that there is anything objectionable in it ; but there has just been published in Ireland a simple manual,<sup>2</sup> by a writer whose name is a sufficient guarantee that its teachings are not sound only, but instinct with Catholic faith and piety as well. The Catholic Truth Society have recently added to their list a temperance series ; among them will be found the excellent little penny booklet, that tells us what the bishops say, what the judges say, and what the doctors say. Under this last heading, we might find much matter of the kind that would go to make up our class-book. It quotes from Sir William Gull, for instance :—“I think there is a great deal of injury being done by the use of alcohol in what is supposed by the consumer to be a most moderate quantity, to people not in the least intemperate, to people supposed

<sup>1</sup> *The Temperance Lesson Book*, Dr. W. B. Richardson, F.R.S. Price 1s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *Catechism on Temperance and Total Abstinence*, by Rev. J. A. Cullen, S.J.

to be fairly well. It leads to degeneration of the tissues. It spoils the health, and it spoils the intellect. Short of drunkenness—that is, in those effects of it which stop short of drunkenness—I should say, from my experience, that alcohol is the most destructive agent we are aware of in this country.” From Sir Andrew Clarke:—“ I am speaking solemnly and carefully in the presence of truth, and I tell you that I am considerably within the mark, when I say to you that, going the round of my hospital wards to-day, *seven out of every ten need their ill health to alcohol.*” And from Sir H. Thompson:—“ I have no hesitation in saying that a very large proportion of some of the most painful and dangerous diseases which come under my notice arise from the common and daily use of fermented alcoholic drinks *taken in the quantity which is ordinarily considered moderate.*” To such testimonies should be added something on the subject of temperance in connection with crime, with thrift, and with waste for the individual, the family, and the state; of the one hundred and twenty thousand people who die annually in these countries through excess; and of our national drink bill, that goes bounding up year by year, just in proportion as our national poverty and social misery become more and more degraded. Such facts will be found in profusion, in books like that of Mr. Smiles on *Thrift*—a work which will be found to be a *repertoire* of most useful information, and of a kind which our people, with or without Home Rule, will long stand much in need of. Something on the same subjects will be also found in the little booklet already referred to, such as: “ It is idle to say that there is any real need for persons who are in good health to indulge in strong drink. At the best, it is an indulgence that is unnecessary; at the worst, it is a vice that occasions infinite *misery, sin, crime, madness, and disease*;”<sup>1</sup> or, again, the statements of judges, among them Mr. O’Shaughnessy, sometime Chairman of Quarter Sessions for the County Clare:—“ I have presided at more criminal trials than most living men, and I can truly say that I have had scarcely a case before

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Mandaley.

me, with reference to the class of offences known as against the person, that was not the consequence of drunkenness."

Space will not allow us to see what has been done in other countries to convey temperance instruction to their youth. We shall return to the subject, and see that, far from advocating anything novel, we are about only to take up a work which has long since been done in most civilized countries, and with the happiest results. It remains only to indicate the little we have done ourselves; it is, I regret, an easy task. Dr. Richardson's book is on the list of the National Board; which only means, I presume, that it can be had by pupils at a reduced rate. For female schools, there are two books on domestic economy, either of which is supposed to be taught to the more advanced children, and one of which has a chapter on temperance. This is all we have been able to do so far; but there is reason to hope for better things in the immediate future. In its recent annual report that excellent institution—the Irish Association for the Prevention of Intemperance—was able to tell us that it had memorialled the Board of National Education, and had got a promise that suitable temperance lessons would be provided in their schools. Another piece of information contained in the same report will interest the reader, though it be not quite within our subject. The Society has been interviewing the managing boards of our chief railways to ask that drinking-fountains should be erected at the chief stations, and have received satisfactory assurances from many of them. Travellers in Germany will have observed in prominent places at the principal stations the words "*Zum Brunnen*," or "*Trinkwasser*," and that, instead of our exorbitant charges for temperance refreshment, about three pence will purchase bread and soup. While thanking the Irish Association for its excellent and very practical work of the past year, we may express a hope that they will not abandon their efforts until they shall have brought both good works to a successful issue.

JAMES HALPIN.

## LEO XIII. AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.—III.

“DE VIRGINITATE CONSILIUM” ET “MARITALE VINCLUM.”

THE worst of all the evil elements of the social problem of our times is undoubtedly the immorality of the people. It may, therefore, seem strange to some readers of the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, that Leo XIII. has said little or nothing concerning this grave source of social anxiety and social danger. He has confined himself to proclaiming strongly the sacred rights and liberties of the family, and to declaring the indisputable truth, “that all are at full liberty either to follow the counsel of Jesus Christ as to virginity, or to enter into the bonds of marriage.”<sup>1</sup> But this question of surprise will answer itself immediately we realize what these two positions of our Holy Father really signify, and how much his meaning is explained by his previous writings on the social question—writings which may be truly called his life-work, for which, one may venture to say, he has been raised up by Providence as an indispensable authoritative teacher of society at this most critical period of social and industrial revolution. He has now treated of the whole range of human relations—the whole series of rights, duties, and responsibilities of man as an individual, as a citizen, as a member of human society—so that his works might with profit be made at once into an excellent text-book for the student of Christian sociology.

If, by aid of the light which our Holy Father's writings have shed both on the past and the present of the social problem, we seek for the origin of the most terrible curse of immorality which nowadays fills and overflows the large overcrowded centres of modern industry, we shall find that we are led on through a natural course of development from the doctrines, practices, and general influence of the Reformation down to the degrading teachings of Rationalism, Naturalism, and Agnosticism. Here as everywhere the infidel and pagan standard of morality, and the infidel and

<sup>1</sup> *Rerum Novarum*.

pagan ideals which are set up before the eyes of the people to-day, together with the direful consequences which have followed in the family and in the State on the adoption of such standards and ideals, are directly traceable to the action and influence of the Reformation. And here as everywhere we shall find that the Church has ever been the guardian of the domestic happiness of the people, the preserver of public morality, the defender and protector of the sacred rights and duties of the family. Consequently here as everywhere the conclusion must be, "that, if society is to be cured now, in no other way can it be cured but by a return to the Christian life and Christian institutions;" "*revocatio ad origines*"<sup>1</sup> must be the watchword and motto for every future worker and movement of moral and social reform; and we must recognise without delay that the present disease of society has been contracted in consequence of falling away from its "primal constitution" in the purity and unity of Catholicism; return to which is, therefore, the only road to recovery.

It was in view of the brutalizing teachings of the apostles and evangelists of the Reformation that the Church had to raise her voice in anathemas against those who denied "that the state of virginity or of celibacy is to be preferred to the married state, and that it is a better and more blessed lot to remain in virginity or in celibacy than to be joined in matrimony."<sup>2</sup> This declaration was supported as well by the words of Christ Himself and of the Scriptures as by the testimony of the fathers.<sup>3</sup> "It is chastity," says St. Bernard,<sup>4</sup> summing up, as it were, the teachings of all the fathers, "which during the sojourn of our mortality gives us some faint image of the state of immortal glory; it alone—amid solemnizing and giving in marriage—assumes the character of that blessed land wherein they are neither married nor given in marriage, affording us

<sup>1</sup> *Rerum Novarum*.

<sup>2</sup> *Concil. Trid.*

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xix. 10-12; *ibid.*, 29; 1 Cor. viii., *per totum*; cf. August: *de bono conjug.*: c. 8, and *lib. de sancta virgin.*, *et de bono viduit.*; Ambros., *lib. de virginibus per totum*; Hieron., l. i. c. Jovin., &c.

<sup>4</sup> Epist. xxiv.

in some sort an experience of the conversation of heaven," St. Thomas<sup>1</sup> gives us the intrinsic reason of this doctrine when he lays it down that the proper end of all perfection is the perfection of charity—the union of the soul with God by love.

"But since, while still wayfarers in a strange land, we cannot have the love which those possess who are already arrived in their true country, at the full possession and enjoyment of the object of their love; and since we cannot love God as much as He is lovable—for this belongs to Himself alone—we should rival our brethren who are at the end of their journey, in order that we may be drawn to the likeness of their perfection as much as in us lies; and herein consists the perfection of the life to which the counsel of chastity invites us. For it is clear that the heart of man tends more ardently towards unity when it is withdrawn from plurality. . . . He, then, that desires solely the things of eternity, to gain God must pass out of himself, and away from father, mother, wife and children, and kinsfolk. Now, among all the ties of earthly affections conjugal love has most power to retard the soul; and, therefore, they that strive for the *highest* perfection must principally avoid the bond of wedlock, because by it they are most entangled in secular cares. This is the reason the Apostle assigns for his counsel concerning the observance of continence. \* But he that is with a wife is solicitous for the things of the world, how he may please his wife; and *he is hindered*. And the unmarried woman and the virgin thinketh on the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit. But she that is married thinketh on the things of the world," &c. (1 Cor. vii. 33, 34.)

The Reformers, however, closed their eyes to the text of St. Paul when not quite suitable to their tastes; the fathers were forgotten, where their words were a little inconvenient; and St. Thomas, along with the Council of Trent, might be contemptuously ignored. It will be best not to dwell on the individual conduct of the new apostles; suffice it to say, that all the pomp of learning was employed by them to combat the Church's sacred dogma concerning virginity; and wherever the Reformation managed to rear its head, the celibacy of the clergy and the profession of monks and of nuns were laughed to scorn and banished.

\* This hatred of religious institutions [says Balmeiz] has been inherited from Protestantism by philosophy. This is the

<sup>1</sup> *De Perfect. Vitæ Spirit.* cc. 6 and 8.

reason why all revolutions, excited and guided by Protestants or philosophers, have signalized themselves by their intolerance towards the institutions themselves, and by their cruelty towards those who belonged to them. What the law could not do was completed by the dagger and the torch of the incendiary. What escaped the catastrophe was left to the slow punishment of misery and fame. On this point, as well as on many others, it is manifest that the infidel philosophy is the daughter of the Reformation. It is useless to seek for a more convincing proof of this than the parallel of the histories of both in all that relates to the destruction of the religious institutions, the same flattery of kings, *the same exaggeration of the civil power*, the same declamation against the pretended evil inflicted on society, the same calumnies; we have only to change the names and the dates."

If certain high-minded and clear-sighted Anglicans have found out at length that communities of men and women, living lives of perfect continence and detached from earthly ties, are a necessity to society, in order to lead people in the world by example—more powerful than precept—to the practice and observance of the purity of their state, and in order to secure the aid of corporations entirely devoted to the good of their brethren, and absorbed in the great work of elevating and comforting the condition of "the proletariat"—this tardy discovery serves only to bring out more distinctly the breach of continuity between the past and the present, and to show that these prelates and generous souls of the Established Church are running counter to the traditions of their founders. Their fathers stoned the prophets, and they are building the prophets' monuments! With the ruthless completeness of hatred and cruelty the monasteries and convents were cleared from off the face of England, and the ideal and standard of highest perfection was destroyed!

Leo XIII., in the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, reasserts the teaching and policy of all his predecessors regarding "the confraternities, societies, and religious orders *which have arisen by the Church's authority* and the piety of the Christian people." It will be well for us to read attentively our Holy Father's vindication of religious communities, inasmuch as the persecution which was initiated against them by the Reformation, though somewhat relaxed in England is raging fiercely in Italy and elsewhere, and following, as

usual, along the old lines familiar to all in Germany and among ourselves. At the very moment of the issue of this grand protest against the injustice inflicted on the confraternities and societies of the Church, the Chamber and the Liberal press of Italy were declaring that "it is not sufficient to deprive religious congregations of their goods and of all judicial rights; they must be pulverized into their constituent elements, and denied the right of existence and of association."<sup>1</sup> And yet, the annals of every nation down to our own times testify to what they have done for the human race.

"It is indisputable, on grounds of reason alone, that such associations, being perfectly blameless in their objects, have the sanction of the law of nature. On their religious side they rightly claim to be responsible to the Church alone. The administrators of the State, therefore, have no rights over them, nor can they claim any share in their management; on the contrary, it is the State's duty to respect and cherish them, and, if necessary, to defend them from attack. It is notorious that a very different course has been followed, more especially in our own times. In many places the State has laid violent hands on these communities, and committed manifold injustice against them; it has placed them under the civil law, taken away their rights as corporate bodies, and robbed them of their property. In such property the Church had her rights; each member of the body had his or her rights, and there were also the rights of those who had founded or endowed them for a definite purpose, and of those for whose benefit and assistance they existed. Wherefore we cannot refrain from complaining of such spoliation as unjust and fraught with evil results; and with the more reason, because at the very time when the law proclaims that association is free to all, We see that Catholic societies, however peaceable and useful, are hindered in every way, whilst the utmost freedom is given to men whose objects are at once hurtful to religion and dangerous to the State."<sup>2</sup>

Again, the Church had struggled for centuries, notably

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Tribuna* of June 12, 1891.

<sup>2</sup> *Reverum Novarum*. Not long ago a party of Englishmen visited a monastery of Cistercians at Fara, among the Sabine hills, from which the monks had been expelled by the revolution. In the church lay, enclosed in a wretched tin coffin, a body that had been there four days awaiting burial. Thus are the needs of society, once fulfilled by the confraternities and religious associations, supplied by the men who drive out those whom they are pleased to call "the stinging drones of humanity."

throughout the eleventh or "Hildebrandine" age, against the degradation of the clergy by marriage. Not only, she had urged, would the marriage of her priests have induced a quasi-paralysis for good among the ministers of Christ, but it would have created a *caste*; it would have made the clergy into a body apart from the people, and possessed of powers and privileges which they might and would have transmitted from father to son.

"The word caste [says M. Guizôt]<sup>1</sup> cannot be applied to the Christian Church. The celibacy of the clergy has prevented them from becoming a caste . . . . Wherever religious government has fallen into the hands of a caste, it has become a privilege; no one has been permitted to enter it but the members of families belonging to the caste.<sup>2</sup> Nothing of this has ever occurred in the Christian Church; on the contrary, she has ever maintained the equal admissibility of all men, whatever their origin, to all her functions, to all her dignities . . . . The Church was recruited from all ranks, from the inferior as well as from the superior—more commonly even from the inferior. She everywhere broke down the system of castes; she alone maintained the principle of equality of competition; she alone called all legitimate superiors to the possession of power. This is the first grand result naturally produced by the fact that she was a corporation, not a caste."

The Reformers and the pretended defenders of the rights of humanity thought and acted contrary to the Church on this point, and we see and know what is the result. As far as England is concerned, "a close alliance was formed between the lay aristocracy and the Protestant clergy; and, what is very remarkable, we have seen, and still see, in that country something resembling castes, with the modifications which must necessarily ensue from the great development of

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire Général de la Civilisation en Europe.*

<sup>2</sup> Compare in this respect the policy of the Catholic Church with that of the Church of England. In old times the slave was freed to be ordained priest and serve the altar; and the son of the ploughman and the carpenter to-day associate with the wealthiest and noblest of the land in the ranks of the Catholic priesthood. Not so is it, or has it ever been, with the clergy of the Established Church. They are taken from the higher class, says Dr. Dollinger; are educated with them; they think and feel with them; and from the lower class they are removed by a gap, which their pastoral zeal is seldom able to get over. (*Church of the Churches.*)

a certain kind of civilization and liberty at which Great Britain has arrived."<sup>1</sup>

The position of women in any society or state is generally taken as an index to its prevalent morality. How has woman fared at the hands of Protestantism, and of its lineal descendant, Rationalism or "Liberalism"? How at the hands of the Catholic Church?

"Woman, considered before the Redemption as an instrument of pleasure and of slavery," says the Cardinal Archbishop of Capua,<sup>2</sup> "was restored to the native dignity of her noble origin by Christ. In His religion He willed that, as woman was ennobled and became the object of love for the purity of the conjugal affections and for the high office of maternity, so the virgin consecrated to God, raising herself ever more and more above the earth by a life entirely heavenly, should make herself the object of reverence to the sons of the Church." This highest ideal of purity in woman—the virgin espoused to Christ—was, and is, the model constantly displayed to the daughters of the Church. To Protestants, however, "religious vows, especially that of chastity, have been the subject of the most cruel invectives. But it must be observed that what is said now, and what has been repeated for three centuries, is only the echo of the first voice which was raised in Germany. And what was that voice? It was the voice of a monk without modesty, who penetrated into the sanctuary, and carried away a victim."<sup>3</sup> The persistent efforts to tear down this standard of the perfection of womanhood, the constant attacks of Protestantism and Liberalism on this noblest ideal of Christianity, have rendered it necessary for our Holy Father to proclaim over and over again the dignity of woman and her right and freedom to follow the Lamb, even here below, by the observance of His counsel of virginity.<sup>4</sup> Thus stands the case

<sup>1</sup> Balme z.

<sup>2</sup> Caprecelatto, *Storia di S. Caterina da Siena*, page 7.

<sup>3</sup> Balme z, *Protestantism and Catholicity*.

<sup>4</sup> On the whole of this subject, see the words of Blessed T. More in Father Bridgett's *Biography* (pages 216, 217): "O illustrious Germany, can you doubt, when they sow such spiritual, what kind of corporal things they will reap!" &c.

between the Church and Protestantism with regard to the unmarried woman. What, we may now ask, has been the doctrine and conduct of both as to marriage?

To the Catholic, marriage was, is, and ever will be of divine institution—raised by Jesus Christ Himself to the dignity of a sacrament—a great mystery representing the nuptials of the Word with our human nature, and of Christ with His Church. It is, therefore, the most sacred and closest of all ties, to be once and indissolubly contracted, and having for its end the mutual sanctification of the spouses and the education of children of the Church—of “the fellow-citizens of the saints and the domestics of God.” This simple and sublime doctrine of the Church—that marriage is a spiritual, not a material union; that its origin and end are supernatural, not merely natural; that it is, consequently, not a matter for State control, a civil contract, and nothing more; that it is the binding of “one with one exclusively and for ever”—was flung aside and scorned by the Reformers, and by their offspring, the Naturalism and Rationalism of a later time.

The Church was not content with professing a lofty doctrine; she undertook to apply it. Her teaching would have been powerless, had she not, with invincible firmness, carried on the task of enforcing it; “for the passions—above all those of men—rebel against such a doctrine; and they would undoubtedly have trodden it under foot, if they had not met with an insurmountable barrier, which did not leave them the most distant hope of triumph. Can Protestantism, which applauded the scandal of Henry VIII., and accommodated itself so basely to the desires of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, boast of having contributed to strengthen that barrier?” . . . “Neither promises nor threats could move Rome; no means could obtain from her anything contrary to the instructions of her Divine Master. Protestantism, at the first shock—or rather at the very first shadow of the slightest embarrassment—yields, humbles itself, consents to polygamy, betrays its own conscience, opens a wide door to the passions, and gives up to them the sanctity of marriage—the first pledge for the

good of the family, the foundation-stone of true civilisation."<sup>1</sup>

Marriage has been withdrawn, as far as it can be withdrawn, from the authority and control of the Church of Christ, and put into the hands of lay courts and lay commissions. In short, everything has been done to destroy its sacred character in the eyes of the people, and to give full play to the basest passions and lowest tendencies of humanity. "The dignity of women," exclaims Leo XIII., "is lowered and degraded, and they are in danger of becoming the passing instruments of the passions of men and then being thrown aside and abandoned."<sup>2</sup> "Nothing," he declares, "has such power for the ruin of families and kingdoms as the corruption of morals; and we may, therefore, easily see what an enemy divorce is to the prosperity of families and states. It throws wide open the doors, as experience testifies, to every form of evil practice both in public and private." The ancient Romans, he goes on to relate, at the first examples of divorce were amazed and horrified; but, once introduced, the contagion spread apace, and "nuptial fidelity was violated with such licence that we may well credit the relation of certain writers that women began to reckon the years not by the change of Consuls, but by that of their husbands. Similarly, among Protestant peoples, laws were first passed to make divorce legal for certain special reasons; nowadays these reasons have grown to such an extent in Germany, America, and elsewhere, that men of wisdom and experience cannot refrain from lamenting loudly over the boundless depravity of manners and the audacious temerity of legislation." We are fast returning to the immoral days of Paganism!

"It must be acknowledged, then," concludes our Holy Father, "that the Church, by its vigorous defence of the sanctity and permanence of marriage, has been a benefactor to the general happiness of all peoples; and that deep gratitude is owing to her for raising her voice against the

<sup>1</sup> Balmez, *Protestantism and Catholicity*.

<sup>2</sup> Encyclic. *Arcanum* here, and *per totum*.

civil laws, which have been so much at fault in this respect for the last hundred years, and for smiting with her anathemas the deadly heresy of Protestants on separation and divorce." The Sovereign Pontiffs, who in defence of the sanctity of marriage withstood the threats of kings--Nicholas I., of Lothaire; Urban II. and Paschal II., of Philip I.; Celestine III. and Innocent III., of Philip II.; Clement VII. and Paul III., of Henry VIII.; and, finally, Pius VII., of the victorious and triumphant Napoleon—all these should be considered the champions not alone of the integrity of religion, but of the civilization of nations. "It is to the Catholic Church," says Fr. Bridgett, in speaking of Milton—who while defending bigamy dared to accuse the Church of degrading woman—"it is to the Catholic Church that women owe their freedom and their dignity. It is she who glorified virginity, but declared marriage an inviolable sacrament."

Too true it is that Protestantism, as shown by its effects, belongs to that order of social forces which the Abbé Ratisbonne<sup>1</sup> aptly calls "*centrifugal*"—those, viz., which whirl the elements of humanity outwards towards the things of the flesh and of the world, and tend to produce that carnal licence and carnal development, which "was not from the beginning," but became almost universal, because of the hardness of men's hearts, among the ancient Jews and Pagans. The forces of Catholicism, on the other hand, are "*centripetal*." They quietly draw the constituent atoms of society to the centre of peace and unity, which is Christ our Lord in each human heart and in His Body mystical. "There is neither bond or free; *there is neither male nor female*. For you are *all one* in Christ Jesus. (Gal. iii. 28.) Such is the teaching, such the ideal of the Catholic Church; and such is the leading doctrine of the great Encyclical *Arcanum*.

A. HINSLEY, B.A.

<sup>1</sup> *Life of St. Bernard.*

## Theological Questions.

---

### WHEN DOES DELAY IN SAYING MASSES OF OBLIGATION BECOME GRIEVOUSLY CULPABLE ?

“REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly solve, in the next number of the I. E. RECORD, the following practical difficulties which have often presented themselves to me, in common with other priests of my acquaintance :—

“1. In the discharge of masses of obligation, *i. e.*, *pro stipendio*, theologians unanimously teach that a ‘notable delay’ would constitute a mortal sin; and they state that in case of masses for the dead, ‘*Maxime recenter defunctis*,’ one month would make the delay ‘notable,’ and in case of masses for the living, two, or as Lehmkühl says, ‘*notabiliter ultra duos menses*,’ which I take to mean about two months and a-half.

“Now, I wish to know, may this opinion of Lehmkühl be acted upon, *i. e.*, may a priest safely and conscientiously allow himself any time up to two months and a-half for the discharge of his obligation of saying masses for the living? Or, can he even fix the limit at three months, without grave sin, as seems to be taught in Gury, vol. ii., page 213. No. 369, Qaer. 3: ‘*Ita communiter cum S. Liguori*,’ &c.? I do not, however, think that St. Liguori would allow three months; still I may state in passing, that I have heard, on what I thought good authority, the professors in a certain renowned seat of learning have given as their opinion, and acted on it, that any time up to three months can be taken without scruple. I see no foundation for this opinion, and have never seen any theological treatise which holds it. But I consider Lehmkühl’s opinion securely tenable, *i. e.*, any time that *does not notably exceed two months*, which I take to mean any time up to *about two months and a-half*. I would be very anxious for your opinion on the whole matter.

“2. With regard to masses for persons *lately* deceased, *recenter defunctis*, theologians commonly teach that such must be said *within one month*. Now, what precisely does *recenter* here mean? How far does it extend? or what time does it include? Is it *recenter*, if a person is dead, say, three months, or six months, or a year, or what is exactly the limit?

“I consider it very important to have this limit defined, as

I assume that the law is not so strict in the case of those deceased persons, not included in the category of *recenter defuncti*; namely, those not *recently* but *long since* dead. For masses for such, it seems to me, a longer time may be taken; probably six weeks or two months. I would not, however, presume definitely to fix any limit, or to extend the time to six weeks or two months, particularly as I have no data to go on; but I may remark that Lehmkuhl would seem to favour such latitude, as he apparently places all masses, both for the living and the dead, on the same level, *vide* vol. ii., page 147, No. 199, as far as:—"Quando vero circa *quaslibet* missas dilatio," &c. I am not, however, at all sure that I take up his meaning correctly.

"3. Can a longer time be taken for a mass for the 'souls in Purgatory' in general, than for a particular soul or souls? And can a priest in such a case allow himself the same limit as in masses for the living, *i. e.*, two months; or, according to Lehmkuhl, *notabiliter ultra duos menses*. My reason for inclining to the belief in such latitude is, that there does not seem to be more urgency or need for freeing or relieving the suffering souls than for freeing, let us say, a poor soul from the guilt of sin.

"4. If a priest gets a stipend to say mass, and is told that he may say it at his convenience, whenever he is at liberty, can he in any case, defer the saying of it *for six months*? I do not contemplate the case where the donor says *expressly* you may take six months, or one year, or two years, or any time you like—a concession which is very rarely thought of or given, I should think, as it is too foolishly prodigal, and being so, should not be accepted. But I contemplate the usual case of leaving it to a priest's own convenience, fearing he may be burdened with other masses, and not wishing to incommode him.

"I mention the limit of six months, from seeing in Lehmkuhl (vol. ii., page 147, No. 200) that a privilege was once granted by the Holy See to missionaries who were not able to discharge the masses quickly enough, of deferring the obligation, *non tamen ultra sex menses*.

"By solving the above practical difficulties, you will confer a favour on me, and, I have no doubt, greatly interest many clerical readers of the I. E. RECORD.

"A SUBSCRIBER."

1. All theologians agree that a priest who has received *honoraria* for masses, is bound not merely to offer the

required number of masses for the intention of the donors, but also to say them within a reasonable time ; and a notable delay in discharging this duty is, according to the unanimous and certain teaching of theologians, a grave violation of justice and a grievous sin. But what is to be considered a notable delay in saying masses of obligation, and by what standard is it to be determined? The delay that is permissible, and the delay that is culpable depend immediately on the intention of the donors of the *honoraria*. The time a priest may take to discharge his *honoraria* does not depend formally on the nature of the object for which the mass is offered ; for example, when *honoraria* are given for masses for the souls in Purgatory, in estimating the time allowable for the celebration of these masses, we attend immediately and formally to the donor's intention, and not to the pains of the suffering souls for whom the masses are offered ; because if we attended merely to the latter, we should never be free to delay those masses for two months, or even a month, as a month's delay in applying relief is not a *modicum tempus* in the estimation of the poor souls in Purgatory. We may say the same of masses offered for the conversion of persons living in habitual sin. Hence the time that is allowed for the celebration of masses of obligation depends immediately and formally on the donor's intention ; but again, in determining the donor's intention, in that vast number of cases where no time is specially prescribed, account must be always taken of the object for which the mass is offered.

2. Again, before we proceed to state when a delay in saying masses of obligation becomes grievously culpable, we have to make the following divisions of the subject. The *honoraria* may be given to a community or to an individual ; the masses may be for the living or the dead ; when offered for the living, they may be intended to alleviate some urgent present unusual necessity, or the ordinary necessities of life, spiritual and temporal ; and, finally, the time allowed for the celebration of the masses may be expressly determined, or left, as usually happens, undetermined.

3. The question remains substantially the same whether the *honoraria* are given to a community of priests or to a

priest who is not a member of a religious community. Theologians introduce the distinction only to show that a priest who is not living in a community may sometimes presume on the donor's consent to allow a long time for the celebration of his masses, when a community priest could not claim the same time. "Communis pene omnium sententia, cui adhaerendum est, conset eum graviter peccare qui tot Missis se onerat, ut eas intra duos circiter menses celebrare non possit, nisi ut dictum est qui dat stipendium expresse aut virtualiter consentiat in dilationem, ut consentire censetur cum uni Sacerdoti extra communitatem constituto ducentarum Missarum stipendia largiatur. Dixi *extra communitatem*: quia cum communitas multis constet Sacerdotibus praesumunt qui pro multis Missis eleemosynam praebent, futurum ut ea inter omnes distribuuntur quo citius celebrari possint." (Cont. Tournely, tom. 1, cap. ii., *De Oratione sub finem*). But, manifestly a religious community could claim the same latitude if they received a large number of *honoraria* from a person who knew that they had several obligations of masses to discharge in addition to his own. The principles, therefore, are substantially the same whether the *honoraria* are given to an individual or to a community.

4. What time, therefore, may priests take for the celebration of their masses? We have distinguished between masses for the dead and masses for the living; and we will commence with masses for the living.

#### § 1. MASSES FOR THE LIVING.

5. What may be considered the legitimate time, and what would constitute a notable delay in the celebration of masses for the living? Theologians are agreed that when masses are asked for some present urgent necessity—for obtaining some favour or escaping danger, for recovery from sickness, or relief from other temporal calamities, &c., they must be said in time to obtain the end intended. "Certum est," writes St. Liguori, "peccare sacerdotem si petitam missam pro aliqua urgenti gratia impetranda, puta pro felici partu, evadendo periculo, lite vincenda, &c., ille omittat celebrare intra tempus celebrationi aptum. . . . Unde, transacto

eo tempore, merito aiunt Ronc. et Cont. Tourn. quod sacerdos tenetur stipendium restituere, etiamsi postea celebraverit." (Lib. vi., Tr. iii., cap. iii., n. 317.) And Lehmkuhl: "Qui pro sublevanda necessitate *urgente* stipendium accepit, sine dubio peccare potest etiam unius, alteriusve diei dilatione; imo ad restitutionem tenetur si brevi illa dilatione finis a stipendii datore intentus attingi amplius non potest." (P. ii., page 147.)

6. With regard to all other masses for the living, there is no difficulty, if a special time is determined by the donor of the *honoraria* for the celebration of the masses. But if no special time is fixed, theologians are not agreed as to what would constitute a *gravis dilatio*. This difference of opinion arises from the fact that the time allowed for the celebration of masses of obligation depends on the intention of the donors of the *honoraria*; and when this intention is not manifested externally, but must be interpreted *judicio prudentum* according to the circumstances of the case, it is not very extraordinary that there are different opinions about what would be a *dilatio gravis*. We will briefly notice the different opinions of theologians, before replying formally to our correspondent's questions.

7. We gather from theological treatises that there are, or rather were, in all six opinions of theologians about what constitutes a *dilatio gravis*.

(a) Theologians mention—but only to reject—the opinion of Peyrinus, who taught that a delay even of three years is quite moderate. "Laxe dixit Peyrinus medicam esse *dilationem trium annorum*." (St. Lig., *ibid.*)

(b) According to Gury, many theologians require a complete year for a *dilatio gravis*. In reply to the question "Quandonam autem dilatio gravis censeatur?" he writes: "Controvertitur, certo gravis videtur dilatio quae tres menses excedit. Ita communiter cum S. Lig. contra plures qui annum integrum requirunt." (P. ii., n. 371.) We must add, however, that we have read many theologians on this subject, but we have failed to find any theologian who would require a year for a *notable delay*. We have not seen in any author the names of the theologians who require a full

year; very few even—Gury and Konings—make any reference to this opinion; so that we may conclude that the theologians whom we shall have to quote presently, either were unaware of it, or regarded it as unsafe and improbable.

(c) The third opinion regards *six months* as a moderate time. Of this St. Liguori writes: “Laxe dixit Peyrinus modicam esse dilationem trium annorum, vel *sex mensium* ut censuit Arriaga.” (*Ibid.*) It must be also borne in mind, that the argument of Arriaga supposes the donor of the *honorarium* to be aware that the mass may not be said for six months, and to consent to this arrangement; because he argues from the case of artisans who sometimes receive payment for work which cannot be completed for six months afterwards. “Quaeres vero quid intelligatur per modicum tempus, intra quod vult Congregatio posse sacerdotem accipientem eleemosynam satisfacere. Aliqui apud Lugo quibus ipse favet dicunt esse 50, vel 60, dierum. Ego autem non essem adeo scrupulosus, sed putarem medium annum posse concedi; quia etiam artificibus laborantibus in aliqua re magni momenti solet anticipato dari pars pecuniae pro opere, quod non nisi ad quinque vel sex menses perfici potest.” (*De Euch.*, d. 56, sect. ii.) This opinion has found no favour with theologians; it is rejected as lax and improbable; and amongst theological writers it is taught by Arriaga alone.

(d) The fourth opinion is advocated by Tamburini, who regards it as probable that *three months* may be regarded a *modicum tempus*. He writes: “Quale est hujusmodi modicum tempus? Alii docent arbitrio prudentis juxta Missarum numerum, necessitatem illas petentium, similesque circumstantias id esse decernendum. Alii licere docent novis Missarum oneribus se gravare si intra mensem possit quis se veteribus deonerare . . . Alii idem tempus extendunt ad duos menses . . . Alii denique ad tres. Sic Ledesma, et Villalobus citati et approbati a de Lugo. . . Omnes probabiliter, nisi tamen ex circumstantiis colligatur a postulantibus Missas majorem celeritatem requiri.” (*Meth. celeb. Miss.*, cap. i., *de stipendio Missarum*, sect. ix., n. 4.) We must, however, remark that this author is regarded as a

little lax, and too prone to regard opinions as probable, because they are taught by others. If the present instance he erroneously quotes Ledesma, Villalobos, and De Lugo, as allowing three months. We have not seen the two former; but they are quoted and approved by De Lugo, not as allowing three months, but as teaching that two months, fifty or sixty days, may be regarded as the *modicum tempus*.

(e) The fifth opinion, which is also the common opinion of the theologians, teaches that *two months* may be regarded as the *modicum tempus*. For example, De Lugo writes: "Quid vero intelligatur per *modicum tempus*, Ledesma . . . Villalobos . . . dicunt, intelligi illud quo quinquaginta vel sexaginta Missae possint dici; quae mensura satis rationabilis apparet." (*Disp.* xxi., n. 34.) Some theologians teach this doctrine as certain: while all others, or nearly all, regard it, at least, as probable. For example, St. Liguori, who does not himself regard two months as a *modicum tempus*, writes: "Nihilominus probabile videtur id quod dicit Lugo, nempe nequaquam peccare sacerdotem qui dicit Missam promissam infra duos menses, et hanc sententiam approbat etiam Cont. Tourn. asseritque esse communem, sic dicens; *Potest quis missarum stipendia ad menses duos acceptare, prout cum communi diximus antea de oratione.*" (St. Lig., lib. vi., *Tr.* iii., cap. iii., n. 317.)

(f) Finally, to come to the last opinion, Concina, after quoting the teaching of De Lugo, writes: "Tempus istud nimis longum mihi videtur etiam re absolute spectata . . . Quodnam ergo erit tempus modicum? Respondeo definiri absolute non posse, sed spectandas esse circumstantias, et praecipue voluntatem offerentium." (Tom. viii., p. 469, n. 24.) St. Liguori, too, while admitting the probability of De Lugo's opinion, is manifestly in favour of the opinion of Concina, and is somewhat uncertain whether *one month* should not be regarded as the *modicum tempus*. (*Ibid.*)

8. We can now reply to our correspondent's questions, in so far as they regard masses for the living. We are, of course, speaking of those ordinary masses for which there is no special urgency. And we say that, considering the common teaching of theologians, and the general practice

of priests, two months may be regarded as a *modicum tempus*. People when giving *honoraria* of this kind are supposed to allow two months for the celebration of the masses; and a priest who celebrates his masses within two months is free from all sin, mortal or venial. At the expiration of the two months, the *dilatatio* properly so-called commences. If it is short, the sin will be only venial; but if it be long, the sin will be mortal. And what shall we consider a long delay? We consider another month to be certainly a long delay. And hence Gury writes: "*Certo gravis videtur dilatio quae tres menses excedit.*" (P. ii., n. 371.) In this connection our correspondent refers to St. Liguori, and very correctly observes that the saint would not allow three months for the celebration of these masses. St. Liguori allows two months; and approves the teaching of De Lugo, that a priest who celebrates his masses of obligation within two months is free from all sin. Manifestly, therefore, two months are allowed by the donors of *honoraria*; and priests are bound by their contract to have the masses said within two months. Then if the masses are delayed for another month, the tardy celebrant would be guilty of mortal sin. But we cannot regard anything under three months as certainly a *dilatatio gravis*.

#### § II.—MASSES FOR THE DEAD.

9. We fear we cannot be so definite about masses for the dead. So many different cases arise; and so much depends on the devotion and sympathy for the dead of the person who gives the *honorarium*, that it is impossible to gather from the theologians rules that would determine each particular case. Again, in treating of masses for the living, theologians determine what time we are allowed for their celebration; whereas in dealing with masses for the dead, they do not tell us what time we are allowed, but they tell us that a certain delay would be a grievous sin. For example, St. Liguori writes: "*In Missis autem pro defunctis dilationem unius mensis merito gravem reputant Salm. Pal. Escob.*" (*Ibid.*) And Gury: "*In Missis autem celebrandis pro recenter defunctis, dilatio unius mensis*

gravis reputanda est juxta S. Ligor., Salmant, Lugo, &c." (Ed. Ball, p. ii., n. 369.)

We can, therefore, only lay down a few general rules: and we would direct attention to four classes of cases:—

(a) When a testator leaves a large number of masses to some priest, he may keep them all himself, though he may not be able to finish them for a considerable time, unless it was the wish of the testator that they should be distributed among a number of priests.

(b) We think that *per se* more time may be taken for a mass for the souls in Purgatory generally than for a particular soul or souls. We think that for such *honoraria per se* the same time may be taken as for masses for the living. The priest who receives the *honorarium* will easily observe whether there is any special motive for giving the *honorarium* which would require him to say the mass without much delay.

(c) In the case of masses for certain specified deceased persons, who are not *recenter defuncti*, we think that a month is allowed for the celebration of the masses. That is, the persons who give the *honoraria* are supposed to allow the priest a month to celebrate the masses; and if he celebrate them within a month, he discharges his duty without sin, mortal or venial. Then, as in the case of masses for the living, we would consider half this time, or a fortnight, superadded, to be a *gravis dilatio*. Undoubtedly this principle admits of many exceptions. We can conceive cases where the same time would be allowed for masses for a specified individual, as for the deceased souls generally. For a distinction must be made between the case where one or a few masses are required for a deceased soul, and cases where *honoraria* are given for the celebration of a large number of masses for the same person: in the latter case it would not be necessary to say all the masses within a month. On the other hand, cases may occur where a month would not be allowed for the celebration of mass for an individual deceased soul; for example, the mass may be required for a specially beloved parent, or brother, or sister, &c., or may be asked for an anniversary, and the donor may be unwilling

that the mass should be delayed for a month. These cases, however, must be finally committed to the prudent and conscientious judgment of the priest who receives the *honoraria*.

(d) Finally, we come to masses *pro recenter defunctis*. We have seen no definition of *recenter defuncti*; but we would interpret the expression in a much more restricted sense than our correspondent. *Honoraria pro recenter defunctis* seem to us to be offerings for masses, given, morally speaking, at the death of the person for whom the mass is asked. Naturally, persons display more than usual sympathy for the souls of those friends who have just left them; and, consequently, they are anxious to impart speedy relief to their souls. Hence it is that some theologians—not all—draw a distinction between *mortui* and *recenter mortui*. We consider, therefore, that masses *pro recenter mortuis* are those first masses which persons give for their departed friends, when in their sorrow for the loss of the deceased, they hasten to bring relief to their souls. Taking the word in this restricted sense, we would not allow a month for the celebration of a mass *pro recenter defunctis*. If many masses were asked, we would not require them all to be said immediately; but if only one mass were required, we would require it to be said within a few days or a week.

Undoubtedly, many persons who give *honoraria* for friends who are dead three months, or six months, are unwilling that the masses should be delayed for a month; but this only proves, as we remarked in treating of the last class of cases, that all these rules admit of exceptions, and that a good deal must be eventually left to the discretion of the priest who is burdened with the obligation of saying the masses.

10. In conclusion, we say, in reply to our correspondent's fourth question, that there may certainly be cases where a priest could defer the saying of mass for six months in circumstances such as he has described. But here again the duty of interpreting correctly the donor's intention will devolve of necessity on the priest to whom the stipend is given.

D. COGHLAN,

## Liturgical Questions.

### THE ECCLESIASTICAL CALENDAR.—III.

#### THE DOMINICAL LETTER.

The *Dominical* or *Sunday Letter* is an expedient for finding the Sundays in any given year. Suppose we place the first seven letters of the alphabet opposite the first seven days of the year in this manner:—

January	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G

and suppose we repeat the same letters, in the same order, opposite the next seven days of the year, thus:—

January	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G

and that we continue this process throughout the entire year, it is clear that from the 1st January to the 31st December, each one of these letters will always stand opposite the same day of the week. Thus, for example, if January 1st be Monday, then every day during the whole year opposite which A stands will also be Monday; every day opposite which B stands will be Tuesday; and so on. That one of these seven letters which in a particular year stands opposite the Sundays is called the *Dominical* or *Sunday Letter* for that year. If the number of days in the year were a multiple of seven; or, in other words, if the year contained an exact number of weeks, the Dominical Letter would be the same for every year; for in that case the year would always begin on the same day of the week. But the common year has one day over an exact number of weeks, and a leap-year has two. Hence the year following each common year begins, not on the same day of the week as the preceding year, but on the following day; and the year following a leap-year begins on the second day after that on which the leap-year itself began. For instance, if a common year begins on Monday, the next year will begin on Tuesday; and

if a leap-year begins on Monday, the next year will begin on Wednesday. Owing to this incommensurability between the days of the year and of the week, the Dominical Letter is necessarily changed each year. And the change takes place in a retrograde direction; that is, the order of the Dominical Letters in successive years is not A, B, C, &c., but A, G, F, &c. A little reflection makes this evident. Suppose, for instance, that the 1st January in a particular year falls on Sunday, then A is the Dominical Letter for that year; and, taking this as a common year, it follows that the 1st January of the following year will fall on Monday. But the letter A always stands opposite the 1st January. Consequently, in the year of which there is now question, G will stand opposite Sunday; and will, therefore, be the Dominical Letter for that year. Thus:—

January	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.	Sat.	Sund.
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G

Similarly, it may be shown that F will be the Dominical Letter for the next year, E for the next, and so on, supposing that all are common years. If, then, all years were common years, the same Dominical Letters would recur after every seven years; for in that period each of the seven letters would have served its turn as Dominical Letter for one year. But the leap-years come in to prevent this. Each leap-year has two Dominical Letters. The first serves to indicate the Sundays during January and February; the second from the 1st of March till the end of the year. The reason of this is, that no letter is assigned in the Calendar to the 29th February. Hence the day following the 29th February, that is, the 1st March, will not have the same letter as the corresponding days of the week had during the two months preceding. To make this matter still clearer, let us take next year, 1892, which is a leap-year. The Dominical Letter for the present year is D, for the 1st January fell on Thursday. The letter A, therefore, stood opposite Thursday, B opposite Friday, C opposite Saturday, and D opposite Sunday. Now D being the Dominical Letter for this year, and this being a common

year, we know from what we have already learned that C should be the Dominical Letter for the year 1892; or, in other words, that the 1st January, 1892, should fall on Friday. And the 1st January falling on Friday, the 1st February will fall on Monday; and, consequently, the 28th February on Sunday. And as C will be the Dominical Letter, that letter will be found opposite the 28th February, 1892. The 29th February has no letter assigned to it. Therefore, the letter D which from the beginning of the year was assigned to Monday will pass on to Tuesday, and will stand opposite the Tuesdays till the end of the year. The Dominical Letter is no longer C. For D being assigned to the Tuesdays, C, which immediately precedes it, must stand opposite the Mondays; and, consequently, B must be the Dominical Letter for the year 1892, from the 1st March till the 31st December. The Dominical Letters, then, for 1892 are C, B.

The additional day given to every fourth year prevents, as has just been said, the same Dominical Letters from recurring after every period of seven years. Let us now see after what interval they do recur. Every common year contains one day in addition to a certain number of complete weeks, and every leap-year contains two days in addition to the same number of complete weeks; in other words, the number of days in a common year is one more, and in a leap-year two more, than an exact multiple of seven. Consequently, in four years the number of days exceeds by five an exact multiple of seven. Now, were every year a common year, the number of days in seven years would be an exact multiple of seven; and, consequently, the Dominical Letters would, as has been shown, recur in the same order every seven years. But since every fourth year is a leap-year, and since in every period of four years there are five days in excess of an exact multiple of seven, it follows that in seven periods of four years, or in twenty-eight years, the number of days is an exact multiple of seven. Therefore after twenty-eight years the Dominical Letters recur in the same order, and the days of the months are restored to the same days of the week. Hence, to find the Dominical Letter for any

year, it should be only necessary to construct a table of the Dominical Letters for one cycle of twenty-eight years, and to find the place in such a cycle occupied by the year for which the Dominical Letter is required. And this, in reality, is all that is necessary to enable us to find the Dominical Letter for any year up to the reform of the Calendar by Pope Gregory, in 1582. The construction of the required table is simple enough, when we know the year in which the solar cycle is supposed to have commenced, and its Dominical Letter. Though, probably, not invented previous to the celebration of the first Council of Nice, the commencement of the cycle is supposed to go back to the ninth year before the Christian era; the first of which was, therefore, the tenth of the current solar cycle. The Dominical Letter for the year 9 B.C., the first of the cycle, we find in the following manner. The birth of our Lord is supposed to have taken place on the Jewish Sabbath, our Saturday; and as the Christian era began on the 1st January following, it follows that the 1st January, 1 A.D., was Saturday; and that, therefore, the 2nd January, 1 A.D., was Sunday. Consequently, the Dominical Letter for the year 1 A.D. was B. Moreover, the year immediately preceding the Christian era must have been a leap-year, according to the Julian Calendar, for 4 A.D. was a leap-year, and the fourth year preceding it was 1 B.C. From what has gone before, we can tell that the Dominical Letters for 1 B.C. were D, C; the Dominical Letter for 2 B.C. was E; for 3 B.C. it was F; and thus we find the Dominical Letters for 9 B.C. to have been G, F. To make this process still clearer, we shall put down these ten years beginning with 1 A.D., with their proper Dominical Letters opposite them.

A.D. 1	B.C. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
B	C, D	E	F	G	A, B	C	D	E	F, G

Beginning now with the letters G, F, the Dominical Letters for the year 9 B.C., and reading towards the left, we have the Dominical Letters for the first ten years of the cycle of twenty-eight years. The Dominical Letters for the remaining years of the cycle can be easily written out by anyone, but for convenience sake we subjoin the following table, which

serves for the Julian calendar; that is, for any year up to 1582 A.D. :—

1 G, F.	8 E.	15 C.	22 A.
2 E.	9 D, C.	16 B.	23 G.
3 D.	10 B.	17 A, G.	24 F.
4 C.	11 A.	18 F.	25 E, D.
5 B, A.	12 G.	19 E.	26 C.
6 G.	13 F, E.	20 D.	27 B.
7 F.	14 D.	21 C, B	28 A.

To find by means of this table the Dominical Letter for any year as long as the Julian calendar continued to be observed, we have only to find the order or place in the current cycle of twenty-eight years which the given year occupied. And we find this by adding to the number representing the place in the Christian era held by the year in question, nine for the nine years before the Christian era through which the cycle is supposed to have run. To find, for example, the Dominical Letter for the year 432 A.D., the year in which St. Patrick's mission in Ireland is supposed to have begun :—

$$\frac{432 + 9}{28} = 15 \frac{21}{28}$$

The year 432 A.D. was, therefore, the twenty-first of the cycle, and opposite the number 21 in the above table we find the letters C, B. These, then, were the Dominical Letters for that year, C holding the place for the first two months of the year, and B for the remainder. Knowing the Dominical Letter for any year, we can find the day of the week on which the year began by counting backward from the Dominical Letter to A, which is always supposed to stand opposite the 1st January. Thus, in the above year the Dominical Letter being C, the 1st January must have been Friday. And knowing the day of the week on which the 1st January falls, we can find by an easy calculation the day of the week on which any day of any month during that year falls. The following mnemonic verses will help to shorten this calculation :—

"Astra Dabit Dominus Gratiisque B. abit Egenus.  
Gratia Christicolæ Feret Auræ Dona Fideli."

In these verses the first letter of each word is that which stands opposite the first day of each of the twelve months of the year. Opposite the 1st January is A; opposite the 1st February, D: the same letter is opposite 1st March; G is opposite 1st April; and so on. Hence, in the year 432 just mentioned, since the Dominical Letter was C, the 1st January, which has A opposite it, falls on Friday; the 1st February, which has D, falls on Monday; the 1st March, on the same day; the 1st April, which has G, on Thursday; and so on for the remaining months.

The date usually given for the death of St. Patrick is March 17, 465 A.D. Let us find on what day of the week he died. First we find the Dominical Letter.

$$\frac{465 + 9}{28} = 16 \frac{26}{28}.$$

In the table we find opposite 26 the letter C, which, therefore, was the Dominical Letter for the year 465 A.D. And as D stands opposite the 1st March, we know that March in that year began on Monday; from which it follows that the 17th March fell on Wednesday. By the same simple method we can find the day of the week on which any event happened when we know the day of the month and the year.

But the Dominical Letters which correspond with the several years of the solar cycle, or cycle of twenty-eight years, in the Julian calendar, do not correspond with them in the Gregorian. For, in suppressing the ten nominal days from October, 1582, Pope Gregory took care that the numeration of the hebdomadal letters should proceed as if these days had actually been counted. The suppression of the days took place, as will be remembered, by calling the 5th October the 15th. In re-arranging the letters to suit the new calendar, it would, of course, have been possible to assign to the 15th October the letter which should have belonged to the 5th. But to prevent still greater confusion, this was not done. Instead, to the 15th was assigned the same letter it should have had, had the ten nominal days been real days. And thus the Dominical Letter for the

remainder of that year was changed ten places backward in the table given above. To make the nature and effects of this change more intelligible, we will point out what was the Dominical Letter for the year 1582 up to and including the 4th October: how the omission of the nominal days affected the hebdomadal letters; and what was the Dominical Letter from the 5th October inclusive until the end of that year. We find the Dominical Letter for the first part of the year by the use of the same tables, and the same method already employed.

$$\frac{1582 + 9}{28} = 56 \frac{23}{28}.$$

Opposite the number 23 we find G in the table of Dominical Letters; consequently, G was the Dominical Letter for the year 1582 previous to the change of style. From our mnemonic verses we learn that the letter A corresponds with the 1st October; and since G is the Sunday letter, A, which immediately follows G, must be the Monday letter. In other words, the month of October, 1582, began on Monday. Therefore the 5th, the day on which the change of style took place, was Friday; and in the old style, or Julian calendar, E was the Friday letter for that year. But this particular Friday, from being the 5th October old style, became the 15th October new style, and had assigned to it in the new calendar the letter actually assigned to the 15th in the old style. This letter was A: for the 15th has always the same letter as the 1st, and the letter for the 1st October is A, as we have just seen. Hence Friday, the 15th October, 1582, had placed opposite it in the new calendar the letter A; and Sunday, the 17th, had, consequently, opposite it the letter C. The Dominical Letter, then, was changed from G, which held during the old style part of 1582, to C, which held for the remainder.

If we now turn to the table of Dominical Letters we can arrive at this same result in a simpler way. We have already found that 1582 was the twenty-third year of one of the solar cycles, as the cycle of twenty-eight years is called. If, then, for the ten suppressed days we omit ten letters from the table, counting backwards, and beginning with the

Letter which stands opposite the number 23, we shall come to C, opposite the number 15, as the Dominical letter for 1582, after the suppression of the ten days. And C having been the Dominical Letter at the end of 1582, B, of course, was the Dominical Letter for 1583, and A, G for 1584, it being a leap-year. But the years 1582, 1583, 1584, &c., continue to be the 23rd, 24th, 25th, &c., years of the solar cycle, though their Dominical Letters were those of the 15th, 16th, and 17th respectively, according to the old table. Hence the necessity for constructing a new table.

The method of constructing this new table or cycle of Dominical Letters may be readily inferred from what has just been said. The year 1582 being the twenty-third year of a cycle, 1587 was the twenty-eighth or last; and 1588, therefore, the first of the following cycle. And the Dominical Letter for the latter part of 1582 being C, it follows that D was the Dominical Letter for the year 1587; and, consequently, that C, B were the Dominical Letters for the year 1588. Having thus found the letter for the first year of the cycle, those for the other twenty-seven years are found by continuing the letters in a retrograde manner, and giving two to every fourth year.

1 C, B.	8 A.	15 F.	22 D.
2 A.	9 G, F.	16 E.	23 C.
3 G.	10 E.	17 D, C.	24 B.
4 F.	11 D.	18 B.	25 A, G.
5 E, D.	12 C.	19 A.	26 F.
6 C.	13 B, A.	20 G.	27 E.
7 B.	14 G.	21 F, E.	28 D.

This table, which gives the Dominical Letter for every year from October 4, 1582, till the year 1700, can also be formed from the table already given for the Julian calendar. From the old table we find the first letters of the new by counting back ten letters from the last year of the cycle. Beginning then with A, which we find opposite the number 23 in the old table, ten letters backward bring us to D, opposite the number 20. And D, consequently, was the Dominical Letter for the last year of the cycle in which the

year 1582 was included. The Dominical Letters for the first year of the following cycle must, therefore, have been those which immediately follow this letter D in the table. These letters are C, B. Now, taking as our starting-point these letters C, B, which we find opposite 21 in the old table, and counting *forward* twenty-eight places, letting G, F, which stand opposite the first year of the cycle, follow A, which stands opposite the last, we have the new table exactly as above.

This table holds, as has been said, from the beginning of the new style until the year 1700. But this year being in the new calendar not a leap-year, but only a common year, the order of the letters of the cycle is again upset, and another table must be constructed. And since 1800 was also a common year, this table serves only for one century. Similarly the table which serves for the nineteenth century will not serve for the twentieth, for the year 1900 is a common year like the two preceding century years. But this same table will hold from A.D. 1900 till A.D. 2100, because the year 2000 will be a leap-year. The following table gives the Dominical Letters for the present century :—

1 E, D.	8 C.	15 A.	22 F.
2 C.	9 B, A.	16 G.	23 E.
3 B.	10 G.	17 F, E.	24 D.
4 A.	11 F.	18 D.	25 C, B.
5 G, F.	12 E.	19 C.	26 A.
6 E.	13 D, C.	20 B.	27 G.
7 D.	14 B.	21 A, G.	28 F.

Like the preceding, this table may also be constructed from that given for the Julian calendar. But in this case we must count back twelve instead of ten letters from the last letter of the old cycle in order to arrive at the last letter of the new. This will give us F opposite the number 18 in the old table. And as the first year of every cycle is a leap-year, the letters E, D, which stand opposite the two following numbers, must be the Dominical Letters for the first year of the cycle in the present century. The reason for reckoning twelve letters backward in this case is obvious.

To the ten nominal days omitted at the reformation of the calendar are now to be added the two nominal days omitted by making the years 1700 and 1800 common instead of leap-years. And since another nominal day will be omitted from the year 1900, it follows that, in constructing the cycle of Dominical Letters for the twentieth century from that which held during the continuance of the Julian calendar, it will be necessary to reckon back thirteen letters from that which stands opposite the last year in the old cycle, in order to arrive at that which stands opposite the last year in the new. This will give us G as the dominical letter for the last year; and consequently, F, E as the Dominical Letters for the first year of the new cycle, which, as we have seen, will endure from 1900 to 2100. The following is the complete cycle for this period:--

1 F, E.	8 D.	15 B.	22 G.
2 D.	9 C, B.	16 A.	23 F.
3 C.	10 A.	17 G, F.	24 E.
4 B.	11 G.	18 E.	25 D, C.
5 A, G.	12 F.	19 D.	26 B.
6 F.	13 E, D.	20 C.	27 A.
7 E.	14 C.	21 B, A.	28 G.

To find by means of the solar cycle the Dominical Letter for a particular year, one must always have before him the proper table for the century within which the year falls. For it is too long to be easily remembered. And though by remembering merely the letters for the first year of the cycle we can at once construct a table, it takes some time to write out the natural numbers up to twenty-eight, together with the letters which correspond respectively with them. Hence it will be convenient to have an easier method involving less strain on the memory than would the effort to remember what letter or letters stand opposite each number in a complete cycle, and less labour than would the evolving of a complete cycle from its first two letters. Such a method we shall try to explain in our next paper.

*(To be continued.)*

## THE USE OF INCENSE IN THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD.

"In the case of funerals, is incense to be used at the grave when the cemetery is already blessed? There seems to be a diversity of opinion among Rubricists on this point; because, as I suppose, the rubric of the Roman ritual does not tell us exactly what should be done. It runs thus:—'*Dicta oratione (i. e., oratione pro benedictione sepulchri), sacerdos aqua benedicta aspergat, deinde incenset corpus defuncti et tumulum.*' Now, if the grave is already blessed, this prayer should not be said. Is the '*aspersion corporis et sepulchri*' and the '*incensatio*' also to be omitted? The Archbishop of Dublin, in his work *Officium Defunctorum*, page 16, footnote, says, quoting Cavalieri, De Capet, and De Herdt:—'*Si sepulchrum non sit benedicendum, omittuntur etiam aspersion et incensatio corporis; quia hæc non præscribuntur nisi ratione benedictionis sepulchri.*' Ronsée, quoted by Wapellhorst in his *Compendium Sacra Liturgiae*, page 172, says:—'*Solum orationem omittendam;*' and Martinucci says:—'*Ad sepulchrum vero semper requiritur thuribulum cum incenso.*' If the incense is not to be used '*ad sepulchrum*,' what does he mean by '*semper requiritur*'?

"In the burial of infants, the rubric prescribes the use of both incense and holy water, and this without reference as to whether the grave be already blessed; if, then, incense and holy water be required '*ad sepulchrum in exsequiis parvulorum*,' why are we forbidden to use them in '*exsequiis adultorum*'? '*Ubi lex non distinguit nec nos distinguere debemus.*' Most of the cemeteries in this country are far away from the church and are blessed."

Our correspondent has shown that rubricists are divided in opinion about the use of incense at the grave, when the blessing of the grave is to be omitted. Some hold that it should be always used, whether the grave is blessed or not; others, that it merely forms a part of the blessing of the grave, and should therefore be omitted when the blessing is omitted. On each side are to be found writers of the highest name; and the supporters of one opinion appear to be as numerous as the supporters of the other. It may, then, be legitimately inferred that neither opinion has any higher intrinsic probability than the other; consequently, we are free to adopt either; but at the same time we should be careful to act in this matter according to the custom of the

place. In all that concerns the burial of the dead, the Church is extremely tolerant of local customs, even when they are at variance with the directions given in the Ritual—provided, of course, that these customs are becoming. But when a custom is not at variance with any express directions of the Ritual, the Church would have it preserved as religiously as if it were a law. Our correspondent points out that the Ritual directs the incense to be used in the burial of infants. This is the chief argument on which those who hold that incense should always be used rely. Most of those who support the other opinion say, consistently enough, that, even in the case of infants, the incense is to be used only when the grave has not been previously blessed. Cavalieri, however, admits that, though the grave is not to be incensed if it has been previously blessed, the corpse of the child is to be incensed in accordance with the direction of the Ritual: “ne ei (infanti) penitus denegetur thuris honor, cujus utique est indubie magis dignis, utpote coelorum incola.”

D. O'LOAN.

---

## Correspondence.

---

### EPITAPHS OF IRISHMEN IN THE “COLLEGE DES LOMBARDS.”

“REV. DEAR SIR,—About ten years ago, during a stay of three days in Paris, I visited the old Irish College—the College des Lombards—in the Rue des Carmes, which, after having passed through many uses, was then a Catholic Workman's Institute. A little edifice, standing apart from the other buildings and facing the entrance, was erected for a chapel by Father Maginn and Father Malachy Kelly, when, in 1647, they obtained from Louis XIV. a donation of the ruined College of the Lombards; and at the time of my visit it was again used as a chapel. Under the matting in front of the little altar, which occupies the site of the original altar, I found a number of freestone slabs bearing inscriptions which I copied. A few days ago I fell in with that

copy of which I send you a transcript. It may be that even now the funeral inscriptions have become illegible ; and, surely, worthy of a better fate are the memorials of the Irish priests who in their day served so well the Church and their country. The inscription on Dr. Donlevey's funeral slab serves to correct some dates in the biographical notice of him which is given in Dr. O'Regan's edition of the Irish Catechism, in which it is stated that he was born 'about the year 1694 ;' and that, 'he continued to hold in 1761, and, we believe, till his death,' the prefectship of the Irish College ; whereas it now appears that he was born in 1680, and died in 1746. Another of the inscriptions commemorates 'Patrick Corr, Doctor of Sorbonne and Provisor of St. College ;' so he signed his name in Paris, on the 28th of July, 1742, to the approbation of Dr. Donlevey's Catechism. From his name, I would suppose Dr. Corr was a native of County Tyrone. The inscriptions are :—

' Hic Jacet  
Carolus Magennis  
hujusce collegii  
Provisor. Obiit  
Calendas Aprilii  
Anno 1710.

---

' Hic Jacet  
M. Andreas Donlevey  
Communitatis Clericorum  
Hibernorum per 24  
Annos Praefectus et  
ejusdem Restaurator  
Seu potius Fundator  
Obiit die 7. X. Anno  
1746 Aetatis 66.  
Requiescat in Pace.

---

' Hic Jacet  
M. Patricius Corr Sacrae  
Fac. Paris. Doctor,  
hujusce Collegii per  
Oct. Annos Provisor  
Mansuetudinis et  
Pietate insignis. Obiit  
die 23. Feb. Anno 1746  
Aetatis 40.  
Requiescat in Pace.

‘ Hic Jacet  
M. Joannes O'Neill  
Communitatis Clericorum  
et tres menses Præfectus  
ac Andreæ Donlevy  
Successor. die 6 Martii  
Anno 1761 Aetatis 63'.  
Requiescat in Pace.

---

‘ Hic Jacet  
R. P. Jacobus Murphy  
Ord. Predic. M<sup>r</sup>.  
Bartholomæ Murphy  
Frater Dilectissimus  
Obiit die 14 Aprilis  
Anno 1667 Ætatis 64'.  
Requiescat in Pace.

---

‘ Hic Jacet  
M. Joannes Farrely S.  
. . . D. hujusce Collegii  
per plurimos annos  
Provisor et Primarius  
indefessus. Obiit die  
Jun. 7 anno 1736  
Aetatis 61.  
Requiescat in Pace ’

---

“I am under the impression that I had another page of transcripts, which has been mislaid, for I remember that one of the inscriptions commemorated one Francis Stewart, who, I thought, from the identity of names, might have been a relative of Dr. Francis Stewart, Bishop of Down and Connor from 1740 to 1750. Some of the funereal monuments were removed from the College des Lombards to the Irish College. Father M'Namara sent me a copy of one that had been erected by Arthur Magennis over the spot where was interred the heart of his relative, Abbé Maginn, which I published in the *History of Down and Connor* (vol. ii.), when treating of Hillsborough, where Father Maginn was born. The funereal slabs then in the little chapel were all of the same size—about two and a-half feet in length, and had formerly been probably inserted in the wall as a kind of dado. They certainly had not been always as I saw them in the floor, or their inscriptions would have been worn away. Perhaps the publication of these inscriptions may induce some person to forward to

you copies of the one or two inscriptions that I had transcribed on the part of my notes that I have mislaid. I also observed hung up on nails, on the walls of one of the old college halls, now used as a billiard-room, ovals and circles of brass, on which were engraved the names of English esquires. These brasses had evidently been inserted in stones, and were probably memorials of English gentlemen who had left England during the Cromwell usurpation. But as I had little time, I omitted to copy them.

“JAMES O’LAVERTY, P.P., M R.I.A.

“HOLYWOOD, Nov. 30th, 1891.”

## Notices of Books.

“IRELAND AND SAINT PATRICK.” By Rev. William Bullen Morris, of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. London: Burns & Oates, 1891.

THIS beautiful volume may be regarded to some extent as a supplement to the learned author's *Life of St. Patrick*. It may be said to be the life of St. Patrick's work. In it Father Morris traces through the generations that have intervened since St. Patrick's time, and in language of simple beauty, the influence on Ireland of that extraordinary life of which his previous volume was so faithful, so happy a picture. And no one can lay aside this volume without feeling that Irish Catholics are as deeply indebted to Father Morris for his second volume as they were for his first. It is a masterly review, well and carefully reasoned, of the working for so many ages of that spirit which St. Patrick infused into his children, and which, as the author clearly shows, has preserved its identity unimpaired through all the trials and changes of fourteen eventful centuries. He shows how the fascinating influence of personal sanctity, of a simple austere life, gave to our national apostle a hold upon his spiritual children which has never been relaxed even to this day. It was no ordinary task to which Father Morris set himself in this volume. But to him it was a labour of love. And his intimate knowledge of our history, and his zeal for the honour of our national apostle, have enabled him to give us a most useful, a most fascinating book—one of the most useful on the history of Ireland that has appeared for a considerable time. In this volume Father Morris discusses some of those questions that are supposed to be “sore

points" for us—the stock-in-trade of anti-Catholic controversialists; and we venture to say that no one with a reputation to lose will repeat these calumnies after a perusal of Father Morris's book. The Roman origin of the Irish Church; the state of our Church at the coming of the Normans; the alleged "Bull of Adrian;" the fidelity of Irish Catholics in the "dark and evil days;" the feeling of the Irish Church—these are questions of vital interest to us. And in his treatment of them Father Morris has done for the Catholic Church in Ireland a work which few men would undertake, and which fewer still would accomplish.

Father Morris says in the Introduction (page xxiii.):—"I have always held that St. Patrick's relations with St. Martin are the key to some of the greatest perplexities of his life;" and acting on this belief, he gives as the opening chapter of this volume, "St. Martin and St. Patrick." The chapter necessarily contains frequent references to the incidents of St. Patrick's life, especially such details as point to his relations with St. Martin. The traditions of Marmoutier and Touraine are shown to harmonize accurately with the information supplied by St. Patrick himself in the *Confession*, and by his biographers in the various *Lives*. This indisputable connection of the two saints would supply, if such were needed, a strong argument for the Roman mission of St. Patrick, and for the character of his teaching. It supplies also a strong confirmation of the view which points to Gaul as the birthplace of the apostle. And Father Morris enters very minutely into the history of the Roman colony in North Britain, to show, as we think he does conclusively, the great improbability of Scotland's claim to be St. Patrick's birthplace. But readers of Father Morris's volume will, we think, be very early attracted to his second chapter, which treats of "Adrian IV. and Henry Plantagenet." Here, surely, is a "vetted question," long and bitterly discussed, this alleged Bull of Adrian, ceding to Henry II., we are told, the sovereignty of Ireland, and thereby responsible for the wrongs of seven hundred years. Enemies of Ireland and of her faith quote this Bull to incense Irish Catholics against their spiritual father. Men who love Ireland well, though perhaps not wisely, and who are sincerely attached to their faith, quote it, to justify their impatience of ecclesiastical interference in things political; whilst pious Irish Catholics, whose loyalty to Rome in all things is unquestionable, are sometimes sorely puzzled by this too famous document. This question has been treated with singular ability in a former number of this

review by Cardinal Moran. Father Morris pays a fitting tribute to the value of the work done by his Eminence, and adds: "But it has occurred to the present writer that some further light may be thrown upon this most interesting subject by expanding the argument drawn from the history of the period, and examining the characters of the chief actors in this mysterious drama." (Page 68.) Now, this is precisely the proper manner in which to treat this question. Direct positive evidence for the Bull there is really none. Then it is only on circumstantial evidence that the question is to be decided. And Father Morris has put the circumstantial evidence before the reader in a stronger light than anyone else has yet put it. He has made so strong a case against the Bull, that no one reasoning calmly on the evidence adduced by him can hesitate to pronounce the document a forgery. He examines the actors in the drama. He shows, on the evidence of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and of others equally reliable, that Henry was, from the day of his accession to the throne, an exceptionally bad man—irreligious, deceitful, cruel—and that his bad character was as well known in Rome as at Canterbury for years before the date of the alleged Bull. And he proves conclusively that Henry's character was well known to Adrian long before he became Pope. Again, Father Morris shows by most conclusive evidence that Adrian contrasted very favourably with even the most illustrious of his predecessors. He was a man of holy and austere life, a strenuous defender of all the rights of the Church against the encroachments of the civil power, and no respecter of persons in his fearless vindication and assertion of the moral law. Now, that so holy, so stern a Pope, should, with the full knowledge which he possessed of Henry's real character, send so consummate a scoundrel to reform the Irish, is a statement altogether beyond the limits of credibility: and this is the irresistible case which Father Morris makes against the Bull. But he goes even farther. The ground for the issue of the alleged Bull is, that religion had gone to ruin in Ireland when Henry got his apostolic mission. Father Morris meets this statement with a direct contradiction, and thoroughly refutes it. He does not deny that there were gross abuses in Ireland at the time, though far less grave than those which confronted Henry at home. But he shows that these abuses were remedied long before Henry is said to have got his mission, and remedied by Irish bishops acting in conjunction with a Papal legate. In dealing with the alleged corruption of the Church in

Ireland, Father Morris uses words that will touch a tender chord in the hearts of Irish Catholics. He says :—"The nation which has lost all save honour may well be jealous of its sole remaining inheritance. . . . When nations in the peaceful possession of themselves surrender their sacred trusts and rights, they must bear the shame of their apostacy and treason. No one has ever said that this was the sin of Ireland." And he concludes that, so far from being reproached with abuses, that are grossly exaggerated, "the enduring religious struggles of her children ought to win the admiration of all who value the prize for which they contended." (Page 96.)

Father Morris passes in review the arguments brought to sustain the Bull, and shows how worthless they are in the face of the overwhelming evidence against it. The witnesses to its genuineness are more than suspected. The circumstances of its first appearance are still more open to suspicion; and even the internal evidence of the document itself is fatal to it. All this Father Morris puts admirably; so much so that we have no hesitation in saying that he has disposed once for all of "Adrian's Bull;" and in doing so he has rendered a signal service to Irish Catholics.

The chapter on "St. Patrick's Work, Past and Present," is, as may be anticipated from its title, a deeply interesting one. Father Morris deplores that his vindication of St. Patrick's work must frequently read like an apology; but this is inevitable, seeing that Irish Catholics have been at almost all periods of their history maligned by unscrupulous and interested calumniators. Froude is taken by Father Morris as a fair specimen of this truculent class. This writer's hatred of Ireland and of Ireland's faith is so intense that in giving expression to it he often indulges in language as indecent as it is untrue. Against him Father Morris calls up witnesses above all suspicion of partiality to Irish Catholics, and on their unimpeachable testimony he disposes of Mr. Froude's gross calumnies. In the simplicity and austerity of the early Irish Church, Father Morris finds a striking likeness to the Church of the first three centuries; and in the last three centuries of our history he finds the resemblance more striking still. The open-handed generosity of early Irish Catholics reminds him of the time when Christians held all things in common; whilst the struggle of Irish Catholics for three centuries against penal laws and violent persecution reminds him of the time when the cry, "*Christianos ad Leones*" rang through

many an imperial city as the herald of martyrdom for the professors of our holy faith. And as the blood of martyrs was in those early ages the seed of Christianity, so too does Father Morris show that the Catholic Church in Ireland grew wider, and in spite of that cruel and despicable code which, as Burke rightly says, was so well calculated to degrade and debase a nation. And as Father Morris is able to contemplate with pride the fidelity of Irish Catholics in the day of their trial, so too does he contemplate our future with hope. In the darkest days that Irish Catholics have seen, in their faith only have they found consolation. It is "the only ground that has never sunk beneath them:" the one power that has sustained them. And as it has sustained them in the past, Father Morris believes that it will sustain them in the future. The influence of St. Patrick is still active as ever amongst us. In his faith "we live, and move, and have our being." And that heroic zeal which inspired his letter to the tyrant Caroticus, burns still within the breasts of those Irish bishops and priests who in our own day, in the face of obliquy and calumny, vindicate the temporal rights of their spiritual children while preaching to them the holy gospel of peace. And it is in no small degree owing to the prudent exercise of that zeal that in Ireland alone of all European countries the Church has conquered the "Revolution." No doubt we witnessed from time to time unreasoning outbursts of political passion that seemed to forbode danger to the influence of the Church in Ireland. But we in Ireland know that such rare occurrences admit of a very easy explanation. We know that even the most violent actors in such scenes are sincere Catholics at heart, though for the time being, and for reasons that are fully understood, they do not appear in their true character. We sincerely congratulate Father Morris on the matter as well as on the manner of his admirable work; and we recommend all who love the old land and the Church of St. Patrick to secure it and to read it.

J. MURPHY.

PETER'S ROCK IN MOHAMMED'S FLOOD. FROM ST. GREGORY THE GREAT TO ST. LEO III.: BEING THE SEVENTH VOLUME OF THE FORMATION OF CHRISTENDOM. By Thomas W. Allies, K.C.S.G.

It is with pleasure we direct our reader's attention to the appearance of the above, the latest volume in Mr. Allies' noble work, *The Formation of Christendom*. This volume is strictly in continuance of the two which it follows, *The Throne of the*

*Fisherman Built by the Carpenter's Son*, and *The Holy See and the Wanderings of the Nations*; and we are told by the distinguished author that it is bulk alone which prevents him from offering the three in one cover, as historic proof, from original documents of the first eight centuries, that the Holy See, by the institution of Christ, is the Root, the Bond, and the Crown of Christendom.

To say that the present volume is quite up to the high standard of those that have appeared before it, will be, in the public judgment, to confer the very highest praise on it, as a work of finished and imposing excellence. The historic narrative sweeps along in a style of uncommon grandeur, strength, and persuasiveness. Not for a moment is the writer insipid, floundering, or uninteresting. The reader's attention is enthralled throughout; and at times, especially when his theme is the Church—her battles, conquests, triumphs—the writer's eloquent diction has the ring of martial music.

The present volume covers a period of two hundred years, stretching from the time of St. Gregory the Great to the founding of the holy Roman Empire, in the person of Charlemagne, by Pope St. Leo III. This is a period of history which, it is hardly too much to say, receives comparatively little attention, and is too often lightly passed over as devoid of interest or importance. But, as we find it unfolded in the eloquent pages of Mr. Allies' book, it is a region rich in incidents of absorbing and profound significance.

Cardinal Newman is reported to have said that the line of argument pursued by Mr. Allies in his *Formation of Christendom* was of all best calculated to persuade the mind of the truth and divinity of the Catholic Church. The great facts of history, when rightly presented and duly considered, point unmistakably to the hand of Providence upholding and guarding that Church at every stage of its existence. In this department of work, in pointing the philosophy of history, Mr. Allies has few, if any, superiors. We imagine it impossible for any candid reader to go even through the present volume, and not have deeply wrought on his mind the conviction that the Church of Rome is, indeed, the Church of God, the divinely-appointed infallible guardian of the Christian truth. The wonderful propagation of the Christian religion proves the divine origin of that religion to honest and impartial minds. The long and bitter conflict, ultimately crowned with success, which the Church of Rome had to carry on for years against the insidious Monotheite heresy, is, in the

circumstances which attended it, a fact only less singular and extraordinary. In that fearful conflict the Church of Rome was left alone. The great churches of the East deserted her, betrayed the faith, and joined themselves to the Eastern emperors, at that time driving the full weight of their wide despotic power to rivet this heresy on the Christian world. On more than one occasion throughout that struggle the faith of the Church stood in deadly peril. It was saved only by the constancy of the See of Peter—a constancy which in the circumstances seems little less than miraculous, and can be satisfactorily accounted for only by the divine gift and pledge of infallibility. On this whole controversy Mr. Allies is very instructive and entertaining. We give one extract, though no mere extract would illustrate fairly the excellent impression which is left on the mind by reading the book itself:—

Had Pope Severinus at this moment failed in his duty, the whole Church would have been involved in the Monothelite heresy. Not only Pope Severinus, but his successors during forty years, were the sole stay of the Church against a heresy—the last root of the condemned Eutychian heresy—which overthrew the true doctrine of the Incarnation. . . . The whole temporal power of the Byzantine sovereign, at that time despotic lord of Rome, and backed by subservient Patriarchs Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paulus, and Peter, was exerted to compel the Popes who sat during these forty years to accept the false doctrine presented to them in an imperial decree. The successive Popes in this time, Severinus . . . rejected and condemned the decision urged upon them by the imperial and patriarchal pressure, all of them at the risk of every sort of persecution—one, St. Martin, at the cost of a singularly painful and glorious martyrdom. . . . In truth it (the heresy) held the life of the Church in suspense during more than forty years. Had one of the ten successors of Honorius failed, all would have been lost, so near the precipice was the Byzantine despotism, and the State patriarchate, subservient to it, and supplying it obediently with theological knowledge sufficient to formulate heresy, allowed by Divine Providence, in that fearful century, to drive the Church. And precisely during these years the new Arabian conqueror—the caliph of Mohammed—cut in two the empire which was attempting this parricide. When Heraclius went forth committing his city and his son to God, to the holy Mother of God, and to his bishop, he triumphed for the only time in the long Roman history over Rome's eastern rival, and brought back the Cross from Persia to Constantinople. . . . When at the bidding of that very bishop, Sergius, he tampered with the Christian faith, and oppressed the successor of St. Peter, he lost Jerusalem, Alexandria,

and Antioch, with the great provinces which belonged to them. Out of the four patriarchates of his empire, three became subject to the Mohammedan caliph. The subjection came suddenly, but has lasted with a short interval from that time to this. The conquest, as yet unbroken, of Mohammed over Christian peoples dates from the perfidy of Heraclius and of his grandson, Constans II., and the heresy propagated by four Byzantine patriarchs."

One of the most remarkable incidents in history is the rise and rapid propagation of Mohammedanism. So singular, indeed, has that propagation been that it has sometimes been compared with the spread of Christianity, and has been thought by some to undermine the moral argument for the divinity of the Christian religion taken from that religion's wonderful diffusion. Mr. Allies' chapters on Mohammedanism leave nothing to be desired, and will very surely bring enlightenment to minds that are in any way perplexed by the conquests of Islam. If the spread of Islamism has been at all providential, it has been providential as a scourge, to blot out of existence that Eastern empire, and those Eastern churches, which by their heresies, factions, and slavery to the will of emperors, had long been a scandal to the Christian world. But it has as little claim to rival Christianity, as have the military triumphs of Alexander or the first Napoleon. It is impossible by mere extracts to give any idea of the excellence of this portion of Mr. Allies' work. We refer our readers to the book itself. Here, again, it will be seen how it was the unsceptred successor of St. Peter who saved Europe from the grasp of the Turk.

The temporal sovereignty of the Popes engages at the present day particular attention. To those who seek information on the growth of that power, Mr. Allies' latest volume will be profitable and instructive reading. He gives us facts; but facts are more eloquent than words, and it is impossible not to recognise in these facts the hand of Providence steadily steering human events to the development of that power which, despite the taunts of its enemies, has been, under God, the instrument of untold service to the civilized world.

We have not this long time fallen in with a book which gave us so much pleasure, or filled us with such admiration for the writer, as the volume before us. It bears on its every page the stamp of genius and of power. It is the work of a man who loves the Church, and whose brilliant labours in the cause of truth give him a lasting title to the admiration and gratitude of the Catholic world.

M. F.

# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

FEBRUARY, 1892.

## THE IRISH DIFFICULTY: SHALL AND WILL.

THE proper use of SHALL and WILL, according to the modern English idiom, is necessary for all who would speak and write the English language correctly. In England this use prevails in the common language of the people, and is thus acquired by a sort of natural instinct; in other countries, it can only be acquired from books. And yet, strange to say, there is no book in which the subject is treated with any approach to completeness.

In ordinary grammars, the use of SHALL and WILL is very barely discussed. One or two general principles are laid down; a few practical hints are given; a few examples quoted; and that is all. There is no attempt at a full and comprehensive treatment of the subject: important branches are either altogether unnoticed, or barely glanced at; and the student is left to shift for himself, not only on points of special difficulty or delicacy, but on broad general questions of every-day occurrence. Let anyone take the rules given even in the best English grammars, and try to apply them to the use of SHALL and WILL, of SHOULD and WOULD, in a single volume—say of Macaulay's History, or of George Eliot's novels, or of almost any other English writer—and he will soon find how utterly insufficient they are for their purpose.

If we turn to the more elaborate dissertations, such as

that of Sir Edmund Head,<sup>1</sup> we find them hardly less incomplete than the grammars, so far as the modern idiom is concerned ; but they abound in learned disquisitions on the original meaning of the words SHALL and WILL, comparisons with other languages, and attempts—vain and futile as it seems to me—to show that the modern usage is founded on some profound and subtle philosophical principle. My experience of these dissertations has been uniform and disappointing ; each one, in turn, I took up in hope, and laid down in despair. I was looking for a plain, straightforward, thorough exposition of the English idiom, as it actually exists ; and a plain, straightforward, thorough exposition of the English idiom, as it actually exists was nowhere to be found.

Hence I came to the conclusion that the only resource open to me was to study the idiom, for myself, in the works of standard English writers. I thought it best to confine myself to writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and, with the notable exception of Swift, Burke, and Moore, not to accept the authority of any writer but an Englishman born and bred. On these principles I commenced, many years ago, to make a collection of short extracts illustrating the use of SHALL and WILL, SHOULD and WOULD ; and these extracts, classified and arranged, with additions made from time to time, formed the basis of a system of rules, which I have found fairly sufficient for my own guidance.

The great impulse given to education in Ireland, during the last fifteen years, has brought this subject into prominence. Everyone now seems to appreciate the importance of speaking and writing correctly ; and I have heard, from many quarters, a strong desire expressed for some satisfactory guidance in the use of SHALL and WILL. In these circumstances, it occurred to me that my collection of extracts, which had been so useful to myself, might also be found useful to others. I accordingly set about preparing it for publication ; arranging the extracts in order under the various rules, which they serve at once to suggest and to illustrate, and adding from time to time such brief comments

<sup>1</sup> *Shall and Will ; or Two Chapters on Future Auxiliary Verbs.* London : John Murray, 1858.

as the occasion seemed to demand. When I had made some progress with the work, I offered it to the Editor of the *I. E. RECORD*, who has kindly consented to its publication in these pages.

The materials at hand will be sufficient, I expect, to furnish four papers on the subject. Three of these will deal with the rules for the use of *SHALL* and *WILL* : First, in the case of Direct Statement ; Secondly, in the case of Indirect Statement ; and Thirdly, in the case of Interrogative Forms, and dependent clauses expressing contingency. When the rules are disposed of, a number of minor questions, naturally arising out of the subject, and offering great interest both practical and philological, will still remain for consideration : and these I propose to discuss briefly, in a fourth paper, under the general title of *SHALLANDWILLIANA*.

The method of treatment which I have followed has, I think, this great advantage, that while it helps to impress the rules on the memory, it helps, at the same time, to impress the idiom itself on the ear. By reading over the passages selected to illustrate each rule, the reader may so attune his ear to the true idiom that he will acquire the power of choosing instinctively the right word, in similar constructions, without having to search for it through the medium of a rule. Thus he will be able to do for himself, by an artificial process, what is done by every born English man in the natural process by which he learns his mother tongue.

Another advantage of this method is, that it affords to everyone an opportunity of judging for himself the question before him. The rules and the authorities on which they rest stand side by side. If the rules do not correctly set forth what the authorities teach, they can be amended ; and if, on the other hand, the extracts selected should in any case appear insufficient or one-sided, the collection can be extended and completed. On both these points I should be glad to receive the assistance of my readers ; and I would ask the Editor to open his pages to any correspondence that may be offered on the subject.

“ *Si quid novisti rectius istis,  
Candidus imperti ; si non, his utere mecum.* ”

## PART I. DIRECT STATEMENT.

## § 1. FIRST PERSON.

I SHALL.

I WILL.

WE SHALL.

WE WILL.

In the First Person, WILL expresses the present will of the speaker, while SHALL expresses simply the future event, without reference to the speaker's will.

Hence WILL is used to express a promise, a threat, an intention, or a determination, on the part of the speaker; as, for example, I *will* tell you a story, I *will* punish you severely if you neglect your studies, I *will* do my best to relieve his sufferings, I *will* insist on being obeyed.

SHALL, on the other hand, is used when the future event is independent of the speaker's will; as, I *shall* be twenty-one my next birthday, Help me, or I *shall* be drowned, I *shall* be sick if I go to sea in this storm, I *shall* be arrested if I cannot pay my debts.

The future state of a person's feelings comes under this rule, and must be expressed by SHALL. Thus we ought to say, I *shall* be uneasy till you return, not I *will* be uneasy; I *shall* be delighted if he wins, not I *will* be delighted; I *shall* be happy to meet your views, not I *will* be happy, I *shall* be ashamed if this is discovered, not I *will* be ashamed. In these cases, the speaker does not want to convey that he *intends* to be delighted, that he *intends* to be happy, that he *intends* to be ashamed; he wants only to state the future fact, that the event referred to will bring him delight or happiness or shame; and therefore he says, I *shall* be delighted, I *shall* be happy, I *shall* be ashamed.

Again, if any word is introduced which implies doubt or uncertainty about the future event, the speaker must use SHALL and not WILL. For instance: Perhaps I *shall* go abroad this summer, I *shall* probably enter my horse for the race. The reason seems to be, that the speaker does not mean to express a doubt about his own present will, but

rather about the future event: therefore he must say, Perhaps I *shall*, not Perhaps I *will*; Probably I *shall*, not Probably I *will*.<sup>1</sup>

These principles, though extremely simple, are habitually violated by Irish writers and speakers. Here are a few examples, taken at random from the daily newspapers, in all of which WILL is used where the English idiom requires SHALL:—

We *will* be fortified in the course we are pursuing by the support of the honourable gentleman.

If we carry out this policy, we *will* certainly succeed.

I *will* be asked by some of my opponents my reasons for coming here.

I *will* be happy to publish the letter, if he desires it.

Let us think of some old man of our acquaintance who has reached Mr. Gladstone's age, or near it, and we *will* begin to appreciate the marvel.

Our friends show any disposition to co-operate with us, we *will* be only too happy to meet them half way.

If he don't apologize for this insult, I *will* have to take notice of it.

In a short time we *will* see this question taken into consideration by Parliament.

I will add one or two examples from Carleton's *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, a book in which the Irish idiom may be found in all its perfection:—

"Oh! why did I let my boy go? Maybe I *will* never see him again."

"We'll be disgraced for ever," said Paddy, "without either a bit of mutton or a bottle of wine for the gentlemen."

It will be instructive to compare the passages quoted above with the following extracts, taken from English authors:—

Meantime, something may bring you to town, where I *shall* be happy to see you.

CHARLES LAMB.

I *shall* be uneasy till I hear of Fuller's safe arrival.

CHARLES LAMB.

<sup>1</sup> See Sir E. Head's *Shall and Will*, p. 19.

I *shall* not be suspected of being partial to the memory of Mr. Pitt.

MACAULAY.

I *shall* never forget the imploring expression of her eyes as she looked at us over her pocket-handkerchief.

MRS. GASKELL.

I *shall* be ever grateful to you.

BEACONSFIELD.

I have never met with any one—never *shall* meet with any one—who could or can compensate me for the loss of your society.

CHARLES LAMB.

I *shall* soon find it as natural to me to be my own master, as it has been irksome to have had a master.

CHARLES LAMB.

If I write much more I *shall* expand into an article, which I cannot afford to let you have so cheap.

CHARLES LAMB.

Whether he knew me or not, I know not ; or whether he saw me through his poor glazed eyes ; but the group I saw about him I *shall* not forget.

CHARLES LAMB.

That some reform is at hand, I cannot doubt. In a very short time we *shall* see the evils which I have described mitigated, if not entirely removed.

MACAULAY.

Win *shall* I not, but do my best to win.

TENNYSON.

I *shall* remain at Newstead the greater part of this month, where I *shall* be happy to hear from you, after my two years' absence in the East.

BYRON.

"What is the good, Louisa, now?" said her husband ; "we *shan't* be home this month to come."

NEWMAN.

To which my soul made answer readily :

"Trust me, in bliss I *shall* abide

In this great mansion, that is built for me

So royal-rich and wide."

TENNYSON.

There is implied an unwritten compact between author and reader ; "I *will* tell you a story, and I suppose you will understand it."

CHARLES LAMB.

When my sonnet was rejected, I exclaimed, "Hang the age, I *will* write for antiquity."

CHARLES LAMB.

I *will* not fail to advise you of the revival of a beam.

CHARLES LAMB.

I charge you, don't think of coming to see me. Write. I *will* not see you if you come.

CHARLES LAMB.

You turn pale, dear Miss Theo! Well, I *will* have pity, and *will* spare you the tortures which honest Mauseau recounted in his pleasant way as likely to befall me.

THACKERAY.

It is not out of prospect that I may see Manchester some day, and then I *will* avail myself of your kindness.

CHARLES LAMB.

Next year, if I can spare a day or two of it, I *will* come to Manchester, but I have reasons at home against longer absences.

CHARLES LAMB.

I *will* come to the point at once.

CHARLES LAMB.

I love and respect Southey, and *will* not retort.

CHARLES LAMB.

"Get you gone, I am the King. I *will* be obeyed. Go to your chapel this instant; and admit the Bishop of Oxford. Let those who refuse look to it."

MACAULAY.

"I *will* have my Declaration published. . . I *will* be obeyed. . . I *will* keep this paper. I *will* not part with it. I *will* remember that you have signed it." "God's will be done," said Ken. "God has given me the dispensing power," said the King, "and I *will* maintain it."

MACAULAY.

It is our intention soon to come over for a day at Highgate; for beds we *will* trust to the Gate-House, should you be full.

CHARLES LAMB.

I *will* write again very soon. Do you write directly.

CHARLES LAMB.

I *will* some day, as I promised, enlarge to you upon my sister's excellences; 'twill seem like exaggeration, but I *will* do it.

CHARLES LAMB.

In the extracts that follow, SHALL and WILL occur in close juxtaposition, and thus the contrast between them is very effectively brought out:—

I *shall* be in town on Sunday next, and *will* call and have some conversation on the subject of Westall's designs.

BYRON.

In this passage, I *shall* be in town, announces a future fact; I *will* call, conveys a promise.

I *shall* be too ill to call on Wordsworth myself, but *will* take care to transmit him his poem when I have read it.

CHARLES LAMB.

Here, again, the illness of the writer is announced simply *as a fact*, but he *promises* to transmit the poem. The same distinction may be observed in the next example:—

I *shall* be ashamed to see you, and my sister though, innocent, will be still more so; for the folly was done without her knowledge, and has made her uneasy ever since. My guardian angel was absent at that time. I *will* muster up courage to see you, however, any day next week. We *shall* hope that you will bring Edith with you.

CHARLES LAMB.

When we refer to a future event which depends on natural causes, we must, as a general rule, use *SHALL* in the First Person. Thus, we ought to say, I *shall* be sick if I eat these oysters, I *shall* be much thinner when I go through a course of training, I *shall* be better to-morrow. But if we want to imply that it is our present intention to control these natural causes, so as to secure the future event happening, then we should use *WILL*. In the following passage, when Charles Lamb says, I *will* get better, he wishes to convey that he is determined to get better, that he will take means to get better:—

I am not well enough for company. I do assure you no other thing prevents me coming. I expect —— and his brothers this or to-morrow evening, and it worries me to death that I am not ostensibly ill enough to put 'em off. I *will* get better, when I shall hope to see your nephew.

CHARLES LAMB.

When a future event depends entirely on the will of the speaker or writer, some authorities lay down that, in the First Person, *WILL* should be used. But this rule is much too sweeping. The fact would rather seem to be that, in this case, an option is allowed, though there will be a slight difference of meaning, according as one or the other form is employed. If the speaker says, I *SHALL*, he simply announces the future event as something already fixed and determined; if he says I *WILL*, he announces his present intention which determines the future event. I have collected a large number of extracts to illustrate this point, that the reader may note for himself the subtle shade of difference between the two forms of expression. He will

also have an opportunity of observing that the same writer sometimes uses one form, sometimes the other, in exactly similar circumstances :—

I *shall* cheerfully bear the reproach of having descended below the dignity of history, if I can succeed in placing before the English of the nineteenth century a true picture of the life of their ancestors.

MACAULAY.

I *shall*, therefore, introduce my narrative by a slight sketch of the history of our country from the earliest times. I *shall* pass very rapidly over many centuries ; but I *shall* dwell at some length on the vicissitudes of that contest which the administration of King James the Second brought to a decisive crisis.

MACAULAY.

In the subsequent chapters I *shall* carefully indicate the sources of my information.

MACAULAY.

I *shall* take a course very different from that which has been taken by the honourable gentleman. I *shall* in the clearest manner express my opinion on that great question of principle which he has studiously avoided ; and for my opinion I *shall* give what seem to me to be unanswerable reasons.

MACAULAY.

I have detained the House so long, Sir, that I *will* defer what I had to say on some parts of this measure . . . till we are in Committee.

MACAULAY.

We *will* not pretend to say what is the best explanation of the text under consideration ; but we are sure Mr. Gladstone's is the worst.

MACAULAY.

We *will* give the reason in his own words.

MACAULAY.

I *shall* attempt to determine what we are to understand by Letters or Literature, in what Literature consists, and how it stands relatively to Science.

NEWMAN.

I *will* begin by stating these three positions in the words of a writer who is cited by the estimable Catholics in question as a witness, or rather as an advocate, in their behalf.

NEWMAN.

To the solution of this difficulty I *shall* devote the remainder of my Lecture.

NEWMAN.

I *will* simply set down what occurs to me to say on each side of the question.

NEWMAN.

Hence the mutual jealousy of the two parties; and I *shall* now attempt to give instances of it.

NEWMAN.

And now I *will* say a few words on one specimen of this error in detail.

NEWMAN.

Other distinct reasons may be given, instructive too; and one of these I *will* now set before you.

NEWMAN.

I *will* draw the sketch of a candidate for entrance, deficient to a great extent. I *shall* put him below *par*, and not such as it is likely that a respectable school would turn out.

NEWMAN.

Far be it from me to deny the incomparable grandeur and simplicity of Holy Scripture; but I *shall* maintain that the classics are, as human compositions, simple and majestic and natural too. I grant that Scripture is concerned in things, but I *will* not grant that classical literature is simply concerned with words. I grant that human literature is often elaborate, but I *will* maintain that elaborate composition is not unknown to the writers of Scripture.

NEWMAN.

I *shall* now proceed to resume the thread of the Journal, which I had broken off, and of which, it will be perceived, the noble author himself had for some weeks, at this time, interrupted the progress.

MOORE.

I *shall* endeavour in this my closing lecture, to apply and to suggest some ways in which you may apply, what has been hitherto spoken, to practical ends. I *shall* invite you to consider how this study of words and their meaning, which I have been pressing upon you, may serve you in good stead hereafter, in *that* which you have chosen as the task and business of your life.

TRENCH.

I expected one line this morning; in the meantime, I *shall* remodel and condense, and, if I do not hear from you, *shall* send another copy.

BYRON.

I *shall* keep the moneys in trust, till I see you fairly over the next first of January; then I *shall* look upon 'em as earned.

CHARLES LAMB.

I must appear very ungrateful, but till last night I was not apprized of Lady Holland's restoration, and I *shall* call to-morrow to have the satisfaction, I trust, of hearing that she is well.

BYRON.

As a certain number only of the peers were summoned, it may be imagined that some fraud was practised in the selection. . . . I *will*, therefore, give the names as before.

FROUDE.

In connection with this optional use of SHALL and WILL, in the First Person, it may be observed, that I SHALL, in certain circumstances, is stronger than I WILL. I *shall* never forgive him, is a stronger affirmation than I *will* never forgive him. The reason would seem to be that I WILL expresses only the present intention, which may be modified by subsequent influences ; but I SHALL directs attention to the future event as fixed and inevitable. Thus when Nigel Penruddock, in Lord Beaunfield's *Eudymion*, offers his hand to Myra, and, in reply to her apparently evasive declaration, that she can never leave her father, presses his claim, saying, "I have spoken to your father, and he approved my suit ;" she answers, "While my father lives I *shall* not quit him." The meaning seems to be, that argument was useless, because her decision was fixed and irrevocable. Another illustration is the well known threat of the Englishman abroad, when dissatisfied with the treatment he has received at a hotel or a railway station : "I *shall* write to *The Times* about this." "I *will* write to *The Times*," would be mild in comparison.<sup>1</sup>

## § 2. SECOND AND THIRD PERSONS.

THOU SHALT, YOU SHALL.

THOU WILT, YOU WILL.

HE, SHE, IT, THEY SHALL.

HE, SHE, IT, THEY WILL.

The rule for the use of SHALL and WILL, in the Second and Third Persons, is almost exactly the reverse of the rule for the First Person. SHALL imports that the future event is determined by the will of the speaker, and it is therefore used to express a command, a promise, a threat, or a determination, on the part of the speaker. Thus we read, Thou *shalt* love the Lord thy God, Thou *shalt* not steal, Blessed are the merciful, for they *shall* obtain mercy ; and we say, You *shall* be rewarded for your diligence, He *shall* be punished if he neglects his task.

WILL, on the other hand, expresses simple futurity, and must be always employed when the future event is independent

<sup>1</sup> See *The Queen's English*, by Dean Alford London, 1864, p. 156.

of the will of the speaker. For example, He *will* come of age to-morrow, You *will* be sick if you eat that fruit, He *will* fall if he attempts to climb that ladder, The sun *will* rise to-morrow at six o'clock. In many cases it is optional to use SHALL or WILL in the Second and Third Persons ; but each form has its own meaning. I may say, He *will* be punished if he neglects his task, or He *shall* be punished if he neglects his task ; but in the former case, I simply announce the fact ; in the latter, I convey that I will take means to have him punished. The following extracts will help to illustrate the rule :—

I am sure I cannot fill a letter, though I should disfigure my skull to fill it ; but you expect something, and *shall* have a notelet.

CHARLES LAMB.

I will bear in mind the letter to W. W., and you *shall* have it quite in time.

CHARLES LAMB.

Poor Emma, the first moment we were alone, took me into a corner, and said : “ Now, pray, don't drink ; do check yourself after dinner, for my sake ; and when we get home to Enfield, you *shall* drink as much as ever you please, and I won't say a word about it.”

CHARLES LAMB.

Lost, a diamond ring ; anyone taking the same to 35, Cromwell Road, *shall* be rewarded.

THE TIMES.

Your query *shall* be submitted to Miss Kelly.

CHARLES LAMB

“ Then Edyrn, son of Nudd,” replied Geraint,  
 “ These two things *shalt* thou do, or else thou diest.  
 “ First, thou thyself, with damsel and with dwarf,  
 “ *Shalt* ride to Arthur's court, and coming there,  
 “ Crave pardon for that insult done the Queen.  
 “ And *shalt* abide her judgment on it ; next,  
 “ Thou *shalt* give back their earldom to thy kin.  
 “ These two things *shalt* thou do or thou *shalt* die.”

TENNISON.

Though the last glimpse of Erin with sorrow I see,  
 Yet wherever thou are *shall* seem Erin to me ;  
 In exile thy bosom *shall* still be my home,  
 And thine eyes make my climate wherever we roam.

MOORE.

"Land of song!" said the warrior-bard,  
"Though all the world betrays thee,  
"One sword, at least, thy rights *shall* guard,  
"One faithful heart *shall* praise thee."

MOORE.

Upon this rock I will build my Church ; and the gates of hell  
*shall* not prevail against it.

MATTH. xvi. 18.

"I should like very much if you could give me a card for  
Mr. Trenchard," said Enderby ; "he is not in society, but he  
is quite a gentleman." "You *shall* have it, my dear. I have  
always liked Mr. Trenchard."

BEACONSFIELD.

England our own  
Thro' Harold's help, he *shall* be my dear friend  
As well as thine, and thou thyself *shalt* have  
Large lordship there of lands and territory.

TENNYSON.

Mrs. Jamieson *shall* see if it is so easy to get me to make  
fouth at a pool, when she has none of her fine Scotch relations  
with her.

MRS. GASKELL.

Let those who refuse look to it, they *shall* feel the whole  
weight of my hand. They *shall* know what it is to incur the  
displeasure of their sovereign.

MACAULAY.

I will be obeyed. My declaration *shall* be published. You  
are complicit of sedition. Go to your dioceses ; and see that I  
am obeyed.

MACAULAY.

We swear to revenge them !—no joy *shall* be tasted.  
The carp *shall* be silent, the maiden unwed,  
Our halls *shall* be mute, and our fields *shall* lie wasted,  
Till vengeance is wreak'd on the murderer's head.

MOORE.

It *will* give me great pleasure to show you everything that  
Islington can boast, if you know the meaning of that very  
Cockney sound.

CHARLES LAMB.

I cannot kill my sin,  
If soul be soul ; nor can I kill my shame ;  
No, nor by living can I live it down.  
The days *will* grow to weeks, the weeks to months,  
The months *will* add themselves and make the years,  
The years *will* roll into the centuries,  
And mine *will* ever be a name of scorn.

TENNYSON.

And if I fall, her name *will* yet remain  
 Untarnished as before ; but if I live,  
 So aid me Heaven when at mine uttermost,  
 As I will make her truly my true wife.

TENNYSON.

It *will* give you pleasure to hear that after so much illness we are in tolerable health and spirits once more.

CHARLES LAMB.

My poor child, now thou art disinherited, thou *wilt* see how differently the world will use thee.

THACKERAY.

The extracts that next follow are especially interesting, inasmuch as they bring out the contrast between SHALL and WILL in the same sentence. In each case, WILL expresses simply the future fact, SHALL the present determination of the speaker.

I know John *will* make speeches about it, but she *shall* not go into an hospital.

CHARLES LAMB.

But not an atom of respect or kindness *will* or *shall* it abate in either of us, if you decline.

CHARLES LAMB.

There is an apparent exception to the rule which requires SHALL in the Second and Third Persons, to express a command. A gentleman, giving instructions to his servant, may say, "You *will* light my fire early in the morning," or, "You *will* meet me with my horse at three o'clock." This usage seems to be founded on a certain delicacy of feeling, which leads the person in authority to avoid the strict form of command, and to substitute for it a simple statement of the future event. He assumes that, when his wishes are known, the thing will inevitably be done. This form of expression has been adopted in the directions issued to voters at Elections. "The voter *will* go into one of the compartments, and . . . place a cross opposite the name of the candidate for whom he votes. The voter *will* then fold up the ballot paper, so as to show the official mark on the back, and, leaving the compartment, *will*, without showing the front of the paper to any person, show the official mark on the back to the presiding officer."

As *SHALL* is used in the Second and Third Persons to express a command, it is always employed in Acts of Parliament, Royal Charters, and the Statutes of Public Corporations. Thus, for example, we read in the Endowed Schools Act, 1869 :—

SECT. 12. In framing schemes under this Act, provision *shall* be made so far as conveniently may be for extending to girls the benefits of endowments.

SECT. 22. In every scheme the Commissioners *shall* provide for the dismissal at pleasure of every teacher and officer in the endowed school to which the scheme relates.

And in the Charter of the University of London :—

SECT. 5. We do hereby further Will and Ordain, That the said body politic and corporate *shall* consist of a Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Fellows, and Graduates.

SECT. 8. We further Will and Ordain, That the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Fellows, for the time being, *shall* constitute the Senate of the University.

SECT. 22. We further Will and Ordain, That once at least in each year, and as often as they may think fit, the Senate *shall* convene a Meeting of Convocation.

Abundant examples of this usage will be found in the enactments and bye-laws of public bodies. Thus, in the Calendar of the University of London, we find the following :—

The Intermediate Examinations in Arts *shall* take place once in each year, and *shall* commence on the Third Monday in July.

No Candidate *shall* be admitted to this Examination within one Academic Year of his passing the Matriculation Examination.

The Fee for this Examination *shall* be Five Pounds.

The Examination *shall* be conducted by means of printed papers.<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes these learned bodies appear a little inconsistent in their practice. For instance, in the page immediately following the one from which the above extracts are taken, without any break in the text, we read :—

No Candidate *will* be allowed to take both the Pass and the Honour papers.

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of the University of London*, 1884-85, page 62.

And again :—

The Examiners *will* make no report upon the Examination for Honours, of a Candidate who has failed in any part of his Pass Examination.

I do not say that the use of *will* in these passages is contrary to English idiom; I only say it is inconsistent. Each form of expression is itself perfectly correct; and each has its own meaning. If the object is to present these regulations as enactments of the Senate, then *SHALL* is the correct word to employ. If, on the other hand, the object is simply to bring them under the notice of candidates *as facts*, then *WILL* should be used. But whichever way the authorities may wish to regard them, it would be more consistent, as I think, since they are set down in a series of paragraphs under the same heading, to use the same form of expression throughout.

G. M.

(*To be continued.*)

## THE MATTER AND FORM OF THE SACRAMENTS.

THE terms “matter” and “form” were not applied to the sacraments until the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Fathers, indeed, often speak of the form of a sacrament; but they mean thereby the whole external rite in contradistinction to the inward grace, of which the rite is the sign and cause. Even writers as late as Hugh of St. Victor (d. 1141), St. Bernard (d. 1153), and the Lombard (d. 1164), do not make use of the terms; nor are they found in the decrees of the fourth Lateran Council (1215). As soon, however, as the Aristotelian metaphysic found its way into the Christian schools, it was but natural that its grand distinction of matter and form should be applied to the things which are eminently the province of theology, viz., the sacraments. Here it seemed easy to distinguish the two elements. The familiar quotation from St. Augustine

seemed to have been an anticipation of the new terminology: "Quid est aqua nisi aqua? Accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum."<sup>1</sup> No wonder, then, that the terms were readily accepted by both the rival schools of Scotists and Thomists, and were finally sealed by the Church's authority at Constance,<sup>2</sup> Florence,<sup>3</sup> and Trent.<sup>4</sup>

But although the distinction between the matter and form of the sacraments was admitted in principle on all hands, it nevertheless gave rise to much diversity of opinion when it came to be applied to each sacrament in turn. As far as Baptism, Confirmation, and Extreme Unction were concerned, there was little difficulty about their matter. There was, indeed, a considerable difference between the forms used in the Eastern and in the Western Churches. The great battles, however, raged round the matter and form of Holy Orders, Matrimony, and, notably, Penance.<sup>5</sup> Many of the schoolmen, notably the Thomists, held that the delivery of the instruments was part of the matter of order; yet the Eastern Church, whose orders are valid, does not, and never did, make use of this ceremony in ordination. In the case of Matrimony, some have looked upon the delivery of control over one's body as the matter, and the expression (in words or other signs) of this delivery as the form; while others have held that the delivery was the matter, and the acceptance by the other party was the form. But it was concerning Penance that the greatest variety occurred. Scotus, preceded by Robert Pullen, and followed by Ockham, held that the absolution alone was of the essence of the sacrament, the acts of the penitent being merely necessary conditions; absolution, considered as a sensible rite, being the matter, and considered as signifying the effect, being the form. Durandus believed the absolution to be the form, and the confession alone to be the matter.

<sup>1</sup> *Tract. 89 in Joann.*

<sup>2</sup> *Contr. Wicl. et Hus.*

<sup>3</sup> *Decr. pro Armenis.*

<sup>4</sup> Sess. xiv., capp. 2, 3; *De Extr. Unct.*, cap. 1.

<sup>5</sup> The Holy Eucharist, being the single instance of a permanent sacrament, had special difficulties of its own.

In his view, contrition was only a condition, and satisfaction the spirit of the sacrament. Some even held that the imposition of the priest's hands was part of the matter. The Thomists, following their master,<sup>1</sup> made the acts of the penitent the matter.

It is worthy of note that the Council of Trent does not make use of the distinction in its decrees concerning the sacraments generally, or in those concerning Baptism and Confirmation. We are told that such diversity of opinion prevailed among the Fathers present, that Paul III. deemed it prudent that no "chapters" should be drawn up, but only "canons;" and that these should avoid any reference to matters freely discussed in the schools. The decrees of the fourth Lateran Council are said by some to have already stated sufficiently the Catholic doctrine; but these make no mention of matter and form. The only times that the words are used at Trent are in the fourteenth session, where the absolution is said to be the form of penance, and the acts of the penitent to be "quasi materia;" and in the same session oil blessed by the bishop is said to be the matter, and the words the form, of Extreme Unction. We should note, however, that in the canons themselves the word "form" is not used at all, and that "matter" occurs only once, and then in the qualified phrase, "quasi materia."<sup>1</sup> In defining the nature of Baptism the Council seems to go out of its way to avoid using these terms. Thus, water is not said to be the matter, but to be necessary (*de necessitate baptismi*).<sup>3</sup>

The following paper is not written for the purpose of rejecting the application of the Aristotelian principle to the sacraments, but rather to bring out its genuine meaning which has been obscured, not only in popular manuals, but even in theological treatises of some note.

At the outset we must thoroughly realize that *materia*,

<sup>1</sup> 3 q. 84, a. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Sess. xiv., *De Penit.*, can. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Sess. vii., *De Bapt.*, can. 2. I am aware that in the *Decretum pro Armenis*, published by Eugenius IV., the terms are used throughout. "Hæc omnia sacramenta tribus pertinentibus, videlicet rebus tanquam materia verbis tanquam forma," &c. But this decree contains difficulties of which I shall have something to say later on.

ὕλη, does not mean the same as our English word "matter," and that *forma* does not mean shape or figure. When the schoolmen have to speak of matter (that is, something extended and tangible), they use the word *corpus*. What, then, is the meaning of *materia* and *forma*? According to Aristotle, all bodies are made up of two constituents—the one passive and indeterminate, the other active and determining. The indeterminate constituent may be best described in negative language as that which, while it is something real, is in itself neither a substance nor an accident; it is nearly nothing, and yet can become anything. What makes the matter to be anything definite—the principle of the whole of its activity—is the form. For our present purpose no further explanation of this famous distinction will be needed.

When the schoolmen speak of the matter and form of the sacraments, it is plain that they could not mean that the sacraments were material, corporeal things. What they mean is, that, just as bodies are composed of two constituents, the one indeterminate and the other determining, so, too, in the sacraments two elements, the one indeterminate and the other determining, can be distinguished, and that these may rightly be called matter and form. The latter term is not likely to mislead us, because there is nothing corresponding with shape or figure in the sacraments; but the word "matter," unfortunately, suggests something tangible; and as there is something of this kind in several of the sacraments, it has been the occasion of a false notion. We have now to apply the genuine sense of these terms, first to the sacraments generally, and then to each in particular.

Just as God has been pleased to command that men should worship Him by certain external acts which are called sacrifices, so His Divine Son has been pleased to ordain that grace should be applied to our souls by other external acts which are called sacraments. The same principle is the foundation of both. Man is composed of body and soul; both belong to God; both co-operate in virtue and in sin; hence both should take part in divine

worship, and both should be joined in sanctification.<sup>1</sup> The notion of a sacrament as an act and as external (*i.e.*, in which the body takes part) must be borne in mind throughout. It is something done, not something made. Sacraments, indeed, are usually styled as things (*res*); but as acts come under the designation of things, and as the word "act" conveys a specific meaning, I prefer to use it here.<sup>2</sup> As we shall see, this terminology shuts the door to error, and leads directly to a correct notion of the sacraments themselves, and of the theory of matter and form as applied to them. Again, man has a supernatural as well as a natural life, and his supernatural acts have an analogy with those which are natural. He is born, he is nourished, and he dies, both naturally and supernaturally. Our Lord, in instituting the sacraments, took certain natural acts of our every-day life, capable in themselves of producing only a natural effect, and raised them, when performed with certain distinguishing marks, to a supernatural sphere, capable of producing a supernatural effect.<sup>3</sup> These natural acts are the matter of the sacraments, the distinguishing marks are the form; that is to say, the natural act is the indeterminate element, while the distinguishing mark is that which determines the other. The sacraments are not, indeed, natural signs; on the other hand, they are not simply arbitrary signs. The natural act has some analogy with some particular species of grace, and hence is suitable for being selected by Christ to convey that grace; and, as a fact, has been so selected by Him. As St. Augustine says:—"If the sacraments had no likeness to the things of which they are the sacraments, they would not be sacraments at all."<sup>4</sup> And Hugh of St. Victor speaks of them as "representing by likeness, and signifying by institution."<sup>5</sup> The sacraments differ from each other so much, that any further determination of what constitutes

<sup>1</sup> St. Thom., 3<sup>a</sup>. q. 61, a. 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Sub rebus autem comprehenduntur etiam ipsi *actus sensibiles*, putati ablutio, inunctio et alia hujusmodi, quia in his est eadem ratio significandi et in rebus." 3<sup>a</sup> q. 60, a. 6, ad. 2.

<sup>3</sup> 3<sup>a</sup> q. 65, a. 1. Concil. Trid. Sess. xiv., *De Extr. Unct.*

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 98, n. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Franzelin, *De Sacram.*, page 42.

their matter and form is not easy. It will be enough to say that the matter is the natural act, while the form is the distinguishing mark.<sup>1</sup> We now proceed to speak of each sacrament in turn.

Man comes into this world void of the grace of God, and hence spiritually dead; or, to put it in another way, he has the stain of Adam's sin upon his soul. Both these metaphors, "death" and "stain," are used in Scripture to describe the fallen state of man. Hence, when our Lord was instituting the sacrament which was to remove this stain and to give new life to the soul, He naturally chose the act of washing. This act, indeed, does not at first sight seem to have any connection with regeneration. But in the East it was the custom to wash the child as soon as it was born,<sup>2</sup> St. Paul speaks of the "laver of regeneration;"<sup>3</sup> and we may add, that it would have been difficult to choose any act more clearly symbolical of a new birth. "Unless a man be born again of water (as the cleansing element) and the Holy Ghost (as the life-giving principle), he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven."<sup>4</sup> Washing, then, is the "matter" of Baptism; that is to say, washing is the natural act chosen by our Lord as the sign and cause of the removal of the stain of original sin from the soul. But it is not any washing that is capable of producing this effect. The act must be accompanied by some distinguishing mark, determining it to be a baptism in the technical sense. This mark is found in certain words which sufficiently indicate this, viz.:—"I baptize thee (or similar words) in the name of the Father," &c. In this case our Lord Himself laid down the most important part of the words to be used.

But is not water the matter of the sacrament—"Quid est aqua nisi aqua? Accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum?" I answer, in the words of the Council of Trent, that water is necessary for baptism—"Aquam veram

<sup>1</sup> The word "mark" is, of course, used in its widest sense.

<sup>2</sup> *Ezech. xvi. 4.*

<sup>3</sup> *Tit. iii. 5*; cf. *Eph. v. 25*; "Cleansing it by the laver of water in the word of life."

<sup>4</sup> *John ii. 5.*

et naturalem esse *de necessitate baptismi*.”<sup>1</sup> Washing, as St. Thomas observes, can properly be performed only by water. Oil or wine leaves something behind it, either stain or smell. Blood, indeed, may be said to wash, but only metaphorically—“*Ex latere Christi fluxit aqua ad ablundum, sanguis ad redimendum.*”<sup>2</sup> To say that the matter of Baptism is water, is likely to make people think that the “matter” of the sacrament is something material and tangible. By saying that washing is the matter, we indicate the indeterminate element, thus giving the genuine meaning of the term. St. Thomas himself distinctly says that Baptism is washing—“*Sacramentum non perficitur in ipsa aqua sed in applicatione aquae ad hominem quod est ablutio.*”<sup>3</sup> Hence the following passage, in one of the official text-books for pupil-teachers in England, is calculated to produce a wrong impression on their youthful minds:—“The outward part of the sacrament is usually divided into matter and form. *The matter is the thing used*,<sup>4</sup> together with the application of it to the person who is to receive the sacrament, and the form is the words accompanying the application of the matter. Thus, in Baptism, the outward pouring of the water on the head of the child constitutes the matter; and the words, ‘I baptize thee,’ &c., the form of the sacrament.”<sup>5</sup> The third sentence is undoubtedly correct; but does not the whole passage convey the notion that the matter of a sacrament is somewhat tangible, and the form something recited? Where is there any indication of the indeterminate and the determining element, which is the genuine meaning of the terms?<sup>6</sup>

After a man has been born again and cleansed

<sup>1</sup> Sess. vii., *De Bapt.*, can. 2.

<sup>2</sup> 3 qu. 66, a. 3.

<sup>3</sup> 3 qu. 66, a. 1. It is only fair to state that in a. 3 he says that water is the proper matter of baptism. The *Summa* is, of course, meant for those who have some knowledge of Aristotle’s metaphysics. Still, I am not here concerned to show that the Thomists held the opinion defended in this paper.

<sup>4</sup> Italics mine.

<sup>5</sup> *Instructions in Christian Doctrine*, chap. xc.

<sup>6</sup> The catechism of the Council of Trent has, indeed, somewhat similar language concerning the matter of the sacraments; but it then goes on to explain the form in such a way as to bring out the sense of the application of the Aristotelian distinction. Part ii., chap. i., nn. 15, 16.

from his original stain, he needs to be spiritually strengthened to enable him to overcome the enemies of his soul. He must be enrolled in Christ's army, and a mark must be set upon him whereby he may be known to be a Christian soldier. Two actions, symbolical of enrolling and strengthening, were selected by our Lord to be the instruments of these graces.<sup>1</sup> To lay the hand on anyone was a means of pointing him out; and, consequently, an emblem of setting anyone apart for a particular office or dignity. Imposition of hands, accordingly, formed a part of the ceremonial observed on the appointment and consecration of persons to high and holy undertakings. "Take Josue, the son of Nun, a man in whom is the spirit, and put thy hand upon him," &c.<sup>2</sup> Again, anointing with oil was used by the ancients for the purpose of strengthening the limbs, and so enabling the athletes to take part in the contests of the arena.

"Exercent patrias oleo labente palaestras  
Nudati socii."<sup>3</sup>

Hence, our Lord took anointing and imposition of hands as the natural acts to be raised to the dignity of the sacrament of Confirmation. Here, too, certain words, not indeed exactly specified by Him, serve to distinguish the sacramental acts from the natural acts. It should be noted, that as oil is one of the symbols of the Holy Ghost,<sup>4</sup> and as the Holy Ghost is said to "come down" upon the person confirmed, these two acts, anointing and imposition of hands, are fitting signs of His coming into our souls.

Next we have to consider the spiritual nutrition needed by the soul for the support of the life and strength already acquired. In instituting the sacrament which was to fulfil this function, our Lord naturally selected the two acts whereby nourishment is conveyed into the body—viz., eating

<sup>1</sup> The dispute concerning the matter of Confirmation need not detain us here. The views given in the text are stated in such a way as to fit in with any permissible opinion on the subject.

<sup>2</sup> Num. xxvii. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Æn.* iii. 281 : cf. v. 135.

<sup>4</sup> See *Manual of Theology*, by Wilhelm and Scannell, vol. i., page 333.

and drinking : and as these acts presuppose some substances to be eaten and drunk, He naturally selected the two commonly consumed in the East at that time—viz., bread and wine. Thus, in blessing Jacob, Isaac said : “ God give thee the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, abundance of corn and wine.”<sup>1</sup> Had our Lord been so pleased He might have made the sacrament to consist in eating mere bread and drinking mere wine, with certain words or ceremonies ; just as in Baptism or Confirmation the sacrament consists in the acts done, accompanied by certain words, without any substantial change taking place in the water and oil.<sup>2</sup> But this would hardly have been in keeping with the infinite love which had led Him to empty Himself, and to become obedient even to the death of the cross.<sup>3</sup> The soul’s food and drink were to be His body and blood, and hence the bread and wine were to be changed into His flesh and blood. “ My flesh is meat (food) indeed, and My blood is drink indeed.”<sup>4</sup> Besides, He wished that His bodily presence, though under a veil, should abide with men ; and, moreover, that His body and blood should be continually offered up as a sacrifice under the appearance of bread and wine. For these three reasons, then, the Holy Eucharist differs from the other sacraments in being something permanent, and, in a sense, tangible ; yet, bearing in mind what has been said, we may hold that it agrees with the other sacraments in being, to some extent, an action, because it is not formally a sacrament (that is, it does not actually give grace to our souls) until the action of eating or drinking takes place. The consecration is performed for the purpose of at least ultimate consumption—“ My flesh is *meat* indeed, and My blood is *drink* indeed.” “ Take ye and *eat* ; this is My body.” Hence, in spite of the peculiarities of this sacrament, arising from its being permanent, we may say that the matter of the sacrament is the natural act of

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxvii. 28 : cf. v. 37 : “ I have established him with corn and wine.”

<sup>2</sup> This, of course, is a heretical view of the Eucharist, condemned by the Council of Trent. Sess. xiii., can. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Phil. ii. 7, 8.

<sup>4</sup> John vi. 56.

eating or drinking, while the form is the words of consecration which determine this act of eating or drinking to be sacramental. Our Lord is, of course, present both before the act and after it; but He does not bestow the grace of the sacrament until the act takes place. If this view of the matter and form should seem at variance with the popular account of the doctrine of Trent, I would remind the reader that the Council never once uses these terms in its seventeen chapters and twenty canons concerning the Eucharist.

St. Thomas observes that if man were incapable of suffering, the three foregoing sacraments would suffice; but, inasmuch as he is subject to bodily and spiritual ailments, two more sacraments are required—viz., Penance and Extreme Unction.<sup>1</sup> Sins committed after Baptism do not undo the work of that sacrament. The original stain cannot return; the baptized person does not cease to be a Christian and a member of the Church. It is not fitting, therefore, that these sins should be remitted by a repetition of Baptism even if that were possible. In instituting a special sacrament for this purpose, our Lord, as usual, selected certain natural acts, and endowed them with the supernatural power of removing natural sin. When a man has done wrong and repents, he is sorry for his transgression; he is ready to make good the injury he has done, and he is also impelled to make confession of his guilt. These three are the natural acts involved in the notion of a full and entire repentance. As to the first two there can be no question. Anyone who doubts about the third need only to be reminded that confession is a familiar incident in the chronicles of crime, and forms a most valuable part of the stock-in-trade of the writer of melodrama. The guilty man is persuaded that there is no forgiveness for him as long as his sin lies buried in his bosom. It must "out" in some way. Sometimes, indeed, the confession is public; often, however, it is made to some trustworthy person, thereby satisfying the impulse to unburden oneself, and at the same time securing immunity from punishment. Contrition,

<sup>1</sup> 3 qu. 65, a. 1: cf. Concil. Trid., Sess. xiv., cap. 1.

confession, satisfaction—these are the natural acts of repentance, and are, therefore, the matter of the sacrament. The element which gives them their distinguishing character—viz., the priest's absolution—is the form. We need not have recourse to any subterfuges in order to apply these terms to Penance. The matter of the sacraments is not necessarily any material thing; it is the indeterminate element—the natural act to be raised to a supernatural status.

We may pass rapidly over the other medicinal sacrament, Extreme Unction. Anointing is practised for healing purposes as well as for strengthening. Anointing, then, is the matter of the sacrament; and the words pronounced by the priest, distinguishing the sacramental from any other anointing, are the form.

These five sacraments are all that are required by man in his individual capacity. But, inasmuch as he has social relations, two other sacraments are needed—the one to secure the perpetuation of the priestly functions, the other to sanctify the propagation of the race.<sup>1</sup>

Imposition of hands, as we have seen in treating of Confirmation, is a natural way of singling out a person, and setting him apart for some special office. Hence this act is the matter of the sacrament of Order, and words distinguishing the act are the form. Which particular imposition of hands is the matter, and which particular words are the form, does not concern us here. Nor will it be necessary to prove this view against those who insist on the delivery of the instruments as part of the matter. The Council of Trent<sup>2</sup> says that ordination consists (*perficitur*) of words and external signs, quoting the Apostle: "I admonish thee to stir up the grace of God, which is in thee by the imposi-

<sup>1</sup> 3 qu. 65, a. 1. Another explanation of the sevenfold number of the sacraments is also given there, which is, to say the least of it, ingenious. There are seven great virtues—three theological and four cardinal. Baptism has to do with faith, Extreme Unction with hope, and the Eucharist with charity; prudence with Holy Order, justice with Penance, fortitude with Confirmation, and temperance with Matrimony.

<sup>2</sup> Sess. xxii., cap. 3. The Council had already spoken of "sacerdotes ab episcopis ordinati per impositionem manuum presbyterii." Sess. xiv., cap. 3.

tion of my hands.”<sup>1</sup> Not a word is said about the instruments. But does not the *Decretum pro Armenis*, published by Eugenius IV., distinctly say that the delivery of the instruments is the matter?<sup>2</sup> Most certainly it does; and it also appears to condemn much that has been said in this paper. We must here, therefore, examine the scope and contents of the document. At the Council of Florence the Pope drew up for the Armenian delegates a statement of the faith and discipline of the Roman Church. It contained the Nicene Creed, the definitions of the Council of Chalcedon, and the third of Constantinople, the decree enacting the acceptance of Chalcedon and of St. Leo’s letter; then came an instruction on the sacraments, followed by the Athanasian Creed, the decree of union with the Greeks, and the decree concerning feasts. The whole formed a collection of various materials, as, indeed, is indicated by the terms *capitula*, *declarationes*, *definitiones*, *traditiones*, *praecepta*, *statuta et doctrina*, which are used at the end of the document to characterize its contents. The mere perusal of the instruction on the sacraments will convince anyone that the Pope had no intention of issuing a dogmatic definition on the subject, but rather of giving an account of the common teaching and practice of the Western Church.<sup>3</sup> This view is confirmed when we examine, *e. g.*, the account of the Sacrament of Order. No mention is made of imposition of hands, which must be acknowledged by all as, at least, part of the matter. At the time of the Council, Thomist opinions undoubtedly prevailed in Catholic schools. It was only to be expected, therefore, that Eugenius should set before the Armenians the teaching of the Angelic Doctor as a statement of what was held<sup>4</sup> by the Church. At Trent the authority

<sup>1</sup> 2 Tim. i. 6 : cf. 1 Tim. iv. 14.

<sup>2</sup> “Sextum sacramentum est ordinis, ejus materia est illud per ejus traditionem confertur ordo, sicut presbyteratus traditur per calicis cum vino et patinae cum pane porrectionem.”

<sup>3</sup> See Denzinger’s *Enchiridion*, lxxiii. B.

<sup>4</sup> Much of the decree is taken, word for word, from St. Thomas’s *Opusc., De Articulis Fidei et Septem Sacramentis*. Had he so willed, the Pope might, of course, have issued a dogmatic definition in the words of a father or doctor.

of the saint still held its ground ; but the decrees on the sacraments are clearly drawn up with a view to conciliate the opinions of other great doctors. Let anyone compare the doctrine of the later Council with the instruction read at Florence, and he will be convinced that this portion of the *Decretum pro Armenis* was no dogmatic definition.

We come now to the sacrament which is last in the usual order of enumeration, and which presents, perhaps, the greatest difficulty so far as the present question is concerned. Even the *Decretum pro Armenis*, which speaks of the matter and form of all the other sacraments, is silent about the matter and form of Matrimony. If we could hold the opinion of the great theologians—Melchior, Canus, and Estius—that the priest was the minister, we could at once explain that the natural act (viz., the contract) was the matter, and the words of the priest (*ego vos conjungo*) were the form. But the fact that clandestine marriages between Christians are sacramental,<sup>1</sup> seems fatal to this view. We must, therefore, look for the matter and form in what takes place between the parties themselves. Two couples—the one Christian, the other non-Christian—get married. They go through exactly the same ceremony. Yet in the former case there is the sacrament ; in the latter there is none. What produces this difference ? Simply the fact that the former couple are baptized. Our Lord in instituting this sacrament acted on the same principle as in the others ; He took a natural act, and raised it to be something supernatural. But, instead of making the distinguishing element to consist of words or the like, He placed it in the Christian character of the parties ; in other words, He ordained that whenever the contract of marriage should take place between baptized persons that contract should be a sacrament. To say that the form of Matrimony is the fact of being baptized, would sound strange. It is better to say that the contract, considered as concerned with human beings, is the matter ; while considered as concerned with Christians it is the form.<sup>2</sup> But if we remember the meaning of the terms as

<sup>1</sup> Where the Tridentine decree has not been published.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Scotius's view of Penance, *supra*.

explained in this paper, and bear in mind the great variety of opinions on the subject, and the consequent freedom allowed to theologians, it will, I think, be admitted that there is something to be said in favour of this suggestion. However, the rejection of it does not involve the rejection of the present account of the matter and form of the sacraments.

In conclusion, I may observe that it is misleading to use the terms when treating of the sacraments, unless some explanation of the Aristotelian principle is first given. If the pupil cannot understand the distinction, the terms should not be used at all. The compilers of our English *catechism* have done well by omitting them altogether. By doing so, they have prevented much error, and have acted in the spirit of the Fathers of Trent.

T. B. SCANNELL.

## OUR MARTYRS.—II.

**I**N the last number of the I. E. RECORD we gave a short account of what might be called the remote preparation for the inquiry to be held by the bishop, which precedes the examination of the case before the Roman tribunal. We are speaking here only of the *ordinary* course of procedure, the object of which is to obtain information in reference to the *repute* of martyrdom and the report of the miracles wrought, to be transmitted in due time to the Holy See. We shall now treat briefly of the Court itself, of its constitution; and of its mode of procedure.

By law and by custom, the bishop of the diocese, in virtue of his office, presides in the Court. But it may happen that other more urgent duties prevent him from undertaking what is often an inquiry that will extend over a considerable time. Then he may depute another bishop to take his place, or his vicar-general, or another ecclesiastical dignitary; but in the two last cases, two others must be

joined with him, one of whom should be a master of sacred theology, the other a graduate in canon law. Before entering on his duty, the judge is to take oath that he will perform his duty faithfully, and keep the secrets which are made known to him in his official capacity; and as for the form of the oath, if he is a bishop, standing before the book of the Gospels, he lays his hand on his breast, and pronounces the oath; if he is a priest, he takes the oath kneeling. This is the manner in which the oath is taken by all the officials of the Court and by the witnesses that appear before it. A censure attaches to the violation of it, *ipso facto*, absolution from which is reserved to the Pope.

The place where the Court is to be held must be a *locus sacer*, a public church, a public oratory, the chapel in a bishop's house, or the oratory in a private house in which mass is said. In the case of a cathedral or large church, the special part of it where the Court sits must be mentioned as the chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary or to a saint; and this is styled technically the *locus loci*.

We have already spoken of the Postulator, and of the duties which he has to perform. A few words about each of the other officials.

A very important office is that of the Promotor Fidei, vulgarly styled the devil's advocate, though this title can hardly be claimed in its full extent by the Promotor in the preliminary inquiry; it belongs in its plenitude to him who discharges the duties of Promotor when the case is brought before the Holy See for final examination. His duty is to see that everything is done in a strictly legal way, and in case of omission or commission to enter a formal protest against what has been done improperly. No Session of the Court can be held validly unless he is present, and his presence duly registered in the Acts of the Session. He gives in the questions that are to be put to the witnesses, both of a general kind and also such as are suggested by the articles which the Procurator lays before the Court, and which he means to prove in a way that we shall speak of later. These questions are kept sealed by the Judge, and are not to be opened unless when the witness is going to be

examined and in the Promotor's presence. At the end of each Session they are closed up and sealed, with the answers of the witnesses, until the whole process is ended. When a copy is made of the Acts, to be transmitted to the Holy See, it is his duty to take care that this copy is an exact transcript of the process in all its parts; and when the copy has been made and duly collated, he must take care that the original, and all the documents connected with it, are sealed up and placed securely in the diocesan archives. There may be more than one Promotor Fidei, if the case is such as to require the aid of a second. But only one need be present during each Session.

The next official is the Notary, who will set down fully and exactly all that takes place during each Session, and takes charge of all documents brought before the Court. When the Court is being constituted he must produce the Letters Patent by which he is appointed, which are to be duly registered in the Acts. As he cannot give testimony on his own behalf, being an interested person, another Notary is called in at the beginning of the first Session, to prove on oath that this official has been duly deputed to act as Notary specially in this case, and that he took the oath, such as the other officials take, to perform the duties of his office faithfully. At the end of each Session he must see that the Acts are signed by the Judge, by the Promotor Fidei, and by the witnesses, if any have been examined, and he attaches to the whole his signature and the seal of his office. After this he closes up the questions of the Promotor and the answers of the witnesses, and keeps them under seal, and so at the end of each Session until the process is complete. When the inquiry is in reference to the repute of sanctity of anyone belonging to a religious Order, a member of the same Order cannot act as Notary of the Court, even though he may have all the powers necessary to act in other matters concerning that Order. And this under pain of nullity of the Acts, incurred by the very fact.

The officials may not change places, nor can one of them take the place of another who has withdrawn from the case.

The purpose of this law is to prevent all fraud or deceit, or even the slightest semblance of either. If, for instance, the Notary could become Postulator in the case, knowing, by reason of his previous office, what are the weak points of the case, what witnesses would support his statements, and who would oppose them, he would be tempted to pass over certain matters slightly, and to have only such witnesses summoned as would support him.

The cursor or messenger is appointed by the bishop. His chief duty is to notify to the judge and the other officials the day and hour appointed for each session, and to summon the witnesses whom the judge cites to appear at the demand of the Procurator or of the Promotor. Clerics or nobles are usually chosen for this office.

The witnesses are cited to appear by the messenger; no "*lestis ultroneus*," *i.e.*, who appears without being cited, is admitted to give testimony. They take an oath on the Gospels to speak the truth on the interrogatories and articles upon which they will be examined, and to keep the secret, and not to reveal to anyone what is contained in their interrogatories or the depositions which they will make in respect of them or the articles, and not to speak about them except to the judge, the Promotor Fidei, and the notary. The postulator may show them beforehand the articles on which they are to be examined, in order that they may prepare their answers so as to give them more fully and exactly; but he may not suggest to them the answers which they are to give. If they omit anything of importance, or find on further consideration that some statement made in the course of their examination was incorrect, they can amend it at a sitting of the court. Each of them need not give evidence on all the articles; he gives it on such only as he is competent to deal with. A mere "yes" or "no" is not taken as an answer. Nor will an answer in writing be accepted; but a witness can read from his own writing an answer which he wishes to give, especially when the answer is a long one, and deals with facts or dates which he has set down on paper for the sake of greater accuracy. When an interpreter is needed, he is sworn to perform his duty

faithfully. The four questions put to each of the witnesses relates to his fitness to appear before such a tribunal, and in such a matter; viz., whether he is under any kind of ecclesiastical censure; whether he has received the sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist lately; whether he is aware of the penalties attaching by ecclesiastical law to perjury, violation of secrecy, &c., in this case. The examination is continued on the articles. To these the witness answers as fully as he can, either from what he has seen himself or what he has heard by public repute, giving at the same time in each case the source from which he has derived his knowledge. Each of the questions will be put by the Promotor Fidei, as he may think fit. The Notary takes down the evidence in the very words of the witness.

When the witnesses are all examined, and the case formally ended, a copy is taken of the whole process by a sworn copyist. This, when duly collated with the original, is signed and sealed by the judge and the notary. The original is kept in the diocesan archives, and the copy is transmitted to Rome by a person chosen for the purpose; he, too, is sworn to perform his duty faithfully. The judge gives him a letter, signed and sealed, directed to the cardinals of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, informing them that he is the bearer of the process duly carried out, and that on a certain day to be fixed by them he will hand it over to them. This is in brief the mode of procedure in the preliminary inquiry held in the place where the martyrdom took place.

As will be seen at a glance, the nature of this tribunal is analogous to that of a grand jury in English law. What is wanted is that the repute of martyrdom and the nature of the cause for which death was endured should be proved by evidence. It may be asked, how can witnesses depose to facts that happened long before they were born? The answer is, the Church has in view here to establish the *public repute* of martyrdom by oral testimony. Witnesses can speak as to the traditions of a locality, of a family, of a religious order. To this oral tradition is added the knowledge that is derived from books written at different times and by different persons. Indeed, some of the most valuable

testimonies on behalf of our martyrs are found in the works of Protestant writers.

From these two sources of knowledge it cannot be a difficult matter to prove the following propositions—that an Act of Parliament was passed at the instigation of Henry VIII., declaring him supreme head of the Church, and punishing with the penalty of high treason any attempt to deprive him of this title; that the persecution begun under Henry VIII., became more cruel and fierce under Elizabeth; that these laws continued in force, and others also were made, in the reign of James I. and of later sovereigns; in virtue of which laws many Catholics were during the reigns of these sovereigns despoiled of their goods, cast into prison, tortured, and put to a cruel and shameful death; that the servants of God freely accepted death in defence of the Catholic faith, and specially of the supreme authority of the Holy See; that many of them had the option given them of escaping death if they would abandon the Catholic faith and conform to the Protestant religion, but that they persevered to their deaths in the profession of the true faith; that these servants of God have at all times been reputed to have suffered death from hatred of the Catholic faith, and that they have been regarded as true martyrs by the Catholic people and by Catholic writers, and that Catholics have shown their veneration for them in various ways, as by collecting their relics and keeping them with reverence as those of martyrs, and by desiring that their public cultus should be sanctioned by the Church.

In a future number we purpose to give a brief account of the most important books that are the principal sources of the knowledge of our martyrs in detail, which were published at home and abroad in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

D. MURPHY, S.J.

## THE APOSTLESHIP OF PRAYER.—III.

## VARIOUS WORKS INCLUDED UNDER THE APOSTLESHIP OF PRAYER.

THE Apostleship of Prayer has been likened to the huge primary wheel in a factory, to which any number of looms may be attached, and which turns them all with equal facility. Three subordinate Apostleships are at present in splendid working order, impelled by its motive power: the Apostleship of Temperance, the Apostleship of Cleanliness, and the Apostleship of Study. These works fall under its power in the order here given: and this order may be looked upon as a test—*as, indeed, it is*—of their relative necessity and importance. The object of this paper is to show how these works may be aided, and successfully prosecuted under the patronage of the Apostleship of Prayer.

We will speak first of

## TEMPERANCE.

Anyone looking at our country, anyone knowing the habits and failings of our people, knows that *drink* is one of the great—we will not say *errors*, but *misfortunes* of our country and our race. As of Goldsmith's clergyman in *The Deserted Village*, so of our people, in this matter, it may (in a sense) be said: "And e'en their failings lean to virtue's side." But while we recognise the fact, that it is not our individual love of drink for its own sake that, for the most part, leads our people to excess, yet we are not to shut our eyes to the evils to which our people are led by this inborn love of conviviality and good comradeship. We go into the homes of our people in the city or town, in the hamlet, and sometimes in country places; we go into the houses of the wealthy, into the tradesman's home, into the labourer's cottage; and everywhere we find the same sad propensity to excessive drinking habits.

The Registrar-General, in his forty-fifth Annual Report, appends his own opinion on the mortality caused by drink, in these most striking words:—"The death rate depends

more upon the extent to which people are brought into contact with drink than upon anything else whatsoever. . . . The mortality of men who are concerned in the liquor trade is appalling."

If, then, intemperance were not a sin, but merely a temporal evil—the shortening of a man's life; still, the Apostleship of Prayer would be doing a work highly meritorious, if it but weaned people away from a failing that tended to shorten life. But to be convinced that intemperance is not alone a temporal evil, but a temporal evil of a very dark dye, and a spiritual one moreover, listen to the famous Thirteen Questions of Cardinal Manning—a writer, it need not be said, calm, sober, and moderate in his judgment. Writing to *The Fortnightly Review* in September, 1886, he says:—

"Is there, then, any one dominant vice of our nation? To answer this, let us ask:—

"1. Is there any vice in the United Kingdom that slays, at least, sixty thousand; or, as others believe and affirm, one hundred and twenty thousand every year?

"2. Or, that lays the seeds of a whole harvest of diseases of the most fatal kind, and renders all other lighter diseases more acute, and perhaps even fatal in the end?

"3. Or, that causes, at the least, one-third of all the madness confined in our asylums?

"4. Or, that prompts, directly or indirectly, seventy-five per cent. of all crime?

"5. Or, that produces an unseen and secret world of all kinds of evil, and of personal degradation which no police court ever knows, and no human eye can ever reach?

"6. Or, that in the midst of our immense and multiplying wealth, produces, not poverty, which is honourable, but pauperism, which is a degradation to a civilized people?

"7. Or, that ruins every class and condition of life, from the highest to the lowest; men of every degree of culture and education; of every honourable profession, public officials, military and naval officers and men, railway and household servants: and, what is worse than all, that ruins women of every class, from the most rude to the most refined?

"8. Or, that, above all other evils, is the most potent cause of destruction to the domestic life of all classes?

"9. Or, that has already wrecked, and is continually wrecking, the homes of our agricultural and factory workmen?

"10. Or, that has already been found to paralyze the pro-

ductiveness of our industries in comparison with other countries, especially the United States?

"11. Or, as we are officially informed, renders our commercial seamen less trustworthy on board ship?

"12. Or, that spreads these accumulating evils throughout the British Empire, and is blighting our fairest colonies?

"13. Or, that has destroyed, and is destroying the indigenous races wherever the British Empire is in contact with them, so that from the hem of its garment there goes out, not the virtue of civilization and Christianity, but of degradation and death?"

And then the Cardinal solemnly avers:—"There is not one point in the above questions which cannot be shown by manifold evidence to meet in one, and one only, of our manifold vices." That one, no person need be told, is *drink*. Surely then, anything that tends by lawful means to draw people away from that vice, is blessed.

But it might come into some person's mind to say:—"Oh! it was England, Cardinal Manning was thinking of; it is with England, its customs and vices, that he is most intimate." Let us suppose it to be so; but we must still remember that there are those who know that it can be proved to be equally true of Ireland as of England.

The following is the solemn testimony of the Irish episcopacy:—

"With deepest pain, and, after the example of the Apostles, weeping, we say that the abominable vice of intemperance still continues to work dreadful havoc among our people, marring in their souls the work of religion, and in spite of their rare natural and supernatural virtues, changing many among them *into enemies of the Cross of Christ*. . . . Drunkenness has wrecked more homes once happy than ever fell before the crowbar of the evictor; it has filled more graves and made more widows and orphans than did the famine; it has broken more hearts, blighted more hopes, and rent asunder family ties more ruthlessly than the enforced exile into which their misery has condemned emigrants."

Were this the verdict of some irresponsible person, we might shrug our shoulders or shake our heads; but it is none such; it is the solemn utterance of the united episcopacy of Ireland; and the pastoral letter from which it is taken bore at its foot the signature of every archbishop and bishop of Ireland, at the close of the National Synod held

at Maynooth in 1875. It reminds one of that sweeping and terrible dictum of Mr. Gladstone's—a dictum quoted approvingly by Cardinal Manning in his essay in *The Fortnightly Review*, thus:—"Mr. Gladstone has said in words, which have become a proverb, that the intemperance of the United Kingdom is the source of more evils than war, pestilence, and famine; and to this it must be added, that it does not visit us periodically like war, but reigns in our nation year by year in permanent activity."

Now, let us turn to the October number of the *Irish Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. Oh! how heart-rending and appalling are the cries. "For the love of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, I beg you," writes one, "to ask, through *The Messenger*, prayers for my father, who is addicted to drink." To all appearance it is a daughter, under an assumed name, that utters that appeal. Another cries: "For the sake of the love you bear the Sacred Heart of Jesus, will you pray, and ask the prayers of the associates, for the conversion of a parent who is most *terribly* addicted to drink, and who has not been to the sacraments for years." And then this most sad letter goes on: "Our home life is rendered *thoroughly* miserable through these failings. May the Sacred Heart pour down its most abundant blessings on you for your great efforts to spread temperance." It tells the reason of this prayer. "If the ninth part of the readers of *The Messenger* only knew the terrible misery of a drunkard's home, as alas! I know too well, they would aid you in your work. May God pity those who know, from experience, the miserable home drink makes!"

Surely there was no playing in these words with the evil. Mere imagination could never dream of such direct, vivid language. It could only have been taught by nature, and forced by affliction from the heart. The plaint is of one treading the wine-press; the piteous wail of the female slave turning the hand-mill!

Hear one letter more:—"Through the intercession of our Lady of Dolours, I implore your prayers and the prayers of the associates for the conversion of my husband, who is bereft of all religious sentiment, just becoming a drunkard,

and neglecting his wife and young children. I now purpose to make the *Heroic Offering* for his conversion, and promise never to touch any kind of drink during my life; also to burn a lamp constantly in my own home in honour of the Sacred Heart of Jesus." Only one more:—"I beseech your prayers for the conversion of my sister, who has become a hardened drunkard. She was once a happy mother and a respectful wife, amiable and gifted, and much beloved."

"It is," says Cardinal Manning, "above all other evils, the most potent cause of destruction to the domestic happiness of families." "It has wrecked more homes than ever fell beneath the crowbar: filled more graves and made more widows and orphans than did the famine," say the Bishops of Ireland.

Now, we ask, what remedy is offered by our Blessed Lord for this terrible domestic malady? "*My peace I leave you; My peace I give you.*"

Here, at once are the two things brought face to face—drink and the remedy the Apostleship of Prayer offers. Its mode of dealing with the evil is novel and attractive. It scarcely meets it in the open; it avoids (for the most part) direct attacks; but it hopes to make up for the non-appearance of open hostility by its careful and successful attempt on its flank. It does not proceed on the old plan—"this is a necessity in your case, and you must do it;" but it rather assumes to believe that it is not a necessity, and appeals for aid to the humour and sympathy and Christian love of the human heart. Its decision in the case of the drunkard is not, "you must take the pledge;" but, "will you not for the sake of the Sacred Heart of Jesus restrain yourself for a while, for a season? you do so in Lent, in honour of His Sacred Thirst and His Passion: will you not now do the same, for a season, in honour of His bleeding Heart?"

It is hardly necessary to say, that poor human nature is more quickly touched by crediting it with good intentions—by, in fact, "throwing the good fellow" on it—than it otherwise is; and no one who has to deal with men and women need be told how much more persuasive and successful is the calm and gentle manner than the harsh and the dogmatic.

Then, there is to be taken into account the fact, that behind the words of the speaker is the ray of grace from the Sacred Heart. Add to this, that the prayers of the associates in the parish, who may be reckoned by hundreds, sometimes by thousands, are helping and obtaining grace for the victims, and their good example is silently giving them encouragement. Nay, there are not alone thousands, but millions, praying for the spiritual good of each member; and surely it is to be expected that among these millions there must be many, very many, souls especially holy before Almighty God. Already thousands of the members have made *Heroic Offerings* to win God's favour and obtain His blessing. "I now purpose," says one of the letters quoted, "to make the *Heroic Offering*, and promise never to touch any kind of drink during my life." And, last of all, the prayers and good works and penances, fastings, and disciplines of an immense number of religious orders are daily added to the intercessions of the associates—the Benedictines, Carthusians, Trappists, Carmelites, Franciscans, Poor Clares, Dominicans, Augustinians, Redemptorists, Jesuits, Marists, Lazarists, &c., monks, nuns, &c.—all have granted a share in their merits; and one must indeed doubt of the efficacy of prayer, when one sets little store on the prayers of all these. Given then, that a branch of the Apostleship is established in a locality or parish, there are all these aids and helps towards furthering the good work of temperance in that place. There is, on the part of the members, a readiness and a preparedness to make sacrifices for the sake of the Sacred Heart; that is the first and evident fruit of the devotion—a disposition to listen to good counsels; and that may be reckoned as half the battle. *Sacrifice is the natural outcome of the League of the Sacred Heart.* The Sacred Heart has been always making sacrifices; sacrifices during its natural human life; sacrifices in its adorable sacramental life; what, then, can the associate or member of the League of the Sacred Heart do, but emulate that spirit of sacrifice? It is what is laid down—"If any man will be My disciple, let him deny himself, take up his cross, and follow Me."

*The Messenger of the Sacred Heart* constantly circulating,

and being read month after month by the members, with its inculcation of sacrifice and temperance for the sake of the Sacred Heart, and for the good example of others, must necessarily have great influence in spreading temperance. And, finally, the regularity in attending the sacraments, and the strength (natural and supernatural) thereby obtained by the members must give a healthy complexion to the temperance cause in that district.

It were, indeed, to be wished that temperance literature were more general than it is, and that a sounder knowledge as to the power and effects of alcohol were diffused abroad than at present exists. It has come to this, that no matter what sickness attacks man or beast in country parts, with us, the handiest remedy, and the one most relied on, is whiskey. Any day, not alone human beings may be seen drugged with it, but horses, cattle, &c., no matter what be their complaint; and this arises from a want of knowledge, or an ill-grounded belief, in supposing alcohol to be an all-powerful remedy. The press of the present day, with few exception, fights shy of the temperance question; but *The Irish Messenger* has made it, after religion, its foremost subject of recommendation to its readers.

#### THE APOSTLESHIP OF CLEANLINESS.

The Apostleship of Cleanliness has been advocated in the pages of *The Messenger* for close on two years. Those who saw the first sketch of the design remember with what eagerness they scanned it; and, having done so, with what gladness they welcomed it. Its object is to introduce by a system of encouragement and inspection greater cleanliness; and, consequently, greater comfort into the homes of our industrious poor. This is done through the instrumentality of the children. It has this twofold and most desirable effect, that it makes the artisan's and the labourer's homes cleaner and brighter, and engenders in the minds of the young school-girls habits of neatness, order, and regularity. It needs no words to tell what beneficial and lasting effect this Apostleship of Cleanliness promotes, whether exercised in the close lanes and alleys of town or in

the peasant's rural cottage. And all this is done under the spirit of devotion to the Sacred Heart. The only one thing essential is to obtain the consent of the parents to allow their children to compete, and to permit that their homes may be open to inspection at any time.

#### THE APOSTLESHIP OF STUDY.

The Apostleship of Study is not of such general application as the Apostleship of Temperance and of Cleanliness. It is for the benefit of seminaries and convents that it has been mainly established; but even in the primary schools it will be found to be of great advantage. It bears a striking analogy to the Society of the Child Jesus, the Society of the Angels, and of the Children of Mary in convent schools. Its greatest advantage consists in its inculcating study at an early age in the spirit of sacrifice for the sake of the Sacred Heart. Fuller explanation of those subordinate apostleships will be found in *The Handbook of the Apostleship of Prayer*.

J. CULLEN, S.J.

---

#### THE REVIVAL OF CHRISTIAN ART IN BELGIUM.

IN the very heart of that flat low-lying sandy plain, intersected by canals and water-courses innumerable, which fringes the eastern shore of the German Ocean, and which our forefathers so aptly termed the Low Country, on a little knoll of gently rising ground, which hardly merits to be called a hill, the ancient town of Ghent still rears its stately crest, and seems to contemplate, with tranquil satisfaction, its mirrored beauty in the sluggish waters of the Lys and the Scheldt.

Unlike many of those quaint old Flemish cities, mighty in times gone by, and erst its rivals, some of them—Bruges, for example, with its world-famed carillon, its ancient churches, its convents, its trafficless canals choked up with water lilies, its quays devoid of merchandise, its swans, its

hundred bridges, its time-honoured town gates, and its ruddy old houses tottering into the water; or Meehlin, with its broad empty streets, its picturesque though now deserted market-place, its decaying palace, and St. Rumbold's grand, but still unfinished tower; or Damme, the old seaport of Bruges, with its ruined minster, its stately town-hall transformed into a wayside inn, its once famous harbour dry, and now a field of reedy grass, and almost all its streets clean swept away: unlike these, or others whose sun is set, and who now linger on in *oisive* leisure, alone sustained, it would seem, by the memory of their former greatness—Ghent, though retaining to this day something of the quaint old-world *cachet* of mediæval times, still lives, still thrives, is still a busy, noisy, bustling city.

It is not, however, of Ghent's material prosperity, of her commerce, of her manufactures, of the advance which she has made in the paths of modern progress and so-called civilization, that we would treat in the following pages; but of a subject, if we mistake not, far nearer to the hearts of most of our readers, and one which cannot fail to be of the deepest interest to all true lovers of the beautiful—of the wonderful impulse, which, in these latter days, Ghent has given to that movement which has for its object the rehabilitation of the handicrafts of the middle ages, of that most beautiful form of art, which its devotees love to distinguish from all others—not, perhaps, without a tinge of favouritism—by the appellation *Christian*.

It is just a quarter of a century ago since the Baron Brialmont, whose name, it will be remembered, is so intimately associated with the Continental Gothic revival, founded at Ghent a school for the especial study and cultivation of mediæval Flemish art. To this institution he gave the name of the school of St. Luke, in imitation, probably, of those schools or guilds which, during the middle ages, were formed under the invocation of that saint, for the fostering and encouragement of art, and the training of Christian artists.

However this may be, the Baron's school made rapid progress. The productions of its studios are to be met with, not only throughout Belgium, but in France, Holland,

Germany, and Austria; during the twenty-five years of its existence it has extended its ramifications to Tournai, Brussels, Liège, Lille, and Courtrai; and while at the present moment it numbers no less than six hundred pupils, not a few of the leading architects and artists of Belgium acknowledge the "Lucas school" as their *Alma Mater*.

No wonder then that the school committee desired to keep their first little jubilee, the twenty-fifth anniversary of their foundation, with all due solemnity; and that, in addition to other festivities, sacred as well as secular, they determined to inaugurate at Ghent an exhibition of architectural plans, pictures, tapestries, jewellery, &c., and various other *objets d'art*, designed and executed by present or former pupils of the "Lucas school."

This determination was carried into effect, and the exhibition was opened on the 23rd of August by the Bishop of Ghent, in the presence of several ecclesiastical dignitaries, and others whose names are well known in literary and art circles. Before, however, paying a visit to the *Palais de l'Université*, the *local* of the exhibition, we would beg our readers to accompany us to the neighbouring town of Mechlin, where, on the 8th of September, the Belgian International Catholic Congress held its first sitting.

Religious art was one of the topics discussed by this assembly, and among those who took a prominent part in the debate were Baron Bethune himself, Monsieur Jules Helbig, editor of the *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, and Vice-President of the Committee of the Liège school, Friar Marès, Director of the school at Brussels, Canon Reusens, Vice-President of the Guild of St. Thomas and St. Luke; Monsieur J. Janssens, and others more or less intimately connected with the institution we are now considering.

The opinions expressed by these gentlemen will, therefore, give us some idea of the principles with which the directors of the schools of St. Luke seek to imbue their pupils; and thus, we take it, the present is a favourable opportunity for learning something of the progress which ecclesiastical art has made in Belgium, and of the channel into which it is being directed by the "Lucas school" and its sympathizers.

With a view to the elucidation of the above questions, we propose to give a brief *résumé* of the resolutions relative to art adopted by the Mechlin Congress, as well as some account of one or two incidents in the debate; and we shall afterwards, by way of illustration, take a rapid glance at several of the art treasures lately exhibited at Ghent.

M. J. JANSSENS' *Report on the Rehabilitation of Christian Art.*

The following is the gist, in its modified form, of the report presented by M. J. Janssens as to the best means to be employed for the rehabilitation of religious painting, and which, after considerable discussion, was finally adopted:—

The committee (Section V., Sub-section B), recognising the fact that painting has an important mission to fulfil, are of opinion that, in order to enable it to accomplish this end, two things are necessary:

" I.—A SUITABLE EDUCATION FOR YOUNG ARTISTS.

" II.—THE LIBERAL ENCOURAGEMENT OF RELIGIOUS ART.

" I. EDUCATION.—(a) An education otherwise than that afforded by the official academies, irretrievably stained as they are by paganism and materialism, is indispensable for the young artist who desires to consecrate his talent to the service of the Church.

" (b) The Schools of St. Luke, which base their system of instruction on the traditions of the middle ages, and on true principles of Christian morality, are eminently adapted for such a purpose.

" (c) The student of religious art will, therefore, do well to commence his education in one or other of these establishments.

" (d) Having finished his course of studies there, and become thoroughly grounded in the rudiments of his profession, he should next enter the *atelier* of some conscientious master, deeply imbued with Christian principles, and, by working in his studio, with him and for him, thereby complete his own artistic education.

" (e) While never for an instant losing sight of the end of his vocation, which is to glorify God by his art, the Christian artist should neglect no means for the perfecting of its expression. On this condition only can he hope to succeed.

" (f) In working from nature, which is altogether indispensable, the study of the nude should be limited to strict necessity.

" II. PATRONAGE.—(a) It is greatly to be wished, that persons in a position to do so, should consecrate a portion of their superfluous expenditure to the encouragement of religious art.

" (b) It is much to be desired, that the sacred picture

should again find its place in the drawing-rooms of Catholic households.

“(c) In order to overcome the indifference of those Catholics whose social status renders them in a position to bestow their patronage on Christian artists, and at the same time to furnish these latter with the means of making their works known and appreciated, it is in the highest degree important to organize special exhibitions of religious paintings. This is all the more urgently needed, seeing that the modern salon has, unhappily, ceased to be a proper place for the exhibition of sacred pictures. The committee, therefore, expresses the hope of seeing the project realized.”

#### DOM JANSSENS' *Report on the Teaching of Art.*

The following resolutions, proposed by Dom Laurent Janssens, O.S.B., of St. Benedict's Abbey, Maredrous, and, after some slight modification, adopted by the Committee, breathe a largeness of spirit and breadth of view truly admirable, and are equally applicable to the circumstances of our own country as to those of Belgium. We give them *in extenso* :—

“1. Seeing that it is the end and aim of all education to form the mind to the appreciation of the beautiful, no less than to that of the good and the true; and seeing, moreover, that the expression of the beautiful is to be found no less in art than in literature, it is greatly to be desired that artistic training should occupy a large place in our educational system.

“2. This forming of the mind to the appreciation of the beautiful, consists not so much in the acquisition of a practical knowledge of any one of the fine arts in particular, as in the general study of the *esthétique* and of the history of art.

“3. Nevertheless, no unimportant place should be allotted to the especial study of national and Christian art.

“4. A short comprehensive school manual conceived in this spirit would be calculated to render immense service in our educational establishments.

“5. The future of religious art being, for the most, part in the hands of the clergy, the artistic formation of clerical students is a matter of very grave moment. In order to bring forth serious results it should begin in the *pêtit séminaire*.

“6. Religious art being at one and the same time the most noble and the most difficult form which art can assume, it is much to be wished that all academies, conservatories, and public schools of art, would take good care to imbue their pupils with a solid and thorough knowledge of this important subject.

“Secular art could not be otherwise than a gainer thereby.”

*CANON REUSSEN'S Report on Sacred Statuary.*

Those of our readers who have visited Belgium, will doubtless learn with satisfaction the purport of Canon Reussen's resolutions concerning sacred statuary. In England, if we mistake not, the Canon's report would happily not have the same applicability; but so far as regards his own country, certainly, his observations are not one whit exaggerated. "In our days," he says, "religious statuary often leaves much to be desired. It is no uncommon occurrence to meet with images conceived in a spirit which little befits their sacred character and that respect which is due to holy things: nay, by times in manifest contradiction to Christian dogma. It is, therefore, of the highest importance to put an end to this intolerable abuse. An implacable war should be waged against such unhealthy productions, and henceforth, no images or pictures should be bought or distributed, save those which are approved by the bishop of the diocese."

*M. JULES HALLUË'S Report on the Polychromy of Churches.*

Mr. Halluë's observations on the polychromy of sacred buildings are not only so interesting, but contain such sound practical advice on the subject, that we do not hesitate to quote them in full:—"An architect and archaeologist of known repute," observes the learned editor of the *Revue de l'Art chrétien*, "once made the remark, and very justly, that every kind of architecture was enhanced by painting; or rather, to speak more accurately, by the harmony produced by an assemblage of colour, inasmuch as it was thereby the better able to bestow on marble, stone, and plaster, a value independent of plastic form."<sup>1</sup>

Nearly half a century earlier, another French savant, after studying the religious edifices of his country, gave vent to the following opinion:—"It is impossible," he says, "justly to appreciate monuments of the middle ages; we can form but a very poor and false idea of those grand architectural and sculptural creations, if we do not picture

<sup>1</sup> *Vallée-de-Dur, Peintures murales du Cloître de Notre Dame à Paris.*  
A. Moul, 1870.

them to ourselves as all glowing with gold and colour.”<sup>1</sup> And the accuracy of these remarks, continues M. Helbig, is borne out by all those who in other countries of Europe have made a study, whether from a practical or from an historical point of view, of the monuments of Catholic worship from the time of Charlemagne to the epoch of the Renaissance; and it is only by a thorough and conscientious study of those monuments, neglected, alas! for centuries: it is only by gathering up again the threads of the traditions to which they owe their origin, that we can ever hope to restore their pristine beauty and splendour. This, indeed, has already been acknowledged, as witness the revival of glass painting, of mosaic work, of ceramics (encaustic tiles, &c.), and of various other handicrafts which adorned the architecture of the middle ages, and the study of which, in these latter times, is once more being pursued with diligence and care. M. Helbig brings his report to a close with the two following resolutions:—

“1. There are, then, exactly the same grounds for encouraging the polychromy of churches as for favouring the staining of glass, or the working of gold or iron, or the manufacture of encaustic tiles, according to mediæval processes; or, in a word, the revival of any other decorative art which serves to enhance the splendour of our religious, and even of our civic, edifices.

“2. The polychromic decoration of churches (the same thing, of course, applies to all other buildings) should be carried out according to certain fixed principles.

“(a) The work of the decorative artist should always be subservient to that of the architect. So far from seeking to obtain independent effects, his first care should be to accentuate the ossature of the edifice, to bring into relief the leading lines of the construction, and as a general rule he should endeavour to embellish with a special richness of colour those portions of the building which are especially rich in ornamental sculpture.

“(b) In a church, the interior of which is entirely covered with painted decoration, the statuary in like manner should be coloured also.

“(c) The artist should avail himself of flat surfaces for the development of historical or legendary compositions. In churches, such pictures should not be considered as merely forming a part of the general scheme of decoration, and as having no

<sup>1</sup> *Vitet. Rapport au Ministre de l'Intérieur*, 1831, page 35.

either end in view than the satisfaction of the exigencies of art ; for their primary object is to aid in the edification and instruction of the faithful. In compositions into which the human figure is introduced, the artist should avoid depth of grouping and a succession of planes ; nor should he make the figures in the background to diminish in size, such diminutions being nothing more or less than figures placed in perspective ; and lastly, he should always bear in mind, that where the architect has established a solid surface, it does not enter into the province of the artist to destroy it by his illusions in perspective.

(2) The artist, moreover, should conform his scheme of colour, the drawing of his figures, and the ornamental elements of his design, to the style of the building which it is his mission to adorn, the object of his labour being to make his coloured decoration harmonious in as perfect a manner as possible with the architecture. Thus, for example, in a building of the fifteenth century, he should never adopt a system of colouring applicable only to an edifice of the twelfth.

(3) In the polychromy of churches, it is not necessary that the whole surface should be covered with paint. Materials which have a suitable natural colour of their own, such as marbles, coloured stones, mosaics, various kinds of wood, and so forth, may well take their place in the scheme of decoration. So long as a pleasing effect is produced, and consequently, the general harmony of tone is respected, it matters little what are the means the artist has availed himself of to obtain it, provided indeed that his colours are durable."

Two other reports were presented by M. Helbig, in the first of which he draws attention to the importance of symbolism as a decorative element, both on account of its antiquity and of its traditional character. The symbolism of the Catholic religion, he points out, takes us back to the days of the early Church, to the time when the Christians of Rome used to meet together for worship secretly in the Catacombs ; and from that period, certainly till the twelfth century, if not till a still later date, the traditional symbolical forms were maintained intact. While the tabernacle and sanctuary, he goes on to say, naturally form the focus where the splendour and richness of this symbolical decoration should culminate, the other parts of the church in like manner—the baptistery, the nave, the transepts, and so forth—should each of them receive a suitable symbolical decoration, inspired by the uses to which these several portions are allotted.

In his last report, M. Helbig treats of the orientation of churches; he enlarges on the antiquity and symbolical beauty of this manner of building, and deploras the non-observance in these latter days of a practice which dates back to the very first centuries of the Church, and which was observed throughout the whole of the middle ages, and during the Renaissance. "Indeed," he continues, "it is not more than a century ago since this beautiful custom fell into disuse; and yet, nowadays, the vast majority of the laity, and even some of the clergy, are totally ignorant of its signification. It is much to be wished that wherever the nature of the site permits, the ancient orientation of churches should be duly observed."

No remarks of ours are needed to elucidate the foregoing resolutions. They speak for themselves, and clearly indicate the direction in which the tide is flowing in Belgium. That there is, however, a certain undercurrent of opinion in a somewhat different direction—a tendency in some quarters to less rigidity, to less austerity, to greater breadth of view, in regard to ecclesiastical art—whether for good or ill, we do not venture to say—is made apparent by more than one speech delivered during the sitting of the Congress.

On the 9th of September, a certain M. Delmer criticized the very general custom now prevalent in Belgium—of making religious statues according to models inspired by Gothic traditions; and no less zealous a mediævalist than M. Jules Helbig acknowledged that artists were sometimes liable to fall into errors and exaggerations in that regard; while in the course of some remarks, a few days after, on Friday, September 11th, the Rev. Father Bertier, Rector of the University of Fribourg, after commending the marvellous works of Fra Angelico, of which it seems he has made an especial study, reminded his hearers, that the ideal types of the middle ages were by no means those thin emaciated figures which were sometimes represented as the true types of mediæval art. Later on in the debate, on the same day, an incident took place, about which we should like to know more; but, unfortunately, the newspaper reports are somewhat meagre.

M. L. Delmer—the same gentleman who on Wednesday had objected to Gothic statuary—opposed to the teaching of the schools of St. Luke, which to his thinking was too exclusive, that of certain modern artists, such, he said, as M. Jef Lambeau, of whose last work especially, a cartoon entitled “*Les Passions humaines*,” he spoke in very high praise, and represented as having a religious tendency (*ayant des tendances religieuses*).

This assertion was energetically repudiated by Messrs. Heibag and Janssens, the latter of whom pointed out, with indignation, the blasphemous and immoral side of the picture, though he discriminated between the intentions of the artist and the effect which his work was calculated to produce. Canon Rousens, the President, was of opinion that M. Delmer should not continue in this sense. In an assembly, essentially Catholic, he said, such apologies were out of place; and if he persisted in doing so, he would be forced to withdraw his right to address the Congress. M. Delmer, however, refused to comply with the President's suggestion, and, complaining that the debate was being strangled, left the assembly. And we too will take our departure, and return to Ghent.

The site of the *Lucas school* is a quiet and secluded spot, on a picturesque reach of one of the twin rivers which wind their way through the capital of East Flanders. On the opposite bank, and immediately facing the school, stands one of its *chef d'œuvres*, the convent and chapel of the Ladies of Perpetual Adoration: a perfect gem, all glowing with gold, and colour, and mellow light. But to continue our theme. In the studios of this art nursery were arranged all the *travaux d'études des cours divers*, executed in the various *Lucas schools* since their foundation. Architectural drawings, plans, and elevations innumerable; designs not only for the construction and adornment of ecclesiastical buildings, but for country houses, town halls, civic edifices, &c., one and all conceived in the local Gothic style of Flanders. Many of them are of great merit; and, from a professional point of view, this collection was probably not the least interesting portion of the exhibition. Time, however, presses, and, for amateurs, the more ripe efforts

exhibited in the *Palais de l'Université* are better deserving of attention.

Here were ranged, in rich profusion, specimens of the goldsmith's art, monstrances, reliquaries, crucifixes, chalices, and so forth—to say nothing of more delicately worked articles of jewellery, such as rings, pectoral crosses, bracelets, &c., all glistening with enamel and precious stones; costly hangings, tapestries, embroideries, and textile fabrics, delicately tinted some of them, and woven with gold and silver threads, and some gorgeous, of rich and mellow hue; oak furniture of curious workmanship, cunningly wrought with the representations of men, and beasts, and creeping things, and all the rich variety of vegetable life. But what most strikes the visitor on entering the salon are the pictures and statues. They it is which claim our chief attention.

With reference to the other objects, many of which are really very beautiful both in design and execution, we would make two observations: that almost in every case, the general idea, the scheme, so to speak, of ornamentation, is more or less architectural; and that when the motive is drawn from the vegetable kingdom, the laws of natural growth are only too often disregarded; and that too when, by the exercise of a very little ingenuity, such deviations might be easily avoided.

The school of St. Luke, if its jubilee exhibition affords any criterion, so far as concerns painting and statuary, would seem, broadly speaking, to be the mother of a threefold offspring, the first of which is represented at the *Palais de l'Université* by the highly-finished and miniature-like productions of Messrs. Anthony and Janssens; the second by those stiff and conventional types, so characteristic of the works of the Baron Bèthune and his followers; and the third by M. Jules Helbig's marvellous triptych, fascinating alike by reason of the charm of its grouping and the captivating beauty of its colour, repellent in its exaggerated expression, its excessive *naïveté*, and the archaic *laideur* of its form. In conclusion, we propose to give a brief description of one or two examples selected from each of the above categories.

There is a wondrous attraction, even when regarded from a purely temporal point of view, about the lives of the saints. The legend of yon pale champion of Holy Church, whose rude image, decked out with tinsel and paper flowers, and lit with flaring tapers, looks down from its dusty niche, in some obscure country church in Flanders or Brabant, is far more enthralling than the life's story of many an earthly hero. Long since forgotten by the wise and prudent of this world, his memory is still fresh and green in the hearts of the simple peasant folk, among whose forefathers he lived, and loved, and laboured, a thousand years ago. They still bring their joys and sorrows to his sympathetic ear, and offer up their tears and vows before his rustic shrine. The thorny path by which, perchance, he found his way to God; the loss of fortune or health, or, maybe, of love; the mighty actions of his glorious career; how bold he was to battle for the right; and yet withal, how sweet and gentle; his marvellous charity to the poor; his tenderness to the suffering and the sick, anon sharing his last crust with some needy beggar, anon embracing some hideous leper from whom all others shrunk with fear and loathing; and sometimes tales of mystery are woven in the narrative, like threads of gold. In ministering to the beggar's wants, he has entertained an angel unawares, and the wretched leper is made whole by the saint's kiss, or turns out to be his Lord and Master; and, lastly, the final scene, the crowning action of his life, by which he wins the palm of martyrdom. Here are the elements of a story replete with poetry and mystic meaning, and at the same time far more thrilling than many of the most vaunted romances of our best authors. Such is the legend of Godelieve de Ghistelles, whose very name, perhaps, is hardly known save to her Flemish kinsfolk—the beautiful maiden whose pathetic story M. Joseph Janssens indicates for us in the altar-piece of the little Béguinage at Ghent, lately exhibited at the *Palais de l'Université*.

St. Godelieve was born, we are told in the lessons of her office, sometime during the eleventh century, at a place called Londifort, in the county of Boulogne. The daughter of rich and noble parents, of great beauty, and as virtuous as

she was fair, there was no lack of suitors for her hand, which was at length bestowed on a certain noble Fleming named Bertulph. But the marriage was never consummated. On the very day of the wedding, maddened, it would seem, by jealousy and unfounded suspicion, stirred up by his mother, Bertulph, with bitter speech and cruel threats, thrust his fair bride from him. We will not pause to tell of his pitiless conduct; of the indignities he heaped upon her : suffice it to say that Godeliève bore them all with unexampled meekness. No murmur escaped her lips ; nay, more, never for an instant wavering in her love and fidelity to her husband, she even exhorted others, who had felt the weight of the tyrant's arm, to bear their burdens patiently. Her days were spent in spinning, that she might have the wherewithal to clothe the poor, with whom she always shared the meagre portion of bread allowed for her daily sustenance ; while every night she besought the Lord, with copious floods of tears, that in His mercy He would vouchsafe to open the eyes of her husband. Although she had become an object of scorn and hatred to Bertulph, her husband, she still, in the words of her office, found favour in the eyes of Christ her spouse, and already rumour said that God had been pleased to work more than one miracle at her hands. But, nevertheless, the desire of her heart was not granted. Bertulph continued obdurate, and time, instead of softening, as it sometimes does, only increased his enmity. At length, driven to an ungovernable pitch of fury, he determined to rid himself of his unhappy wife. One stormy evening she was seized by two of his creatures, half strangled, and thrown into a well of putrid water. Then they brought her dead body back, and laid it on her bed, in order that it might appear that she had met her end naturally. At length the time arrived for Godeliève's vindication. Living, she had been naught but Bertulph's despised and rejected wife ; dead, she was proclaimed a saint. The very blood which oozed from her wounds, white as the driven snow, bore witness to her virginal innocence ; the fetid water in which her pure body had been immersed, now sweet and limpid as the mountain rill, gave like testimony. But, greater wonder

still, Bertulph himself, driven on, perhaps, by the flood of popular enthusiasm, made a pilgrimage to the shrine of his sainted wife. Suddenly his heart was touched; at last he saw things in their true light; he knelt down, and, in an agony of bitter grief, burst into tears. He went to her tomb, as it was rumoured from mouth to mouth, a raging wolf; but he came away a most gentle lamb. And the change was permanent; shortly afterwards Bertulph retired to a monastery, where he spent the remainder of his days in pious works, and in doing penance for his great crimes. Thus, that which all her prayers and tears had never been able to wrest from heaven during life, in death she at length obtained—her husband's conversion.

M. Janssens depicts his heroine as standing in a beautiful garden or orchard, the fresh green turf of which is starred all over with flowers of varying hue. The saint is attired in a robe of creamy white, over which she wears a short, close-fitting tunic of ermine, girded with a slender cord of crimson and orange, and surmounted by a long pale blue cloak or mantle, thrown back over her shoulders. Her head, slightly raised, displaying a countenance of marvellous beauty and purity of expression, is surrounded with an aureole of burnished gold, while her long raven tresses hang in rich profusion down to her waist. Two angels in the form of fair-haired children, supporting in one hand a rich arras of deep crimson, woven with threads of gold, and in the other a jewelled diadem, with which they are about to crown the martyr, form the background of the scene. A very remarkable feature is the gilded cloud which appears above the head of St. Godlieve, from which there issues a shower of scintillating rays, like drops of liquid gold. On either side the arras, beyond the garden, are the trees of a distant wood, through the leaves and branches of which the setting sun pours its ruddy light. Two men on the right engaged in hanging an unresisting girl, and on the left in immersing her lifeless body in a pool of water, would seem to recall the details of the saint's martyrdom. What more shall we say? No words of ours can give an adequate description of this most fascinating *chef d'œuvre*. Alike

charming in colour and design, and profoundly animated as it is with a spirit of devout reverence and mystic piety, it would seem to breathe out the sweet perfume of the middle ages; while, at the same time, it is entirely free from the archaic *gaucherie* of mediæval execution.

The picture, however, which to our mind bears off the palm of merit, is undoubtedly M. Anthony's beautiful sketch of his triptych in the chapel of St. Barbara, in the Church of Notre Dame, at Antwerp. We speak of it as a sketch, but it would be more accurate to call it a facsimile in miniature; for it is a highly finished oil-painting, executed in a delicate and miniature-like style.

In the central panel stands the heroine of his story, arrayed in a richly embroidered robe of gold and black, over which is thrown a mantle of pale blue, lined with pink. In one hand she holds a sword, in token of her martyrdom; and in the other a small tower, emblematic of the fortress in which she was immured by her father. Her yellow hair, crowned with a jewelled diadem, hangs negligently over her shoulders; a collar and brooch of glistening gems, gleam on her fair white neck; while a rich arras of crimson, glowing with gold, forms a most appropriate background, and lends warmth and lustre to the scene. In the first panel on the left, the saint is depicted seated, and with a book upon her knees, but not reading. She is listening to the discourse of an aged white-bearded man, who, with a crucifix in one hand, seems to be expounding to her some mystery of the faith. Through the open window, in the distance, across a green meadow, a throng of workmen are seen busily engaged on some scaffolding surrounding a lofty tower. They are constructing that third window in honour of the Blessed Trinity, which legend tells us was the primary cause of Barbara's martyrdom.

The corresponding panel on the right recounts the tale of the heroic maiden's death. In a kneeling posture, she slightly bends her neck; her long tresses stream down on either side in wild confusion, thrust forward so as not to impede the executioner in his cruel task, who, in the person of Dioscorus, her own father, is in the very act of raising his

axe to deal the fatal blow. Hard by, on a raised throne, beneath a canopy of state, sits the governor, Marcianus, an expression of mingled satisfaction and disgust mantling his fastidious brow; satisfaction, that the self-willed girl is, at length, about to meet with condign punishment; disgust, at the bloody scene in which, as a witness, he is going to take part. Of the two end panels, that on the left contains a representation of St. Cordelia and St. James, while on the right we find St. John the Baptist and St. Joseph.

In the conception of this beautiful triptych, the artist would seem to have been inspired with that spirit which animated the great religious painters of the fifteenth century. At once and the same time he offers a subject for spiritual contemplation and a regal feast to the eye. Nevertheless, we are bound to point out that, in the expression of some of the *figures*—those of the women especially—there are certain indications of a compliance to modern ideas. Their beauty is, perhaps, of a somewhat too earthly character to be altogether acceptable to the zealots of mediævalism. However this may be, the whole picture is exquisitely painted; the colouring is rich, even to luxuriance; but, at the same time, there is no lack of that soft mellow bloom about it, so rest-giving and grateful to the eye, while the *mise en scène* is embodied by embroidered costumes, costly hangings, and the sparkle of jewels and gold.

Another picture by the same artist, "*La Vierge en Prière*," is equally deserving of mention. Our Lady, clad in the traditional blue and white, and *coifed* (if we may use the expression) with a golden nimbus, is seated on a raised throne-like chair of carved oak, within a niche of gilded stone. Behind her, in the background, is an arras of cloth of gold, thickly studded with gems; while on a lectern, close at hand, lies an open book, from the illuminated pages of which she would seem to have been reading. Above the Gothic arch which spans the alcove, a band of charming foliage meets the eye, all carved in stone, intertwined with scroll work, bearing the legend "*Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum*;" and on either side, a little pointed window, through the mul-tioned lights of which appear the far-off vistas of a summer

landscape. An expression of ineffable calm mantles the face of the Madonna. Her whole being is wrapt in contemplation, while an atmosphere of intense peace seems to permeate the entire scene. The drapery is soft and flowing, and the colours, in a somewhat low key, happily blended and well chosen; a delicious harmony of indigo and gold, relieved by the glitter of precious stones, the creamy white of the head gear, the delicate gray of the tunic, which just peeps out from under the ample folds of the blue mantle, the rich brown of the oaken throne, and two short hangings of blushing crimson underneath the windows. Though not to be compared with St. Barbara for richness and brilliancy, "*La Vierge en Prière*" is none the less, in its own way, equally beautiful, and both in point of design and execution does equal credit to the talented artist to whom they owe these *chef d'œuvres* of Gothic art.

Of the same school also are the two panels, each divided into two compartments, by Mr. Gebr. Janssens, with angels playing musical instruments, after the style of Fra Angelico. The colouring is rich, deep, and mellow, and the drawing bold, lifelike, and full of vigour. Somewhat more conventional, and perhaps not quite so pleasing in colour, are three other panels, by Messrs. Charles and Théodore Janssens, from the retable of a convent at Arseele.

Midway between the pictures which we have just described and the more archaic conceptions of the Baron Béthune and M. Jules Helbig, is a Madonna and Child, by Seraphin Seys. Our Lady, crowned with a richly jewelled diadem, is enthroned with the Divine Infant in her arms: a nimbus of gold surrounds the head of each figure, while an arras of some costly material of deep brown forms a background to the dais. Here also we have a verdant carpet of turf thickly sown with flowers. The colouring, which is soft and pleasing, is composed almost exclusively of different tones of blue and green. The deep blue of the sky, melting by almost imperceptible degrees into the pale hazy green of the distant landscape; while the folds of the soft peacock-blue drapery mingle with the fresh green of the flower-bespangled turf. Mr. Seys's work is, doubtless, of considerable merit; but,

to our mind, his figures are too stiff and woodeny for the picture to be altogether a pleasing one.

We next come to the richly sculptured retables of painted wood, executed from the designs of the Baron Bethune, the founder and father, not only of the *Lucas school*, but of modern Gothic Art in Belgium. What shall we say of the great architect's quaint conceptions; of his crowds of saints with pale faces and gilded locks, arrayed in gaudy clothing, dusky blue, vermillion, and emerald green: peering, as it seems, by thousands, over one another's shoulders, out of golden niches, bristling with crockets, and rich in all the superfluous ornament of the later middle ages?

The Baron's saints are, certainly, conventionalized, but in such a manner as not to jar on one; nor does he ever permit his love of the quaintness of mediævalisms to lead him to the grotesque: his figures are always reverent. The volume of colouring is, it is true, invariably pronounced, and, viewed in the garish light of the university hall, might be considered harsh, crude, even repulsive; but it should be borne in mind that all the works of art exhibited at Ghent are, comparatively speaking, new, and that these retables are not designed for a day only, but to last for centuries. In using such decided tints, therefore, the Baron may well have taken into account the paling influence of time; nor should it be forgotten that they are intended to be placed in churches, to be bathed in the mellow light which filters through stained glass. We ourselves have seen some of his work under those their normal conditions, and can bear witness to the ravishing effect of his bright fresh colouring. Take, for example, the charming parish church of Vif Chapelle, about five miles from Bruges. Here we have a very temple of colour. Saints gleam through the richly tinted glass: frescoes shine from the walls; the stonework itself luxuriates in brilliant pigments; the very pavement seems to blush with the warm glow of encaustic tiles; while the deep mellow brown of oaken choir stalls, screens, confessionals, and so forth, lend a certain dignity and solemnity to the scene. Nevertheless, the figures which crowd the reredos, the rood-loft, the pulpit, &c., are alike

arrayed in the same gaudy apparel which characterized so many of the exhibits at Ghent. And yet, somehow or other, these brilliantly-attired figures do not seem to fly out at one, and scorch the eye-balls; they are in no way offensive to the canons of good taste. The whole scheme of decoration is set, it is true, in a high key; but the general impression, when one enters the church, is, that the whole atmosphere is permeated by a perfect harmony of colour.

We now come to the most remarkable picture in the exhibition—M. Jules Helbig's triptych. It is a work of considerable size, and evidently intended to form the reredos of a high altar. The framework is of gilded wood, of a sufficiently ordinary pattern, and need not detain us. The central panel, which, of course, runs the whole length of the altar, is divided into three compartments—the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, the Crucifixion, and the Last Supper. The hanging doors, or wings, are divided into two compartments: that on the right contains the Marriage Feast of Cana of Galilee, and our Lord conversing with the Woman of Samaria; that on the left, the Supper at Emmaus, and the Conversion of St. Thomas. The richly diapered gold background, the golden aureoles, the judicious grouping, the brilliant and harmonious scheme of colour, give a certain charm to M. Helbig's picture, which draws, which captivates; but this marvellous work of art—for work of art it undoubtedly is—does not owe its power of enchantment alone to its intrinsic beauty. Its very defects, if defects they be, enhance its fascination.

“If we would paint sacred pictures as the masters of the sixteenth century painted them,” observes M. Helbig, in one of his charming essays, “their sentiments, their aspirations, their faith—in a word, their whole interior life, must be ours. All the shackles of modern art must be burst asunder; and if perchance anyone should be tempted to abandon himself for a moment to her seductions, let him but call to mind the last national exhibition held at Ghent, and he will very soon come back again to the life of the soul, to the reality of art.”

Had the learned artist himself been visiting some salon

of modern paintings at the time when he conceived his triptych? We almost think so. His æsthetic sense must have received a severe shock. Those thin, shadowy, idealized forms, those faceless expressions, those limbless gestures, cannot be otherwise than the outcome of his soul's revulsion at the sight of some ultrarealistic monstrosity.

F. E. GILLIAT SMITH.

## FATHER EDMUND O'REILLY, S.J., AND HIS THEOLOGICAL ESSAYS.

**I**RISH priests who date back their college course not merely beyond Clarence Mangan's *Twenty Golden Years Ago*, but over twice that period, have more excuse than the ordinary *laudator temporis acti se puero* for imagining that the Maynooth College of their day was exceptionally great in the learning and ability of its professorial staff. There were giants in those days, whose renown has survived them—Dr. O'Hanlon, the prefect of the Dunboyne establishment; Dr. Murray, Mr. Crolly—these and the learned president himself, Dr. Ruelhan, and in his own way, most distinguished of all the professor of Natural Philosophy, the saintly Dr. Nicholas Callan. No wonder that the young student who had any trace of hero-worship in his nature looked up to these men as almost preternatural beings, whose lightest word was precious.

People's ideas of what constitutes venerable old age vary a good deal with their own age; but, as a fact, it so happened that, at the period referred to, Maynooth was allowed to retain the services of her professors much longer than has since been the case. The present Primate of Ireland, and the present Primate of All Ireland, and especially the present Bishop of Raphoe—Dr. Walsh, Dr. Logue, and Dr. O'Donnell—were taken from their theological chairs at what might be considered the beginning only of brilliant academical careers. If Maynooth has suffered thereby, the Church has

profited in other ways. But we are not sure, indeed, that students do not gain by coming under the sway of young professors in the earnestness and vigour of their first fervour. In the Menologium of the Society of Jesus, special praise is given to some Fathers who taught grammar for fifty years; but, perhaps, it may have been all the better for the progress of his youthful pupils, when one of those venerable men was at last called to his reward. However this may be, it is certain that our great ecclesiastical seminary never flourished in a higher degree of efficiency than at present, though the last of the patriarchs of theology may be said to have passed away with Dr. Murray, and with him much of that peculiar prestige, which, as we have said, was attached to Maynooth when our century, now running out fast, was only midway through.

In mentioning some of the names of which the *Alma Mater* of the Irish priesthood is proudest, we have purposely kept back the name of Dr. O'Reilly, as he was called in those days; and we have done so, because the remainder of this paper is to be devoted to him. He certainly would not be omitted by anyone looking back to that period of the history of Maynooth that we defined in our opening sentence. For instance, from a periodical published last year at New Orleans, we take the following scrap:—

“A venerable prelate, who has ever shown a kindly interest in *The Young Collegian*, writes to ask if we can procure for him a copy of Dr. Neville's reply to Gladstone's *Vaticanism*. ‘I should feel [he writes] much obliged to you even for a loan of it. In *The Irish Monthly* you have, no doubt, read Dr. O'Reilly's reply. If not, I earnestly recommend it to you. The theological Triumvirate of Maynooth were Drs. O'Hanlon, O'Reilly, and Neville. We shall not look upon their like again.’ ”

Some would be inclined to substitute here Crolly or Murray in place of Neville. The late Dean of Cork was a man of eminent ability; but his career as professor was so short, and his after career was so crowded with work and interests of another kind, that he had not time to acquire that profound knowledge which would alone entitle him to be put on a par with the veteran Prefect of the Dunboyne establishment, who had been his master. But

O'Hanlon, O'Reilly, Murray, and Crolly, were all born theologians, and they were students of theology to the end. Dr. O'Hanlon left nothing behind him but *magni nominis umbra*. Dr. Murray and Mr. Crolly put their souls into their great treatises, *De Ecclesia* and *De Justitia et Jure*. All that remains to us of Father O'Reilly's theological stores is a series of essays, running through some of the early volumes of *The Irish Monthly*, to which he gave the general title of *The Relations of the Church to Society*. These papers treated of revelation and the natural law; of the nature and office of the Church; of the Church's executive power: of the clergy, their duties as advisers and instructors, and, in particular, with regard to the law of elections; the education question, Church property, Papal Infallibility, the obedience due to the Pope, liberty of conscience, marriage within and without the Church, the Church and politics, and, finally, the Pope's temporal power.

Those articles attracted the notice of Cardinal Newman, who, in his famous *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk* at the time of Mr. Gladstone's Vatican pamphlets, quoting one of the essays from *The Irish Monthly*, calls Father O'Reilly "a great authority, and one of the first theologians of the day." Dr. W. G. Ward, so long the learned editor of *The Dublin Review*, remarked on the same occasion that "it was a great loss to the Church that so great a theologian as Father O'Reilly had published so little. Whatever," he added, "is written by so able and so solidly learned a theologian—one so docile to the Church, and so fixed in the ancient theological paths—cannot but be of signal benefit to the Catholic reader in these anxious and perilous times."

This series of theological essays was fully completed a year or two before Father O'Reilly's death. He was often urged to collect them into a volume, and had consented to do so. Many bishops and priests at home and in the United States have made the same request since his death. The latest of these suggestions may be quoted:—

"LONGFORD, September 3, 1890.

"MY DEAR FATHER RUSSELL,—When in Birmingham, at Cardinal Newman's funeral, I had the pleasure of meeting your

Father Walford, S.J. He was, as you may be aware, a great friend of the late Cardinal. At his request I promised to suggest to you—as I do by this letter—the desirability of collecting and publishing in one volume the admirable articles, on the Pope's authority by our late dear Father Edmund J. O'Reilly, S.J., which originally appeared in your *Irish Monthly*. I beg to ask your favourable consideration for the suggestion which seems to me to be an excellent one.

“ Begging a remembrance at the holy altar, and in return praying God to bless you and all your labours, A.M.D.G.— I remain, my dear Father Russell, yours most sincerely,

“ ✠ BARTH. WOODLOCK, *Bishop of Ardagh.*”

What ought to have been done ten years ago has been done at last. *The Relations of the Church to Society* has now been very carefully printed in a fine octavo volume, and published under circumstances likely to bring under the notice of many outside the Church the soundest doctrine on many vital questions of faith and morality.<sup>1</sup>

Edmund Joseph O'Reilly was born in London, on April 30th, 1811, and he was six years old before his parents returned to Ireland. His father died while he was young, leaving him to the care of his pious mother. This lady was one of five sisters, one of whom married the third Lord Kenmare (grandfather to the present earl); another entered the Visitation Convent at Westbury, in England; another married Mr. Bagot, of Castle Bagot, in county Dublin; and the last married Mr. Dease, of Turbotstown, in Queen's County. The father of these ladies and of Mrs. O'Reilly, Mr. Edmund O'Callaghan, of Killegorey, in the county Clare, was mortally wounded in a duel, but survived five days to repent and prepare for his judgment. It is curious to find such a man as Father O'Reilly linked so closely with the bygone age of duelling.

Edmund O'Reilly spent several years of his boyhood at Mount Catherine, a few miles from Limerick. His first education he received from a private tutor. After some years at Clongowes and Maynooth, he went to Rome, about 1830,

<sup>1</sup> Priests who may desire to procure this volume will find an advantage in applying to the Rev. Matthew Russell, S.J., St. Francis Xavier's, Upper Gardiner-street, Dublin.

for his ecclesiastical studies, and spent seven years attending the classes of the Roman College, but residing in the Irish College, of which the late Cardinal Cullen was then president. At the end of a long and distinguished course he gained the degree of Doctor of Divinity, after what is termed a "public act" *de universa theologia*. On his return to Ireland, after his ordination, in 1838, he obtained, by "concursum," the chair of professor of theology in Maynooth College, the duties of which he discharged with great zeal and success for thirteen years, his reputation for holiness and piety being as great as his reputation for learning.

In the summer of 1851 Dr. O'Reilly asked to be admitted into the Society of Jesus, and was sent to make his noviceship at Naples. After his novitiate he was appointed to teach theology at the Jesuit College of St. Beuno's, near St. Asaph's, in North Wales. Returning to Ireland, he was, after other employments, made the first Rector of the House of Spiritual Exercises at Milltown Park, near Dublin, in which house and which office he died, having meanwhile been the Irish Provincial of the Order from 1863 to 1870.

Father O'Reilly was chosen as his theologian by Cardinal Cullen (then Archbishop of Armagh) at the Synod of Thurles, in 1850; by Dr. Brown, Bishop of Shrewsbury, at the Synod of Oscott; and at the Synod of Maynooth by Dr. Furlong, Bishop of Ferns, his former colleague as professor of theology at Maynooth. When the Catholic University was established in Dublin, Father O'Reilly was named to the chair of theology; and the affection and esteem which he could not but feel then for the first Rector of the University, Dr. Newman, remained undiminished till his death. When Passaglia fell in the middle of a brilliant career, the General of the Society of Jesus, Father Beckx, proposed to summon Father O'Reilly to Rome, to place him in the chair of theology at the Roman College; but circumstances made another arrangement expedient. At a conference held regarding the philosophical and theological studies in the Society, Father O'Reilly was chosen to represent all the English-speaking "provinces"—Ireland, England, Maryland, and the other divisions of the United States.

It is a pity when real learning is spoiled, as it sometimes is, by the petty weaknesses of pedantry and vanity. Father O'Reilly was far above such pettiness. Whilst he was, as a competent writer stated in *The Freeman's Journal* on the occasion of his death, "confessed on all hands to be one of the foremost theologians and canonists of his time;" whilst (to use again the words of the same writer) "his authority was looked up to throughout all Ireland, and the most illustrious personages did not hesitate to seek his opinion on points of theology and sacred learning;" he was personally humble, simple, and unaffected. He was as ready to put forth his whole mind and energy in answering a difficulty proposed, or in furnishing information sought, by a novice or lay brother, as if he were lecturing from the chair of a university. This was part of the thoroughness and truthfulness of his character which impressed everyone who came in contact with him. One who knew him well has claimed for him a mind which never gave to an argument more weight than it had in itself—a mind which guarded itself with the most rigid care against being warped by any passion or prejudice. These qualities, added to his large stores of consummately accurate knowledge, lent a sort of judicial weight to his decisions. "Yes, he will be a great loss," observed a learned and upright judge,<sup>1</sup> from his own point of view—"he was a *good opinion*." And indeed, even in questions of civil law, he was no mean authority.

But in his own department of sacred science, Father O'Reilly was indeed a master in Israel. It would be hard to estimate the irksome and continual labour that he underwent, not only as a general referee on all difficult professional questions, but also as the official or unofficial censor of a great many books, large and small, published on theological or devotional subjects in England and Ireland during the last thirty years of his life. Dr. MacCarthy, Bishop of Kerry; the present Archbishop of Dublin, when he was Vice-President of Maynooth; Dean O'Kane of the same college; the Rev. George Crolly—these learned men and others

<sup>1</sup> The late Mr. Justice James O'Brien,

gratefully acknowledge their obligations to Father O'Reilly in the prefaces to various works. But many books less worthy of such care cost him much more trouble, which he always went through conscientiously, and with great consideration for the proverbially sensitive feelings of "the author."

His perfect evenness of temper and sweetness of disposition came not from nature alone, but chiefly from grace. The seriousness, gravity, and solidity of his character lent a charm to that honest, hearty laugh, for which he was famous. There is much truth in what Rochefoucauld says: "True gentleness can only be found in those who possess a certain firmness." This union of strength and sweetness we claim for Father Edmund O'Reilly; and we claim for him also the perfection which St. James almost defies a human being to acquire: "If any man offend not in word, the same is a perfect man." "His truthfulness," writes one who lived in close communication with him for years, "was such that I am sure he never spoke a word which was even slightly an exaggerated expression of his mind." We think that we are speaking with his own strictness and accuracy when we add that he was so charitable in conversation as never to hurt, even slightly, the feelings of others.

For charity of another kind he was a proverb. He could not refuse the poor. He would not allow considerate porters to screen him from unworthy applicants; the poor creatures should, at least, tell their story to himself; and they never told in vain. Not through weakness or foolishness, however amiable, but on principle, he was ingenious in framing excuses for petitioners whom some might be ready to denounce as impostors. It was characteristic that, the day before his death, he took the part of some poor applicant for assistance whom a reference to a *Thom's Directory* seemed to convict of a "wrong address." As a branch of this charity to the poor, he was generous in remunerating the hired services rendered to him. Kind and judicious outlay of this sort may be made to have some of the merit of almsgiving.

Nothing could exceed his devotedness to the Church, the

serenity of his faith, his deep and solid piety, his exactness and fidelity in everything pertaining to the duties of the priesthood. He it was with whom the saintly Primate, Dr Dixon, while a Maynooth professor, recited the Divine Office every day for years ; and with equal care and perfection he discharged this blessed daily burden of prayer till within a day or two of his death. The same faithfulness, serious but never scrupulous, this wise and holy man brought to bear upon every tittle of his obligations and more than his obligations, as a Jesuit, a priest, and a Christian. *Iste homo perfecit omnia quae locutus est ei Deus.* Whatever came to him in any form as God's good pleasure, that he did at once, and did it thoroughly and perfectly. *Perfecit omnia.*

Father O'Reilly died on the 10th November, 1878. To the writer of this article, Dr. Newman, with his characteristic kindness, wrote thus from Edgbaston, a few days later :—

“THE ORATORY,

“Nov. 16, 1878.

“DEAR FATHER RUSSELL,—Of course I expected Father O'Reilly's death, from the reports which were made about him. I said Mass for him this morning, though his own merits, and those of the saints and others of the Society, and the many Masses which, doubtless, will be said for him, made me feel that it was scarcely called for. But I could not but say Mass for one whom I so sincerely revered and loved. He has gone to his reward, and all who knew him must have followed him on his journey with thoughts full of thanksgiving and gladness for what God made him.

“It is singular he should have died so soon after the Cardinal.

“Thank you for writing to me, and your kind fathers for thinking of me.

“Very truly yours,

“JOHN H. NEWMAN.”

And to the “dear friend,” who (as he says in the *Apologia*) had more to do with his conversion than anyone else, who “was always gentle, mild, unobtrusive, uncontroversial,” who “let him alone”—to Dr. Russell, then

President of Maynooth College, the illustrious Oratorian (who did not become Cardinal Newman till the following year) addressed these words of consolation upon hearing of Father O'Reilly's death:—

“I can't help writing a line to you to condole with you on the death of dear Father O'Reilly, who, I know, was a great friend of yours. He was a man who impressed all who came near him with his great and high excellence—his simple detachment from all things here; his habit of doing his duties, whatever they were, with all his might; his largeness of soul, and his sweetness and gentleness in his intercourse with others. I have not seen him for twenty years, but his image has been fixed in my memory. To you who knew him well, this is a poor portion of what could be said in his praise; but you won't be unwilling to take what I have to give, such as it is.”

Dr. Russell, who wrote to me on the same occasion, “I have never known a more perfect character or a more blameless life,” was himself dying at the time. After his death Cardinal Newman sent to me, with many other letters, the following, which was evidently in answer to the one just quoted. It is dated from the house of the late Mr. Justice O'Hagan, who was the valued and devoted friend of the three whom we have named together:—

“22, UPPER FITZWILLIAM-STREET, DUBLIN,

“November 19, 1878.

“MY DEAR DR. NEWMAN,—Your letter is a great comfort to me, and helps me to think cheerfully of the parting with so dear and so old a friend by the hope which it inspires, and the consoling recollections which it recalls. Father O'Reilly was my trusted and dearly loved friend since we were boys together. He had a very sincere affection and admiration for you.

“It was a great delight to hear so good an account of you as Lord Emly was able to give us. I will not attempt to tell you how much I feel your most kind and constant inquiries. I will ask you to continue your prayers for your ever-grateful and affectionate friend,

“C. W. RUSSELL.”

Buffon's famous saying, *le style c'est l'homme*, was curiously exemplified in Father O'Reilly. A friend has told me that the writer of the letter last quoted remarked to him one day that, in reading one of Father O'Reilly's papers, he could imagine he was listening to him, so transparently

were his mind, his turns of thought, his very tone, reflected in his writing. Many will be glad to possess even the small fragment of a large heart and a rich mind that is preserved to us in the collected edition of his essays on *The Relations of the Church to Society*.

M. RUSSELL.

## Liturgical Questions.

### THE ECCLESIASTICAL CALENDAR.—IV.

#### THE DOMINICAL LETTER.

It has been stated before that the sole difficulty in determining the Dominical Letter for any year arises from the fact that the number of days in a year is not an exact multiple of the number in a week. For if these two numbers were not prime to each other, the Dominical Letter for the year 1 A.D. would have been the Dominical Letter for every succeeding year till the end of time, and for every preceding years as well. But since they are prime to each other, the Dominical Letter moves backward through the seven letters one space for each day, by which the days of one year, or of any number of years, exceed an exact multiple of seven. Hence, as often as this excess amounts to seven, the Dominical Letter again recurs in exactly the same order as before. This is, of course, nothing more than saying that the first seven letters of the alphabet always follow one another in retrograde order as Dominical Letters, G following A, and F following G, &c., in an endless circle. Now, for the first year of our era the Dominical Letter was B, as we have already seen; A was, therefore, the Dominical Letter for the second year, G for the third, F E for the fourth, D for the fifth, and C for the sixth. The seven letters having been exhausted at the end of the sixth year, B became the Dominical Letter for the seventh, A for the eighth, G for the ninth, and so on. But the first year

had one day in excess of an exact multiple of seven. At the end of the second year another day was added to this excess, another at the end of the third, two additional at the end of the fourth, and other two at the end of the sixth. At this time, then, the excess amounted to seven days; and at this time, too, was completed the first circuit of the seven letters. In the same manner the Dominical Letters have since continued to go the round of these seven letters in never-varying order, returning to B as often as the accumulated excess of the days of the year over an exact multiple of seven amounts to seven days. Hence, in order to find the Dominical Letter for any year of the Christian era, we require only two things. First, the order in which the letters first occurred as Dominical Letters; and second, to how many days over an exact multiple of seven the excess of the number of days in the year over the complete weeks of the year has amounted at the end of the year in question. For, manifestly, when we have rejected all the sevens contained in this excess, we shall have arrived at a year which has the same Dominical Letter as the first year of the era. And the days that remain over this multiple of seven will each represent the succeeding letters in the order in which they occur as Dominical Letters.

The order in which the seven letters occurred as Dominical Letters in the first years of our era, we have already determined. It is as follows:—B, A, G, F, E, D, C. And here, be it remembered, we speak merely of the order of the letters among themselves, which, of course, remains invariable, notwithstanding the occurrence of leap-years. For the leap-years only disturb the relation between the letters and the years. The second problem is equally simple. We first find the number of days by which the years from 1 A.D. to the year whose Dominical Letter we wish to find have exceeded as many times fifty-two weeks as there are years in the period. Having found this number we divide it by seven, and the remainder represents the number of the letters taken in the above order that have been used as Dominical Letters during that circuit. Thus, if the remainder be one, B is the Dominical Letter; if it be two, the

Dominical Letter is A; and so on. When there is no remainder the Dominical Letter is C.

The accumulated number of these "excess" days at any year of the era is obviously equal to as many days as there have elapsed years since the beginning of the era, together with as many days as there have been leap-years in the same period. Hence we find the Dominical Letter for any year before the reformation of the calendar as follows:—Let  $N$  represent the date; that is, the number of years that have elapsed from the beginning of the era until the year in question inclusive. The number of leap-years in this period will be represented by  $\frac{N}{4}$ ; consequently the entire number

of "excess days" will be  $N + \frac{N}{4}$ ; then,

$$\frac{N + \frac{N}{4}}{7} = X_r,$$

where  $r$  is the remainder which indicates which of the letters taken in the order in which they are given above is the Dominical Letter for the year in question. For example, let it be required to find the Dominical Letter for the year 1200 A.D.

$$\frac{1200 + 300}{7} = 214 \frac{2}{7}.$$

The Dominical Letter for the year 1200 as indicated by this method was, therefore, the second of the above series, or A. But the year 1200 was a leap-year, and must, consequently, have had two Dominical Letters. And as, in reckoning the number of "excess" days, we have included the two due to this year, it follows that A was the Dominical Letter from the 1st March to the end of that year, and B the Dominical Letter up to the 1st March.<sup>1</sup> In other words, the Dominical Letters for the year 1200 were B, A. Let us verify this result by the other method.

$$\frac{1200 + 9}{28} = 43 \frac{5}{28}.$$

<sup>1</sup> When this method is employed in finding the Dominical Letter for a leap-year, it must be remembered that the letter indicated and the one immediately preceding it in the order in which the letters are given above, are the Dominical Letters for the year in question.

Turning now to the cycle of Dominical Letters for the Julian calendar, we find opposite the number 5 the same two letters, B, A.

This method holds for the Gregorian as well as for the Julian calendar. But the former in every four hundred years suppresses three days which the latter admits. In other words, there are in the Gregorian calendar in every four hundred years three fewer leap-years than in the Julian. Hence, in reckoning the "excess" days for any year since the Gregorian calendar, we must take this into account, and diminish  $N + \frac{N}{4}$  by as many days as the Julian calendar would differ from the Gregorian at the particular year for which we wish to find the Dominical Letter. If, then, we wish to find by this method the Dominical Letter for any year from 1582 till 1700, we diminish  $N + \frac{N}{4}$  by 10 for the ten nominal days omitted in the Gregorian calendar. And as 1700 was not a leap-year in the Gregorian, though it was in the Julian calendar,  $10 + 1$  days must be subtracted from the above sum in finding the Dominical Letter for every year between 1700 and 1800. Similarly, for the years between 1800 and 1900,  $10 + 2$  must be deducted, and  $10 + 3$  for the years from 1900 till 2100.

We will now verify this method for the Gregorian calendar as we have already done for the Julian. Let it be required to find the Dominical Letters for the years 1649 and 1892.

$$(1) \quad \frac{1649 + \frac{1649}{4} - 10}{7} = 293.$$

There being no remainder, the Dominical Letter is the seventh taken in the order given above—namely, B, A, G, F, E, D, C. The Dominical Letter, then, for the year 1649 was C. The same result is arrived at by using the table constructed for the seventeenth century :—

$$\begin{array}{r} 1649 + 9 = 59 \frac{6}{28} \\ \underline{28} \end{array}$$

And opposite the number 6 in the table referred to we find the letter C.

$$(2) \quad 1892 + \frac{1892}{4} - 12 = 336 \frac{1}{7}.$$

The remainder being one, that letter which occupies the first place in the above order is the required letter. But 1892 is a leap-year; consequently C, which immediately precedes B, is the Dominical Letter during the first two months, and B during the remainder of the year. To verify this result as regards the letter C, we have only to recollect the order in which the letters are placed opposite the days of the month and the day of the week on which the year began. The letter A always stands opposite the 1st January, and if we have calculated correctly that C is the Dominical Letter for this year, the 1st January should have fallen on Friday. This it did, as a matter of fact, as did Christmas Day also, which always falls on the same day of the week as the 1st January. Let us now see what result our cycle of Dominical Letters will give us:—

$$\frac{1892 + 9}{28} = 67 \frac{25}{28}.$$

.Turning to the table for the present century, we find opposite 25 the letters C, B.

#### THE FORM OF THE LUNETTE.

“REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you please say if the ‘round glass lunette’ used at Benediction has been condemned by the Congregation, and that of ‘crescent form’ prescribed?”

“If prescribed, is one obliged when possessing a round lunette to exchange it for a ‘crescent form;’ or is it the idea of the Congregation that all new monstrances be provided with the ‘crescent form’ lunette? SACERDOS.”

The form of lunette referred to by our correspondent, though disapproved of by the Congregation of Rites, has not, strictly speaking, been condemned. The following question and reply, dated February 4, 1871, and already published in

the I. E. RECORD,<sup>1</sup> give, as far as we can discover, the latest pronouncement of the Congregation on this subject :—

“ Nunquid ad Sacram Hostiam in Ostensorio exponendam uti liceat Lunula, quae consistit ex duobus orbiculis vitreis tenui limbo vel circulo argenteo deaurato circumjunctis et claudendis, ita ut Sacra Hostia subter inhaereat ipsi circulo argenteo, ast ante et retro vitreos orbiculos ipsos immediate tangat, et per eos erecta teneatur ?

“ Responsit S.R.C. *Prout in casu exponitur non decere sacras Species inter vitreas laminas includere, quarum superficies illas immediate tangant.*”

From this it will be seen, first, that the Congregation has merely declared that the lunette described in the question is unbecoming; and that, not because the Sacred Host is enclosed between glass discs, but because the glass discs touch the Host; and, secondly, that the Congregation has not approved of any form of lunette whatsoever. For convenience sake alone, apart from every other consideration, it would be advisable to exchange the old form of glass lunettes for some one of the forms which have been recently introduced. The necessary change can be made at a very little expense, and the convenience in using, especially in purifying, one of the new forms will more than recompense a priest for whatever little outlay the change may involve. We are of opinion, however, that a priest who has a lunette of the old form may still use it without scruple.

---

QUESTION REGARDING THE “ BENEDICTIO IN ARTICULO MORTIS.”

“ REV. DEAR SIR,—I am anxious to have some light thrown on a question of practical importance. In giving the *Benedictio in articulo mortis*, is it necessary to ask the sick person to invoke the Holy Name ?

“ I have never done so, though I have endeavoured to secure the dispositions required by the Bull of Benedict XIV., and

<sup>1</sup> Third Series, vol. ii., page 687.

indicated by the rubrics of the ritual, which precede the formula of benediction.

“Lehmkuhl (vol. ii., sec. 4, De indulgentiis) asserts that the invocation of the Holy Name is a necessary condition: — ‘*Certo essentialis conditio est ut nomen Jesu pie invocetur,*’ &c.: ita expresse declaratum est, 20 Sept., 1875.

“On reference to De Herdt, I find he recites this same decree; but he would seem to limit its application to Belgium.

“I find no mention of the invocation as a necessary condition in O’Kane’s work, where he treats of the *Benedictio in articulo mortis*. It would be desirable to know the exact conditions for the validity of this indulgence, which is of grave importance to the dying.

“AN INQUIRER.”

There cannot be two opinions on the point raised by our correspondent. The invocation of the Sacred Name, orally, if possible, otherwise mentally, is an essential condition for gaining the indulgence of the Apostolic Benediction *in articulo mortis*, when the dying person is physically and morally incapable of making the invocation in either of the above ways. The explicit and very emphatic declaration of Lehmkuhl should be enough of itself to convince us of this. For it is very unlikely that a theologian of his wonderful acumen would emphasize by the use of italics an assertion that was not practically certain. But the decree of the Congregation of Indulgences, to which he refers, removes all shadow of doubt. The question was proposed to the Congregation as follows:—“*Invocatio saltem mentalis SS. Nominis Jesu de quo fit mentio in Brevibus ad Episcopos de hac benedictione missis praescribitur, quoadmodum aegrotus suae mentis est compos, ut conditio sine qua non, ad indulgentiam vi istius benedictionis lucranda.*”

To this the Congregation replied in one word—*Affirmative*. Therefore when the blessing is given to a dying person, having the use of his senses, he does not gain the indulgence unless he invokes the Holy Name, at least mentally.

Against the authority of this decree, and of a theologian so eminent as Lehmkuhl, our correspondent puts forward two arguments, which even as he puts them are only negative arguments. In the first place he says that De Herdt

*seems* to confine the operation of the decree just cited to Belgium. It is true that he says this condition is not mentioned in the original constitution of Benedict XIV., but in the indults empowering the Belgian bishops to impart this benediction, and to delegate their priests to impart it. But he does not say that this condition is peculiar to the indults granted to Belgian bishops, and is not contained in the indults by which this power is conferred on other bishops. Secondly, he says that he finds no mention of this condition in O'Kane. Granting this, does it follow that we are to set aside the authority of Lehmkuhl, and an explicit and clear decree of the Congregation of Indulgences? But, as a matter of fact, had our correspondent searched his O'Kane a little more carefully he would have found the condition to which he objects mentioned as one of those required for gaining this indulgence. Here are his words:—  
 “The conditions required . . . are for the most part those acts which should in any event be frequently elicited by the Christian in danger of death:—Acts of contrition, acts of the love of God, and of perfect resignation to His holy will, *and the invocation of the Sacred Name with the heart if not with the lips.*”<sup>1</sup>

D. O'LOAN.

## Correspondence.

### OUR NATIONAL CATECHISM.

“VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,—In June, 1884, through the kindness of your predecessor, a letter written by me on the subject of our National Catechism was published in the I. E. RECORD. I felt particularly thankful to the Editor for inserting it, as I was conscious of treading on dangerous ground. I was questioning the fitness of the Catechism for the purpose for which it was intended, and for which it is daily employed, although I was aware that it professed to be ‘approved of by the Cardinal, the

Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, for general use throughout the Irish Church.' Whilst admitting, as everybody must admit, Archbishop Butler's Catechism, even with the numerous alterations made in it since that great and good Prelate wrote it, to be an excellent exposition of Catholic faith and morality, I ventured to say that it might be shortened, simplified in its language, and otherwise considerably modified, to the indubitable advantage of teachers and pupils.

"The Catechism with which many of us had been acquainted from our childhood was altered in many ways after the Synod of Maynooth by some theologian or theologians deputed by the bishops; and, although the revised edition was far from giving general satisfaction, it seemed as if we, the working catechists, were to be tied to it for ever. As to the idea of substituting another in its stead, such a notion, it would seem, was not to be entertained. We might advance with the times, and have new class-books superseding the old in our theological seminaries. Delahogue had to yield his place in Maynooth to Perrone; Dens had to disappear before Scavini; whilst Scavini, in turn, was supplanted by Gury. No unwise conservatism served to retain any of them when a better book was there to fill its place. So it is with the profane sciences. New and improved text-books are constantly appearing. Why, then, should we not have another and a better elementary class-book of religious science—the most important science of all—when it is clear that such could well be had, if we were only willing, for a good purpose, to remove the ancient landmarks which our fathers had set? 'Utile est,' wrote St. Augustine, 'plures a pluribus fieri libros, diverso stylo, non diversa fide, etiam de quaestionibus eisdem, ut ad plurimos res ipsa perveniat, ad alios sic, ad alios autem sic.' (*De Trinit.*, i. 3.)

"The Archbishop of Dublin, in his contribution to the I. E. RECORD of January, has given us great reason to hope that another Catechism may soon come into general use. With that practical wisdom, so eminently characteristic of his Grace, he recognises the disadvantage under which children labour in learning the rudiments of their faith and the fundamental principles of their moral conduct from a book which, however admirable as a Manual of Christian Doctrine, and however useful for more developed minds, is rendered difficult, if not distasteful, to them by its cumbersome phraseology and by its

minuteness of details. His Grace recognises, also, the time that must be misspent by catechists in asking and teaching the meaning of so many words in the Catechism that are unfamiliar to children, and beyond their comprehension. It is time improperly employed, time devoted to a spelling-lesson that should be given to the Christian Doctrine.

"Butler's Catechism need not necessarily disappear, should the Archbishops and Bishops supply us with another for the instruction of the young school-children and the illiterate adults who may be preparing for the reception of first Communion or Confirmation. We are bound to acknowledge that we owe much to it; and every priest who has learnt from it in his youth has an affectionate regard for it as for a dear old friend, and a veneration for it on account of its intrinsic worth. No Irish priest would wish to see it out of print. It might still continue its career of usefulness as the text-book for a higher course of religious instruction in our schools and colleges, when it has once more been revised and improved, and made free of those defects which the Archbishop of Dublin has indicated.—I remain, Very Rev. and Dear Sir, yours most faithfully, "H.

"January 7th, 1892."

---

[The following letter was not written with a view to publication, but, at the request of the editor, Canon Ryan has kindly consented to allow it to appear in the I. E. RECORD.]

"VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I have read with great pleasure the able paper by his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, in the January I. E. RECORD, on 'Our Catechisms: is there room for Improvement?'

"I see in the article nothing but matter for praise in the promise which it holds out.

"I have been teaching catechism here for years, and have had full experience of all that the Archbishop has noted as wanting change in 'Butler;' and, consequently, I shall look with much interest for the appearance of the 'Draft' Catechism, which ought to be a blessing to teachers and pupils alike.

"About the 'Readings' proposed after the chapters, the idea is capital; but, in order to make them of full use to youngsters, I would add a few questions (not with answers) at the end of each

lesson, so that the child might learn how to make an answer out of the Readings. This would have an educational advantage; would ensure the pith of the extra matter being retained; and would not much increase the bulk of the catechism. Of course the very young would, even under the Archbishop's scheme of 'lessons,' omit all but the question and answer part.

"I do hope we may see a really good catechism as the outcome of the Committee's work.—Very sincerely yours,

"ARTHUR RYAN.

"THURLES COLLEGE, *January 24th, 1892.*"

---

#### THE IRISH "ORDO OFFICII DIVINI RECITANDI."

"VERY REV. DEAR SIR,—In our Irish *Ordo* for the present year, the Feast of St. Margaret of Cortona is assigned to the 26th of February. This seems directly at variance with the Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, 1st March, 1681. *Ord. Can. Reg. Lateranen*, n. 2943, *ad. 6.*

By this Decree, the rule previously laid down, directing the transfer of the Feast of St. Matthias the Apostle, in leap-years, from the 24th to the 25th of February, is extended to feasts assigned in the calendars of particular churches for any of the following days of February (these days having no feasts assigned to them in the general calendar of the Church).

"Now, this principle plainly applies to the Feast of St. Margaret of Cortona in our Irish calendar. The date assigned to that feast by the Rescript of the 14th August, 1883 (see I. E. RECORD, third series, vol. iv., page 798), is the 26th of February. In leap-years, therefore, the feast should be celebrated on the 27th of February, so that, the present being a leap-year, the *Ordo* is incorrect in assigning the feast to the 26th.

"The point is distinctly laid down by De Herdt, *Sacrae Liturgiae Praxis*, vol. iii., n. 90. The case apparently being one of open conflict between the *Ordo* and the Decree of the Sacred Congregation, which authority are we to follow?—Yours truly,

"*January 21st, 1892.*

"AN IRISH PRIEST.

"P.S.—I have noted also a number of other mistakes, but as these occur chiefly in the later months of the year, it would be premature at present to call attention to them."

## Notices of Books.

---

### THE CEREMONIES OF SOME ECCLESIASTICAL FUNCTIONS.

By the Rev. Daniel O'Loan, Dean, Maynooth College.  
Dublin : Browne & Nolan.

READERS of the I. E. RECORD have no need to be told what kind of book this is. The series of papers on liturgical subjects that have been appearing almost continuously for the past five years in the pages of that periodical, will have prepared them to expect in a work bearing the above title, from the pen of the gifted author of those articles, a standard publication. Nor shall they be disappointed. It is generally admitted that rubrics and all questions of liturgy present a subject of study, dry and uninteresting in itself, and oftentimes unsatisfactory in its results. To this rule Father O'Loan's book forms a remarkable and pleasing exception: the more of it one reads, the more one feels inclined to continue to read.

The chief excellence of this work, and its claim accordingly upon the attention of the public, consists in the number and variety of the subjects treated of, in the character of the information contained therein, and in the form in which that information is conveyed.

As regards the subjects treated of, it will be seen that many of them are now, for the first time, presented to the public in an English garb, while all possess the deepest practical interest for every ecclesiastic, be he priest or student. The mere enumeration of the principal subjects discussed in the volume will be sufficient to convince our readers on both these points. We find then the following headings:—"The Choir," "The Form of the Choir," "The Position of the Choir," "The Place of Highest Rank in Choir," "Order of Entering Choir," "Manner of Acting in Choir," "Order of Departure from Choir," "The Sign of the Cross," "The Salutations," "Oscula," "Quasi-oscula," "The Ceremonies of Solemn Mass," "The Blessing of Holy Water, and the *Asperges*," "Solemn Vespers," "Solemn Mass in Presence of the Blessed Sacrament," "The *Quarant' Ore*, or Forty Hours' Adoration," "Feast of the Purification," "Ash Wednesday," "Holy Thursday," &c.

We would direct the special attention of missionary priests, particularly of priests in country districts, to the chapters on the Ceremonies of Solemn Requiem Office and Mass, the Interment, and the Ceremonies of Certain Special Days in Small Churches. These chapters contain information of a most valuable kind—information which, as regards at least arrangement of matter, and clearness and simplicity of exposition, cannot be obtained from any book that we are acquainted with. This remark, indeed, applies in almost an equal degree to every chapter of the book.

As to the value of the information contained in the volume, we believe there can be but one opinion. It is everywhere most reliable, always up to date. No doubt, it will be found that, in his treatment of some questions—as, for instance, in the chapter on the Ceremonies of Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament—the author's views differ somewhat from those that have hitherto been received and carried out in many parts of the Church. But then, in these, as in all other cases, his arguments are well and closely reasoned, and his conclusions drawn from certain and undeniable premises. It need hardly be observed that in books intended to instruct others, and not written merely to entertain or amuse, the first essential requisite is the reliableness of the information which they profess to impart; and if this be true generally, it is, all will admit, specially so in regard to books on rubrics or the sacred ceremonies of the Church. This is the great recommendation of Father O'Loan's book: it is eminently trustworthy. From beginning to end of the volume the author makes no demand on what we may term the mere faith of his readers. He will not have them accept anything on his sole authority, albeit that authority, henceforward at least, must hold high rank. He makes no gratuitous assertion, ventures no statement for which he is not prepared to assign a solid and convincing reason—for which he does not produce his voucher, either in the shape of an ordinance of a Pope, a decree of one of the Congregations, or the authority of some standard commentator on the rubrics. As showing precisely the lines on which the book is written, we make the following extract, with its numerous references, from the chapter on the Ceremonies of Holy Saturdays :—

“The ceremony of blessing the baptismal font should be performed on Holy Saturday in every church in which there is,

*de jure*, a fixed font.<sup>1</sup> In churches not having a right to a baptismal font, the blessing cannot take place, even as far as the infusion of the holy oils.<sup>2</sup> The ceremony should be repeated on the eve of Pentecost, notwithstanding any custom to the contrary, even though the water blessed on Holy Saturday has not been once used.<sup>3</sup>

"A parish priest having charge of more than one parish should have all the fonts blessed by as many priests, or should have blessed water brought from the church in which he himself officiates to replenish the fonts in the other churches."<sup>4</sup>

"The new oils, blessed on the preceding Holy Thursday, should be used in blessing the font on Holy Saturday, if they can be conveniently procured.<sup>5</sup> But if they cannot be procured in time for the ceremonies of Holy Saturday morning, the old oils may be used."<sup>6</sup>

"<sup>1</sup> S. R. C., Mart. 1, 1636.

"<sup>2</sup> S. R. C., Jul. 13, 1697.

"<sup>3</sup> S. R. C., Apr. 13, 1874.

"<sup>4</sup> De Herdt. *Prax. Lit.*

"<sup>5</sup> Caput *Si quis* (apud De Herdt).

"<sup>6</sup> S. R. C., Sept. 19, 1859."

But if we appreciate Father O'Loan's work for its authoritative teaching, we must no less admire and esteem it on account of the manner in which that teaching is set forth. It would be difficult to find among books of this class, or indeed of any class, a better model of scientific arrangement of matter, of definiteness of meaning, of simplicity of language, of the concise and perspicuous style of writing; it is, if we may be allowed the expression, a perfect specimen of the *multum in parvo* style of composition. We submit the following passage from the chapter on Solemn Requiem Mass, and leave our readers to draw their own conclusion:—

"In the Missal four Masses of the Dead are given. . . . The first of these, besides being the proper Mass for the commemoration of All Souls, is to be said also for a deceased Pope, Cardinal, and Bishop, on the day of death or burial, on the third, seventh, and thirtieth day after the death or burial, and on the anniversary day. It may likewise be said for a deceased priest on the privileged days as above, or instead of it the second may be selected. The second, then, *may* be said for a deceased priest, and *should* be said for deceased clerics who are not priests, and for all lay persons, on the day of death or burial, and on the third, seventh, and thirtieth day. For the anniversary of a priest, the first Mass, as has been said, may be selected; but for the anniversary of a cleric, not a priest, or of a lay person, the third—the proper anniversary Mass—should be taken. The fourth Mass should be selected whenever Requiem Mass is to be

said outside one of the privileged days already mentioned, no matter what may have been the rank or dignity of the person for whom it is offered."

One other feature of the book we must not fail to notice. It is the Author's rigid conservatism; in other words, his open, frank, recognition of the superior claims of local usages, wherever they are found to be legitimately established. This, however, is only as it ought to be.

As may be inferred from the foregoing remarks, we anticipate for *The Ceremonies of some Ecclesiastical Functions* a very favourable reception at the hands of the clergy. Indeed, with the exception of O'Kane's *Notes on the Rubrics of the Roman Ritual*, now translated into almost every European language, and everywhere regarded as a classic, we know of no liturgical work, published in the vernacular, that is likely to command a wider circulation, or to prove a greater boon to those for whose use and benefit it is principally intended. If we add that, in our opinion, the new work is destined soon to take its place as a companion volume to the older publication, we shall be rightly thought to have awarded high praise; yet none beyond what is in the strictest sense deserved.

We notice that the book is issued with the *Nihil obstat* of the Right Rev. Monsignor Browne, and the *Imprimatur* of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin.

The book is beautifully printed on superfine paper, and is brought out in the best style by the eminent firm of publishers, Messrs. Browne & Nolan, Nassau-street, Dublin.

Before closing this notice, we would make one suggestion. It is, that the learned Author, when preparing a second edition, which must soon be called for, would consider whether it would not be an improvement to substitute for his translation of *infirmi et egeni elementa*, of the Latin Vulgate, the rendering of these words found in the Rheims Version of the New Testament. We are aware that there is good authority for translating  $\pi\tau\omega\chi\alpha$ , of the original Greek, corresponding to *egeni* of the Latin, into *beggarly*; yet, for our part, we much prefer the word *needy*, as the translation; and we are inclined to think "weak and beggarly elements" will not fall gratefully on the ears of most English-speaking readers.

R. OWENS.

MANUAL OF CHURCH HISTORY. Volume II. By the Rev. T. Gilmartin, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Maynooth College. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son; Browne & Nolan. London: Burns & Oates.

LITTLE more than a year ago<sup>1</sup> we called the attention of the readers of the I. E. RECORD to the publication of the First Volume of Professor Gilmartin's excellent *Manual of Church History*; and now we have to welcome the appearance of the Second Volume, which brings the history of the Church from A.D. 1073 to A.D. 1517. The early portion of this period is frequently called the Dark Ages by illipant and superficial writers; but Maitland has shown, in his own most learned work, which bears that title, that they are only *dark* to those who know nothing about them; and that they are full of light for those who study them with open eyes, and unprejudiced minds. As Professor Gilmartin points out in his very first page, those Middle Ages were the ages of faith, the ages that produced our greatest schools and monasteries, the ages of the Crusades, of Scholasticism, and of Gothic Architecture—ages widely different, indeed, from our own, in many respects; but assuredly great in faith, knowledge, and civilization. In the very first chapter of this work the great Hildebrand comes upon the scene: "one of the few men who have made and moulded the history of their own and subsequent times," as the author tells us, quoting from Trench's *Lectures*.

In brief space, but with steady hand, Professor Gilmartin sketches the career and character of this majestic Pontiff, and no one, who reads that vigorous sketch can deny that his will be a grander figure for all time than any of the typical heroes of modern times.

As might be expected, this Second Volume is written in the same simple, but clear and forcible style, which characterized the first. Under Professor Gilmartin's guidance, the reader will never lose his way. No man can write the history of this period, or even fully understand it, who is not a philosopher and a theologian quite as much as a historian. Even such a man as Hallam gets out of his depth when he ventures into the mazes of scholastic philosophy and theology. As those old sages themselves emphatically asserted—*de ignotis nullum judicium*—no man can write intelligently about what he does not understand. But the chapters in this volume on Scholasticism, Mysticism, and

<sup>1</sup> See I. E. RECORD for November, 1890, page 1051.

on the Heretical Sects of the time, clearly prove, if proof were necessary, that the author understood his subject in all its multi-form bearings and aspects. Hence, we find in these chapters a clearer, fresher, and more subtle analysis of those most interesting questions than can be found anywhere else in the same brief space. One may read through more wordy and pretentious treatises in which these questions are discussed; but we venture to think, he will have for his pains far less solid and accurate information than may be found in a few chapters of this Manual.

We read over the chapter on the Great Western Schism with much interest. It is hard to make much of it from the laboured and confused accounts that may be found in the more voluminous works on Church history. Professor Gilmartin handles this intricate question in an admirable manner, furnishing such an outline map of the whole controversy to the student, that he can always ascertain his position and marshal his facts in their proper places when he comes to the examination of contemporary authorities and more diffuse writers.

It will be seen that we cordially recommend these volumes for the use of students and scholars in our seminaries and schools. The work will, doubtless, find a place, too, on the book-shelves of intelligent Catholic laymen; not only because it is a very readable and interesting book in itself, but also because it will be found a most convenient and authoritative work of reference, especially by those who have not learning or leisure enough to consult the more voluminous works in other languages.

The volume is in every respect well brought out—well bound, and well printed in clear type and on very good paper. There are a few *corrigenda* noted at the beginning; but they are so unimportant as to be hardly worthy of notice. We heartily congratulate Professor Gilmartin on the successful progress of his work, which we hope to see completed within a brief period.

✠ J. H.

THE WORKS OF ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS. Vol. II.  
Translated by David Lewis. London: Thos. Baker,  
Soho Square.

ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS belongs to that category of saints of which the Seraphic Francis of Assisi was the model and most perfect type. Indeed, the saint of Fontiberi seems to have been to Spain all that the good St. Francis was to Italy; and, in one

sense, even he surpasses his Italian brother; for his devotion to God began with his earliest infancy, and grew with his years, till he drew his last breath in a final effort of love. Our Roman breviary gives us an idea of the austerities which he practised while he was still of tender age:—"Tanto autem patiendi desiderio flagravit ut novennis, spreto molliori lecto, super sarmentis cubare consueverit." It is scarcely too much to say that, for such men, the love of God was nothing short of an absorbing passion. Night and day, in sickness or health, in joy or in sorrow, they had no other thought. And, so unearthly and transcendent was their love, that it could not be fully expressed in the commonplace language of life, but often found vent in sublime and mystic allegories, and in the sweet and harmonious strains of poetry. Thus did the Seraph of Assisi call upon the sun and the stars, and the lakes and rivers, and flowers—in a word, on all created things, to join with him in praising God:—

"Laudato sia Dio mio Signore  
Con tutte le tue creature  
Specialmente messer lo frate Sole  
Lo quale giorna ed illumina nui per lui  
Ed ello e bello e radiante con grande splendore  
De te porta significatione," &c.

Thus also did Blessed Jacopone da Todi express the love of Christ for us, and the ingratitude of the soul that does not return his love:—

"O peccatrice ingrata  
Ritorna al tuo signore,  
Non esser disperata  
Che per te muor d'amore,  
Pensa nel suo dolore  
Qual l'hai d'amor piagato."

In like manner, St. John of the Cross, in the work now before us, not only unveils to us the ardent love by which he himself was consumed; but, both in prose and poetry, has left a lasting lesson behind him as to how sin can be eradicated and this high degree of love acquired. The treatises entitled *The Dark Night of the Soul*, *The Spiritual Canticle of the Soul and its Bridegroom* and *The Living Flame of Divine Love*, will require no commendation from us when we say that, in the judgment of the Holy See, their author was divinely instructed, and that they are amongst those books of mystic theology of which the breviary says: "*Coelesti sapientia conscripsit.*" This volume contains only the second part of the saint's works. The

first part, or rather the second edition of the first part, was published about a year and a-half ago. The present volume completes the second edition ; and Mr. Baker, the publisher, informs us that it can be had for twelve shillings by those who purchased the first volume, but that immediate application is desirable, as the edition is very limited, and after a certain number of copies of this second volume have been disposed of, the few remaining copies of the work will only be sold in sets of two, and at a greatly enhanced price. The translator is Mr. David Lewis, a man who has proved himself thoroughly competent for the work, not alone from a literary point of view, but also as a theologian and exact interpreter of the sense of the original. As a proof of this we have only to read his English version of the poems on the Trinity and Incarnation, each stanza of which is as precise in its way, and as accurate as this one ; where, speaking of the Incarnation, we are told that :—

“ In this wondrous operation,  
 Though the Sacred Three concurred,  
 He whom in the womb of Mary  
 Was incarnate, is the Word.

We notice at the end of the volume a poetic rendering of the Psalm “ *Super flumina Babylonis.*” This is a favourite theme of poets ; but it seems to us that it never sounds more beautiful than in the words of the Psalmist himself. In the French literature of last century there are two renderings of the well-known Psalm : one by Lefranc de Pompignan, and the other by Charles Louis Malfilatre. Both have a certain beauty of their own, and some of the stanzas of Malfilatre, in particular, admirably render the sadness of the captive people under the peculiar circumstances referred to :—

“ Nous suspendîmes nos cithares  
 Aux saules qui bordaient ces rivages déserts  
 Et les cris importuns de nos vainqueurs barbares,  
 A nos tribus en deuil demandaient des concerts.  
 Comment au sein de l’esclavage  
 Pourrions nous de Sion faire entendre les chants  
 Comment redirions nous dans un climat sauvage  
 Du temple du Seigneur les cantiques touchans.”

It is right to say that we believe there is more of the religious strain of the original, and less of the commonplace and artificial, about the rendering of St. John the Cross and of his English translator than in the two versions above alluded to.

J. F. H.

THE LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST ACCORDING TO THE GOSPEL HISTORY. By Rev. A. J. Maas, S. J., Professor of Oriental Languages in Woodstock College, St. Louis: B. Herder.

We mean more than an empty formality when we say that we heartily welcome this volume from the pen of Father Maas. It is a response to a wish that many, no doubt, have long entertained for a Life of our Lord in the words of the Gospel itself. The Life of Christ has been many times written, and well. But now, for the first time, we have come across what we may call His autobiography. Very beautiful and very valuable as histories of the Redeemer may be, coming from the hands of men, we give a natural and decided preference to that which is traced for us by God Himself, through the inspired writers. True, we have always had this divinely-inspired life of our Lord in the Gospels. There it was more beautiful, more touching, more worthy of the Redeemer, than any human hands could write it. Beside that simple narrative of the Gospel ornament would seem misplaced, and the literary artifices and embellishments of the biographer would be tedious and almost profane.

But the Gospels were not written to give a consecutive view of our Lord's life. It was necessary to take the fragments of the living history as we find it scattered through the Gospels, and to match the pieces, so as to make a consecutive narrative complete, as far as the inspired writings completed our Divine Lord's history. It was a task of no small magnitude, and it is not small praise to say that Father Maas has been successful. The chronological arrangement of the events in our Lord's life has given occasion to so much controversy, that to hope to please the commentators would be to wish the impossible. The best that anyone could expect to do would be to give a consistent and probable arrangement. Without endorsing all the opinions of the author in detail, we can safely say that he has, in our judgment, admirably acquitted himself of this portion of his task. This matter of arranging the details—very important though it be from the commentator's point of view—may well seem a thing of secondary importance in the view of those who wish to have, and are well content with, our good and highly probable Gospel-life of Christ, while the commentators are, meantime, hotly exercising themselves in the production of the materials for the only true history of our Lord. We thankfully and cordially congratulate the author. The Life is a most valuable and acceptable addition to sacred literature.

But besides arranging the Gospel narrative, so as to give us our Lord's life in the very words of the Evangelists, with nothing omitted, and nothing whatever added to the inspired text, one thing more was necessary, in order to make the Life intelligible to ordinary readers. A history dealing with times and places so remote, and full of allusions to manners and customs very different from ours, required a commentary to bring it within the reach of most people. This want is fully met by Father Maas. Copious footnotes supply all the information to be desired; and, as the author justly remarks, the book may be called a Gospel commentary. Critics may quarrel with the chronology adopted by the author in the text; but he must be a very eccentric commentator, indeed, who fails to find some consolation in the commentary. If his pet opinion does not get a place, even in the notes, I venture to say, that the fault lies in the opinion, and not in the exclusiveness of Father Maas. The notes are found just where you want them; they are orderly and clear, so as to be intelligible to every reader. Into a moderate-sized volume we have compressed a vast amount of information on all possible subjects that may help to elucidate the narrative.

The book makes a handsome volume, and is beautifully printed on good paper. Again we testify our welcome for it, and congratulate the author on a good and useful conception, well executed.

D. M.

An Teagairt Chriostaige fá éinne Dúogóire Raí-a-bor.

IRISH CATECHISM FOR THE DIOCESE OF RAPHOE, &c.

IT argues a sad state of native Irish literature, when the publication of an elementary Catechism, in the vernacular, takes rank as a literary event. Yet such is the case. Irish books of any sort are rare; good and cheap Irish books are rare, indeed. As to price, this Catechism is all that could be desired, costing as it does only two-pence. Besides this, it is written in the simple and attractive Gaelic of Tirconnell, which is a guarantee of its value from the literary standpoint. The difference between the "dialects" of Irish is much exaggerated, and with the exception of a few peculiarities (such as *dam* for *dam*, *iomlan* for *iomlán*, aspiration instead of eclipsis after preposition + article), there is nothing in this book which would be noted as strange by a native of Connaught or Munster. In fact, the chief note of Ulster Irish, *cá* for *ní*, does not appear in the Catechism at all.

In some few cases, marks of aspiration, punctuation, and quantity, have gone wrong. However, people must be reconciled to this, until a printer is found who can set up Irish type intelligently.

But the publication of an Irish Catechism for an Irish-speaking diocese, with the approval of the Bishop, is an event in another way as well—it is a formal recognition of the claim, which Irish-speaking children have, to be taught the truths of faith in such a way that they may understand them. Had not those who are divinely commissioned to watch over the religious education of our people kept the language of our forefathers alive, it would long since have disappeared as a vehicle of speech, and would exist only in the imperishable and copious literature that embalms it.

E. O'G.

MEDITATIONS ON THE PRINCIPAL TRUTHS OF RELIGION, AND  
ON THE HIDDEN AND PUBLIC LIFE OF OUR LORD JESUS  
CHRIST. By the Most Rev. Dr. Kirby, Archbishop of  
Ephesus, Rector of the Irish College of Rome. Dublin :  
M. H. Gill & Son.

THE volume before us will receive a warm welcome, and it merits it. The book has a history. More than twenty years ago, as the venerable author tells us in his modest preface, the work now published for the first time, was begun. In his solicitude for those committed to his charge as Rector of the Irish College, the author desired to place in their hands, in a permanent form, the spiritual exercises which it was part of his duty to put before them while in college. The spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius were made the text, on the lines of which the new work was to be expanded and developed. The object of his Grace was “to afford to young ecclesiastics, and to those especially with whose training he was in some way concerned, some help to enable them to make, with spiritual profit, a retreat for themselves, and to give it, when required, to others.” When his design was but little more than half accomplished, “the revolutionary cannon began to thunder against Porta Pia.” The sequel is a matter of history ; and while we regret that the *Meditations* have been slow in reaching those for whom they were intended, and that the work now appears incomplete as it was when the author was so rudely interrupted, we cannot wonder that in those dark, anxious days that followed '70, the venerable rector had neither time nor heart

to resume his labours. We must be content to congratulate ourselves that, even now, yielding to the pressure of his friends, Archbishop Kirby has rescued his work from undeserved neglect.

The *Meditations* come to us with the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of Dublin, and, prefixed is a highly commendatory letter from the Primate, who claims the credit of having urged the author to place the manuscript in the printer's hands. For those who know Dr. Kirby—and especially for those who had the advantage of passing through the Irish College under his guidance—no recommendation of His Grace's book is necessary. They know what to expect, and they will not be disappointed. To those who do not know the author, we venture to say, "buy the book." As a book of spiritual reading, it will be found a treasury of sound, practical piety. For making or giving a spiritual retreat, it will be invaluable to "young ecclesiastics," and highly useful even to those of considerable experience. These *Meditations* are the rich fruit of the piety and zeal of the distinguished author, and they draw worth and practical force from an experience of many years spent in the discharge of duties, which eminently fitted the writer for his task. There are no empty speculations; there is no straining after literary effect. Each meditation is simple, solid, and practical. Rational devotion, not evanescent sentiment, is the object at which the author aims. He satisfies the intellect before he attempts to move the will. The tender love of the Blessed Virgin, which breathes through the whole book, will be an additional charm to its many readers, while it must remind old pupils of the Irish College, of the far-off days when they listened to the rector in their *Alma Mater*.

The publishers have done their part to bring out a useful book in a neat and convenient form.

D. M.

SCIENCE OF THE SAINTS. By John Baptist Pagani. Three Vols. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society.

It has been remarked that while hale men often pass through life without doing anything notable or worthy of their gifts, infirm men, on the other hand, do work out of all proportion to their weakness. Pope Gregory the Great was nearly always sick, and yet, while governing the Church for years with consum-

mate ability, he wrote several books which, in their own department, are classics. We do not mean to compare the author of the work before us with this illustrious doctor; but we must admit his resemblance to the great Pontiff in this — that he was oftener sick than well, and managed to write several useful ascetical works while attending to the onerous duties of an exalted position.

John Baptist Pagani was the second General of the Institute of Charity, having been previously Superior of his brethren in the English Province. He died in 1859 A.D., in the 54th year of his age. There is a short account of his life prefixed to this work, appreciative, indeed, but vaguely and tamely written.

*Science of the Saints* might be the title of a book, the noblest fruit of Catholic genius, treating with scientific method a subject that, beyond all doubt, is the most profound that can engage the human mind. Such a book would reveal the beautiful harmony of the religious life; would show the working of lively faith in the eternal truths; its marvellous impress on the lives of men and women; would reconcile a saint's apparent extravagance with his genuine sanctity; would, in a word, demonstrate the obvious sequence of the practices of saints from their faith and our faith. Such a book, however, remains to be written. The three volumes before us do not realize this ideal. They are strictly ascetical, and merely delineate the actual working of faith in the lives of some of our brethren. In choosing this line of treatment, the author was, of course, perfectly within his right, and it would be narrow criticism to find fault with a book calculated to foster devotion, because it did not also aim at satisfying and winning unbelievers.

In his modest preface, the author tells us that the idea of the work suggested itself to him whilst he was reading the New Testament and *The Lives of the Saints* during his convalescence after a dangerous illness. Holy and zealous man that he was, he took, it would seem, notes of important texts in the former, and of their counterparts in the latter, and, in course of time, wrote those three volumes on the Christian virtues, as illustrated by the lives of God's servants. The work is so arranged that a lesson is assigned to each day of the twelve months, and a virtue to each month. Thus: January: Union and Fraternal Charity; February: Humility, &c. There are then thirty-one lessons on Fraternal Charity, one for each day of the month of January, and so on for the other months. The texts of Sacred Scripture and the illustrations from *The Lives of the Saints* are copious

and suitable. We consider the work, therefore, to be a useful handbook in preparing instructions, more particularly instructions for religious.

Without wishing to complain of a fault, we have said that the author's method of treatment is not exactly scientific; without wishing either to impute any serious defect, we must say that his diction is not graceful, elegant, or eloquent. *Science of the Saints* is more a work of holiness and zeal than of genius; but we are far from thinking that it is thereby likely to be less effectual in awakening devotion. The fact that it is the second edition we are noticing, is evidence of its appreciation by the Catholic public. We wish the book a wide circulation, and in the author's prayer, that its readers may "understand and relish, ever more and more, the *Science of the Saints*," we heartily join.

T. J. G.

LIFE OF MOST REVEREND PETER RICHARD KENRICK, D.D.,  
Archbishop of St. Louis. Catholic Publishing Company  
of St. Louis, 1891.

THE less said about this "Life" the better, There are just two persons in the world whom this book could please—the writer, and the subject of the biography. The writer must be pleased with it, for just as a parent is unable to see any defects even in a deformed child, so, we believe, an author is blind to the blemishes in the offspring of his mind. The subject of the biography must also be pleased with the writer's work. For we feel quite certain that the Most Rev. Dr. Kenrick is a man of deep humility. He must, therefore, rejoice that the writer of his biography has succeeded in hiding altogether the many noble qualities of heart and mind which even strangers know to belong to the illustrious Archbishop of St. Louis. The grand old prelate, sixty years a priest, and fifty years a bishop, an author of acknowledged ability, a wise and successful administrator, holy, zealous, self-sacrificing, was surely a noble theme for a life sketch. Ample materials, too, the writer had at hand. Yet, instead of a "Life" of Dr. Kenrick, we have biographical notices of all the priests and bishops with whom he came in contact, dry catalogues of the priests whom he ordained, and of the bishops at whose consecration he was present. We are sorry that the priests of St. Louis, having decided that it was the "correct thing" to have a biography of their great archbishop for his golden jubilee, did not select someone to write it who could have done some justice to the subject.

Peter Richard Kenrick, Archbishop of St. Louis, is brother to the still more distinguished Francis Patrick Kenrick, who died Archbishop of Baltimore, in 1863. The latter, and not the former, wrote the well-known theological treatises, and translated the Bible, or at least a portion of it. Peter Richard was born in Dublin, in 1806, so that he is now close on eighty-six years of age. He studied in Maynooth College, was ordained in 1832, and spent about a year doing missionary work in his native diocese of Dublin. In 1833 he emigrated to America, and settled in the diocese of Philadelphia, of which his brother, Francis Patrick, had been bishop-administrator since 1830. In 1841, he himself was consecrated bishop, and was appointed coadjutor to the Most Rev. Joseph Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis. It was then the golden jubilee of his episcopacy that the Catholics of St. Louis celebrated with such splendour and jubilation last November. Fifty years ago the young prelate came to them filled with burning zeal and unconquerable energy. Then St. Louis was a small town, now it is one of the world's centres: then the religion which he professed, and which he came to preach, uphold and defend, was despised in St. Louis, and those who professed it were regarded with hatred and distrust by their fellow-men; now Catholicity is respected as no other form of belief is in the great city by the Mississippi, and Catholics hold the highest places of honour and of trust that the City Fathers have in their gift. And to the wisdom, zeal and energy of Archbishop Kenrick, as the human instrument of the divine Artist, very much of this happy change is to be attributed. Well then may the Catholics of St. Louis be proud of their grand old prelate, right joyously may they sing his praises, when they look back over the record of his fifty years' untiring labour for them, for religion and for God. May they long rejoice in his paternal care!

D. O'L.

THE CORRECT THING FOR CATHOLICS. By Lelia Harding Bugg. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1892.

THIS is a decidedly American book. It is American in conception, in sentiment, and in style, and is as thoroughly practical as the American character itself. The writer's aim was to make her book "at once a guide for the exterior conduct of Catholics on some of the occasions where there is a liability of annoying mistakes, and a reminder of obligations understood, but oftentimes forgotten." To secure this end she has divided her subject into close on forty sections, in each of which she treats of a subject, a practical knowledge of which it would be extremely desirable that

Catholics should possess. A section is devoted to each of the Sacraments, one to the Mass, and one to indulgences. The "correct thing" for persons engaged to be married is laid down very clearly, very practically, and in the most common-sense manner. We are also told the "correct thing" in church, at a wedding, at high mass, during Holy Week, in business, in society, in conversation, in matters of dress, in travelling, in reading, in education, in regard to the Rosary, &c. Each section is subdivided into two parts. In the first part we are shown what is the "correct thing" in the particular occasion or circumstance with which the section deals; and in the second part we are shown what is *not* the "correct thing" in the same circumstance.

Some of the hints on travelling are gems. American tourists are reminded that it is the "correct thing" "to remember that Europe and Europeans managed to exist fairly well for over a thousand years before America was even thought of." And again: "to remember when with supercilious foreigners that if America has no great pictures she at least holds the patent on the most perfect plough in the world." The following we are told are *not* the "correct thing":—

"To imagine that a woman will be mistaken for a lady if she does not act as one."

"To think that the practice of the Christian virtues should be suspended on sea."

"To forget that patient endurance and a lemon are the best antidotes for seasickness."

"To imagine that chance auditors are vitally interested in one's physical condition, and to, therefore, inflict a minute account of all the stages of the *mal de mer* on them."

"To judge cultivated and enlightened Protestants by the blustering Briton one meets everywhere on the Continent of Europe."

MAXIMS AND COUNSELS. From the Life and Writings of Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque, arranged for every day in the year. Dublin: M. & S. Eaton.

THIS is an exquisite booklet in every sense. The "maxims" and "counsels" have been selected with much skill by someone who combines sincere piety with sound, practical sense. The paper is of the very best quality, the type unexceptionable, and the binding such as one might expect to have turned out in artistic Paris, but certainly not in Dublin. The maxim for each day, though hardly ever exceeding a single short sentence, is so pregnant with deep spiritual significance, that it will form the subject for a half-hour's profitable reflection.

# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

MARCH, 1892.

## TEMPERANCE AND THE SCHOOLS.

"We wish the effort every success. There is no doubt that the best hope of greater temperance in the country is in the encouragement of abstinence in the young, who do not need stimulants, and are much better without them."—*The Lancet*.

"Bid them enrol their children, even the youngest. If they never know the taste, they will never know the temptation."—CARDINAL MANNING.

"We warn our beloved clergy, that the future, even temporal, of the Catholic laity in these colonies, is in their hands. Without thrift and temperance and foresight, the people's undeniable willingness for hard work will not save the great body from constant lowering in the social scale. Unfortunately in a large proportion of cases the lowering will soon settle into extinction. . . . Intoxicating drink, even if taken only in the same quantity, has a worse effect on the Irish Catholic than on any of his fellow-colonists."—BISHOPS OF AUSTRALIA, *Pastoral from Plenary Council*, 1886.

BY a happy and hopeful coincidence the subject of this paper has been recently attracting a large measure of attention from various and independent quarters. The publication of a temperance manual, and the promised action of our Board of National Education, have been already referred to. It now appears that at the time an Irish priest, with the approval and blessing of Irish bishops, was giving us his little book, another priest was doing a similar service in America, at the instance of the Catholic T. A. Union, and with the blessing of his Eminence, the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore.<sup>1</sup> In all this there is, surely, something better

<sup>1</sup> *Manual of Total Abstinence*. By Rev. W. Elliott.

than coincidence; for it gives us the assurance that the subject is one in which good and practical work remains to be done. Father Cullen's catechism comes to us with such sanction, that to add any word of praise may seem worse than superfluous. If it be only received and read as widely as it deserves, it is destined to effect good beyond all words. We have been deploring the existence of a thousand silly fallacies about intoxicating drink and its necessity; if these are to exist any longer, it will be the fault of a people who prefer darkness to light, for the "Temperance Catechism" is an array of simple practical truths which all may understand, and which none can controvert. As one of the letters of commendation hints, there was heretofore a weak point in our temperance campaign; that point has been strengthened now; and it is not too much to say, that if our people can be only got to read and master the facts which Father Cullen has set before them, the publication of his little book is likely to have more far-reaching effects than any single event of our recent temperance movement in Ireland.

On a recent occasion <sup>1</sup> we have been pleading for temperance instruction in our primary schools; we have now to glance at what has been done elsewhere in the matter. Before doing so we may revert for a moment to a point already touched on. "Fair play for the children, from whom we hope so much; let us give them knowledge wherewith to shield themselves." With all our vaunted civilization, how sad is the lot of a great bulk of our children in the end of this nineteenth century, and in the chief centres of those Christian countries! Lately, indeed, we have got a Children's Protection Society—*fi. st* there was an association for the protection of animals; and only then, and after a long interval, one for the protection of the little ones "full of eternity." And how desperately sad are the tales of horror which we have heard since the society began its work! If the treatment of the children be a good index of the civilization of times and peoples, it must fare hard with

<sup>1</sup> I. E. RECORD, January, 1892.

this old dotard century of ours. It is in those strong words that a distinguished Protestant Churchman<sup>3</sup> has been just giving us his experiences :—

“ I have known boys and girls growing up, because of drink, into felons and harlots; men blighted out of all semblance of humanity, lurking, idle and dirty, about the thievish corners of the streets, loathsome with the diseases which drink inevitably brings on. I have known children fly from the horror of drunken parents at midnight to hide themselves in the chimney of a neighbour's house, or to sleep till they were stone cold in a cellar with the rats. I have seen them condemned because of drink to childlike without innocence, manhood without self-respect, and old age in which the hoary hairs were a crown of infamy. I have known of children overlaid—as hundreds of English children are yearly overlaid—by drunken mothers; dying off like flies, because of the taint of gin in their blood; born with the howl and fatal craving for gin in their constitution; knocked about, starved, neglected, kicked, beaten, left to burn themselves to death, or to be run over in the streets, by the fiendish cruelty of drunken fathers and mothers.”

And all those experiences, he adds, were gathered in one small London parish, not the poorest, with no special reputation for depravity, but “ active to the fullest degree in every form of temperance and religious work.” It would be an easy task to fill pages with facts and figures and pictures appalling even as this one, and in some proportion from every large centre in the kingdom. In Liverpool, on a Monday morning, there stood before the magistrates not fewer than twenty boys and girls who had been found in a beastly state of drunkenness on the previous Sunday; *and they were all under seventeen*; in Manchester, on a given Sunday, there were counted in its beer-shops *twenty-two thousand children*; in London, of which a leading Catholic clergyman has lately written, “ there you may find every evening our boys and girls, and the girls more numerous than the boys, two or three years after they have left school, crowding in to drink as long as they have money to spend, or can find anyone to treat them. There I have seen them, the most promising, the fruits of whatever power and zeal

<sup>1</sup> Archdeacon Farrar, in *Review of the Churches*.

one had, whom we had striven to educate in self-denial and purity, going, in a continuous stream, to the abyss of poverty and shame."<sup>1</sup>

In describing what has been done in England and elsewhere, it will not seem strange if we have to do largely with organizations outside the Church.

"Ipse docet quid agam ; fas est et ab hoste doceri." <sup>2</sup>

Doctrines may be sometimes heard to which we cannot subscribe, and over-statements which, as we judge, hurt rather than help the cause they are meant to support ; but withal, it were blind prejudice to conclude that there is not outside the Church's pale zeal which we may appreciate, or organization that it would be our interest to copy. In what has been sometimes quoted as the Leinster Pastoral, the bishops of the Dublin province make a complimentary reference to outside efforts in the cause of temperance ; and whoever is but slightly acquainted with the extent and the success of those efforts will acknowledge that the compliment was merited.

There are two methods by which temperance teaching is conveyed: the first through lesson-books, and what may be called the general tenor of the school instruction ; the second by lectures given at stated times by competent lecturers, employed by the chief temperance organizations, and sent to the various schools whose managers or boards desire temperance instruction. As to the first, the following extract will be interesting ; it is taken from the Code of the London School Board, which has from the first taken a prominent part in the work :—

"Whenever the opening lesson of the day, from the Holy Scriptures, supplies a suitable opportunity for the occasional instruction of children, by examples, warnings, cautions, and admonitions in the principles of the virtue of temperance, the teachers should avail themselves of it. The reading-books and copy-books used in school might be rendered largely helpful in this direction. Such reading-books are on the requisition list, and may be had

<sup>1</sup> Canon Morneau : Paper read at Birmingham Conference, Catholic Truth Society, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> Ovid, *Met.*, iv. 428.

on application. Picture-cards, diagrams, and wall-papers, illustrative of the subjects of industry, sobriety, and thrift, may be beautifully exhibited as part of the wall furniture of schools. Songs and hymns, at the selection of the teacher, on the subject of temperance, should be incorporated with the musical exercises of the school. The Board will be recommended to grant, free of charge, the use of their schools after the usual school hours for illustrated lectures by well-qualified lecturers to children attending the schools; but the attendance at such lectures on the part both of teachers and scholars is to be purely voluntary, the lecturers and their subjects in each case to receive the approval of the School Management Committee."

It will be obvious from this that a great power is placed in the hands of teachers who may be zealous in the cause; and that the power is largely used for good, may be concluded from the fact that in sixty-six Sunday schools it was recently ascertained that out of nine hundred and eighteen teachers there were seven hundred and seventy-five abstainers, or about eighty-four in the hundred. There is a great variety of lesson-books; among them is that of Dr. Richardson, already referred to, which was prepared at the request of the National Temperance League. To this association may be ascribed also the praise of leading the way in the advocacy of temperance teaching in the elementary schools. The work was inaugurated at a meeting in 1878, which was attended by a large number of teachers, and which was addressed by, among others, Mr. Williams, Inspector of London Board Schools, in a speech from which I have quoted at the head of a former paper. This association sends out two lecturers—one to boys' schools, who treats on physiology; and another to girls' schools, whose theme is domestic economy.

There is another association, however, which has been making school-work its most special sphere of action; it is called the Band of Hope Union. From the two last annual reports,<sup>1</sup> which its secretary has kindly sent me, I gather the following information, which will be of interest. A fact which attests the interest which the public feel in the matter, is that when a few years ago the "school system" was

<sup>1</sup> Report of "School Scheme," Band of Hope Union, 1889-90: Report, 1890-91.

suggested, a sum of £10,000 was immediately subscribed or promised, a fund which was sufficient to carry it on for five years. There are thirteen paid lecturers, among them being physicians, chemists, and others who had been in various capacities connected with management of schools. Great care was used in the selection of the most competent, as well as "about the substance, methods, and scope of the lectures." During last year (90-91) the number of schools visited was 2,336 ; of lectures given, 2,162 ; of children present, 256,068 ; of reports of addresses, 87,894. The lectures were entirely unsectarian ; " this unsectarian character of the effort has been shown to be greatly in its favour, and has, amongst others, opened Roman Catholic and Jewish schools to systematic temperance teaching." (Report, 90-91.) Hence the scheme embraced all manner of schools, as seen in the following classification :—

Board Schools . . . . .	1,306
National Schools . . . . .	559
British, Friends, Wesleyan, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic and other Voluntary Schools . . . . .	324
Training Ships, Charitable Institutions, Industrial, Reformatory, and District (Workhouse) Schools . . . . .	39
Higher Grade Schools . . . . .	78
Conference of Teachers . . . . .	26
Training Colleges . . . . .	4
	<hr/>
	2,336

The lectures are given to the children of the higher classes, lasting usually about half an hour, and they are illustrated by charts, diagrams, food specimens, &c. They are now usually given during school hours, a difficulty which the educational code seemed at first to present having been got over. One of the above headings—"reports of addresses," needs explanation: it indicates one very interesting and useful feature of the scheme. The children who attended were invited to write a report of the lecture; the reports were afterwards examined, and to the writers of the best were given certificates and prizes. This served not only to impress the leading facts on the children's minds; but, what

is, perhaps, better still, the children became apostles of temperance in their homes and neighbourhood. Lately we had to deplore the fact that the children were being educated at home in the foolish fancies of their parents: here we have the reverse, and the children teach the parents. This is just what should have been expected, and the Report adds:—

“The home influence of the scheme, as reported by parents and children, was most gratifying. The substance of the lectures was, by the expressed wish of many of the teachers, repeated in the home circle: the essays were read to parents, and the illuminated certificates with which the children's efforts were rewarded, finding a place of honour on the walls, kept the subject constantly under the notice of the family and friends. Even in very poor and wretched neighbourhoods this was found to be the case: the teachers, in many instances, expressing gratified surprise at the great interest taken by the parents in the instruction new to themselves, and so important to their children. Many instances came under the notice of the committee of parents being induced to adopt total abstinence principles as a result of this teaching; and in some cases interesting letters were written by the parents to the teachers, intimating that such was the case.”

The number of lectures varies for different places, and according to the desire of the managing bodies of the schools. In the Board schools at Nottingham, for instance, there are fortnightly lectures from 9 a.m. to 9.45 a.m.; at Brighton and Sheffield, one hour quarterly is set aside for the purpose; and at Salford there are weekly lectures. There are now, of Board schools alone, four hundred receiving the lectures; and it is estimated that there are no fewer than two million pledged children in England; while an attempt has been recently made to add another million to their number.

Having dwelt so far on those details, space will not permit more than a hasty glance at what has been done in other countries. In many, however, the work has long since been inaugurated: in Canada, the United States, Australia, and even in those dark lands of the North, to which we are not wont to look for light and leading, in Sweden and Finland, there has been

“Something attempted, something done.”

In Sweden we hear of a branch of the "Temperance Union of Northern Teachers," with one hundred and fifteen members; and in Finland of one with a membership of one hundred and twenty. The president of this latter, in a paper addressed to the teachers of Finland, tells them:—

"This influence must be exerted upon the young in the schools, superior as well as elementary. It is only at school that the instruction of which we speak can be given systematically and with sufficient thoroughness. What is specially needed is a scientific knowledge of the injurious and dangerous properties of intoxicating drinks, alike for the individual and for the community. But this instruction pre-supposes some knowledge of the human body and its vital functions, including the necessary conditions for the maintenance of health.

"It has for some time been felt that hygiene, as a subject of instruction, ought to find a place in the curriculum; and, with this, instruction on the nature and effects of alcohol might well be incorporated. Meanwhile it may be best, in order to make use of existing arrangements, to enlarge the teaching of natural science by including this subject. The president thinks that the school authorities of Finland would be willing to devote a few hours more to this branch; if so, it would only be needful to supply the teachers with a suitable manual."

In parts of Canada temperance school teaching is required by law; in the Antipodes even Dr. Richardson's little manual has become favourably known; while in the United States there are, we are informed, "thirty-eight States and territories" in which instruction is given in the schools. Of the results of such teaching let one remarkable testimony suffice. In the Health Congress, which was held in London in the August of last year, and which was attended by medical men from all parts of the world, there was a long and very interesting discussion on the subject of temperance, in the course of which it was stated by a Dr. Hewitt, Minn., U. S., that "the foreign population was the great difficulty in America, but their children were not so addicted to drink as the parents, *owing largely to the temperance instruction in the schools.*"

In those last words is suggested a subject which must have an interest for every reader of the I. E. RECORD, and with a reference to which I must conclude. A writer has

dealt with it not long since in the I. E. RECORD. None of us can be indifferent to the lot of our race in America and in other lands—to those exiled kith and kin of ours to whom Church and country owe so much. Had we kept closer to the teachings of Father Mathew during the past half century, and sent forth a more temperate race of emigrants, what would have been the result—is a thought which will sometimes come up; but it is too barren and too sad to dwell on. Let us only do better in the future. A great American prelate wrote some time ago:—"May I dare speak across the Atlantic and say that total abstinence in Ireland means total abstinence over oceans and across continents. And total abstinence in Ireland can be had for the asking; for God has not created a people more docile to their spiritual guides than the children of St. Patrick."<sup>1</sup> Striking words, and a new motive, surely, to us to work for temperance at home. A thousand years ago the old Irish monk pilgrims clung to their customs about the tonsure and the Easter celebration, because it was the way in Ireland; and now, again, we are told that their countrymen in many lands and continents will be temperate when they hear that Ireland leads the way. Since the subject was last treated of in the I. E. RECORD, I have read the following touching appeal in an American journal. It was headed an "Appeal to Irish Priests;" and as it is well worthy of serious consideration, I cannot do better than bring it under their notice. Speaking of the young Irish boy landing in America, the writer says:—

"He drifts to the saloon (public-house) or to the boarding-house with the saloon attachment, as readily as a duck takes to water. He is willing to work, and soon finds employment; but somehow he never gets enough money ahead to buy a decent suit of clothes. Without clothes he cannot go to church, so the drink habit and the staying-away-from-church habit grow up together. If you go upon the public works you will find hundreds and thousands of these young Irishmen; but among a hundred you will not find a half-dozen who have ten dollars twenty-four hours after pay-day. It all goes for drink. These young men have been carefully brought up, and are full of faith and religion. It is a pity they should thus throw themselves away, to the everlasting

<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Ireland, in *Catholic World*.

loss of the Church and the country. We were in hopes that the establishment of the mission at Castle Garden would do something to check the terrible 'leakage;' but it seems the young men pass on from the ship's deck to the saloon (public-house) without ever bending the knee at the altar of the Holy Rosary. We must appeal to the priests of Ireland in our distress. If they have the future welfare of their emigrating people at heart, they will not allow one of them to leave the shores of Ireland without taking the temperance pledge for five years. They will keep it. Their faith is strong and their morals uncorrupted. If they take the pledge they will keep it. What a blessing it would be for these young men, if they were so safeguarded! They would soon find work, and money would soon flow back into the laps of the old folks at home. Besides they would soon develop into respectable men; they would marry, and bring up respectable families, and the Church and the country would be the gainers by the reform. A mission is more needed at Queenstown than at New York, and we pray that God in His love for the Irish race will put it into the heart of some Irish priest to take upon himself this great work of charity."

JAMES HALPIN.

## THE IRISH DIFFICULTY; SHALL AND WILL.

### I.—DIRECT STATEMENT—*Continued.*

#### § 3. QUESTIONS THAT CALL FOR SPECIAL NOTICE.

##### *The Use of SHALL in Prophecy.*

IN English translations of the Bible, especially in that which is known as the Authorized Version, SHALL is very commonly applied to future events, announced in the Second and Third Persons, where the ordinary idiom would require WILL. This usage, which is the cause of much embarrassment in the application of the rules just laid down, seems to me to call for special notice. Some writers, no doubt, strive to show that SHALL is the proper word in these cases, even according to the ordinary idiom; because, as they argue, "the prophetic language of the Bible is spoken by One whose will is supreme, and who has all things under His control."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dean Alford, *The Queen's English*, page 159.

But I think it will be seen, from the examples given below, that this explanation is, to say the least, incomplete and unsatisfactory. In a large number of cases, the events predicted are not predetermined by God's will; they are acts done against His will, and contrary to His commands. Besides, the explanation takes no account of the cases, also very numerous, in which the future events are announced not by God, or by a prophet speaking in the name of God, but by private individuals speaking in their own name, and expressing their own personal hopes, or fears, or expectations.

I shall have to deal with this question more fully later on, when I come to consider whether the usage of the Authorized Version can be regarded as truly representing the modern idiom of *SHALL* and *WILL*. For the present, I shall be content to show what that usage really is, on the particular point before us, and to examine how far it is to be found outside the language of the Bible. The following collection of texts will sufficiently illustrate the actual usage of the Authorized Version. It will be seen that those which occur first in order readily admit of the explanation already suggested: they deal with future events determined by God's will, and foretold by God, speaking in His own person, or by His chosen representatives. But these texts are followed by others to which this explanation can be applied only with difficulty; and these again are followed by others, to which the explanation cannot be applied at all:—

Heaven and earth *shall* pass away, but My word *shall* not pass away.

MATTH. xxiv. 35.

The Son of Man *shall* come in the glory of His Father with His angels; and then He *shall* reward every man according to his works.

MATTH. xvi. 27.

And God *shall* wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither *shall* there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away.

REV. xxi. 4.

And the angel said unto her . . Behold, thou *shalt* conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a Son, and *shalt* call His name Jesus. He *shall* be great, and *shall* be called the Son of the Highest: and the Lord God *shall* give unto Him the throne of His father David: and He *shall* reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of His kingdom there *shall* be no end.

LUKE i. 31-33.

He that believeth, and is baptized, *shall* be saved; but he that believeth not, *shall* be damned. And these signs shall follow them that believe: In My name they *shall* cast out devils; they *shall* speak with new tongues; they *shall* take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it *shall* not hurt them; they *shall* lay hands on the sick, and they *shall* recover.

MARK xvi. 16-18.

Verily, I say unto you, that one of you *shall* betray Me.

MATTH. xxvi. 21.

This night, before the cock crow, thou *shalt* deny Me thrice.

MATTH. xxvi. 34.

Whither shall I go from Thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from Thy presence? . . If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there *shall* Thy hand lead me, and Thy right hand *shall* hold me. If I say, Surely the darkness *shall* cover me; even the night *shall* be light about me.

Ps. cxxxix. 7-11.

Nation *shall* rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there *shall* be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places. . . Then *shall* they deliver you up to be afflicted, and *shall* kill you; and ye *shall* be hated of all nations for My name's sake. . . And many false prophets *shall* rise, and *shall* deceive many. And because iniquity *shall* abound, the love of many *shall* wax cold.

MATTH. xxiv. 7-12.

Behold I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes: and some of them ye *shall* kill and crucify; and some of them *shall* ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city.

MATTH. xxiii. 34.

And it *shall* come to pass, as soon as I [Obadiah, the Governor of Ahab's house] am gone from thee [Elijah], that the Spirit of the Lord *shall* carry thee whither I know not; and so when I come and tell Ahab, and he cannot find thee, he *shall* slay me . . And now thou sayest, Go, tell thy Lord, Behold, Elijah is here: and he *shall* slay me.

3 KINGS xviii. 12-14.

And Memucan [one of the princes of Persia] answered before the king and the princes, Vashti the queen hath not done wrong to the king only, but also to all the princes, and to all the people that are in all the provinces of the King Ahasuerus. For this deed of the queen *shall* come abroad unto all women, so that they *shall* despise their husbands in their eyes, when it shall be reported, The king Ahasuerus commanded Vashti the queen to be brought in before him, but she came not.

ESTHER, i. 16, 17.

And Jacob said to Simeon and Levi, . . . they *shall* gather themselves together against me, and slay me; and I shall be destroyed, I and my house.

GEN. xxxiv. 30.

And Joshua said, . . . O Lord, what shall I say, when Israel turneth their backs before their enemies! For the Canaanites and all the inhabitants of the land *shall* hear of it, and *shall* environ us round, and cut off our name from the earth.

JOS. vii. 7-9.

And Jeroboam said in his heart, Now *shall* the kingdom return to the house of David: if this people go up to do sacrifice in the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, then *shall* the heart of this people turn again unto their lord, even unto Rehoboam, king of Judah; and they *shall* kill me, and go again to Rehoboam, king of Judah.

1 KINGS xii. 26, 27.

And Cain said unto the Lord, My punishment is greater than I can bear. . . . I shall be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth: and it *shall* come to pass that everyone that findeth me *shall* slay me.

GEN. iv. 13, 14.

Saul also sent messengers unto David's house, to watch him, and to slay him in the morning: and Michal, David's wife, told him, saying, If thou save not thy life to-night, to-morrow thou *shalt* be slain.

1 SAM. xix. 11.

From a general review of these passages, it may be gathered that the prophetic *SHALL* of the Authorized Version is used in reference to future events of, at least, three different kinds. First, it is applied to future events pre-determined by God, and foretold in His name: for instance, "Behold, thou *shalt* conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a Son;" "God *shall* wipe away all tears from their eyes, and there *shall* be no more death." Again, it is applied to future events which depend on the free-will of men, but which are foretold by

God, or by a prophet speaking in His name. A typical example of this class is found in the text from St. Matthew : "I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes ; and some of them ye *shall* kill and crucify ;" also in the text, "This night, before the cock crow, thou *shalt* deny me thrice." Lastly, SHALL is put into the mouth of a private individual speaking in his own name, and expressing nothing more than his own fears and hopes about the future. Thus Cain is made to say, "Everyone that findeth me *shall* slay me ;" and David's wife, warning her husband to fly from the messengers of Saul, says, "If thou save not thy life to-night, to-morrow thou *shalt* be slain."

It remains to consider how far this usage is to be found in modern English, outside the Bible. I think it is confined almost exclusively to preachers and poets. First, preachers speaking on the subjects of revelation, adopt not unfrequently the phraseology of the Bible, and use SHALL in the announcement of future events, where the ordinary idiom would require WILL. Again, poets writing under inspiration of another kind, sometimes become prophets in their own way, and accordingly adopt the prophetic SHALL which is familiar to their ears in the language of the Bible. I subjoin a few examples of each class :—

Such is the hidden kingdom of God ; and as it is now hidden, so in due season it *shall* be revealed.

NEWMAN.

And in like manner, doubtless, at the last day, the wicked and impenitent *shall* be condemned, not in a mass, but one by one — one by one, appearing each in his own turn before the righteous Judge, standing under the full glory of His countenance, carefully weighed in the balance and found wanting.

NEWMAN.

The stars *shall* fade away, the sun himself  
Grow dim with age, and nature sink in years,  
But thou *shalt* flourish in immortal youth.

ADDISON.

While stands the Coliseum, Rome *shall* stand ;  
When falls the Coliseum, Rome *shall* fall ;  
And when Rome falls—the World.<sup>1</sup>

BYRON.

<sup>1</sup> These lines are substantially taken by Byron from the historian Gibbon, who quotes them from the fragments of Venerable Bede, by

The thunder-clouds close o'er it, which when rent  
The earth is covered thick with other clay,  
Which her own clay *shall* cover heap'd and pent,  
Rider and horse—friend, foe—in one red burial blent !

BYRON.

The nations have fallen, but thou art still young ;  
Thy sun is but rising, when others are set ;  
And though slavery's cloud o'er thy morning hath hung,  
The full noon of freedom *shall* beam round thee yet.

MOORE.

The stranger *shall* hear thy lament o'er his plains ;  
The sigh of thy harp *shall* be sent o'er the deep,  
Till thy masters themselves, as they rivet thy chains,  
*Shall* pause at the song of their captive, and weep.

MOORE.

When Dryden, in the *Annus Mirabilis*, foretells, in the tone of a prophet, the revival of London after the great fire, he carries the prophetic SHALL through a series of pictures extending over five stanzas. The last may be taken as a specimen :—

And while this famed emporium we prepare,  
The British ocean *shall* such triumphs boast,  
That those who now disdain our trade to share,  
*Shall* rob, like pirates, on our wealthy coast.

DRYDEN.

I cannot refrain from adding a well-known passage of Shakespeare, though, for reasons to be given hereafter, he cannot be accepted as a witness to the modern idiom of SHALL and WILL. We may take him, however, in the present instance, as a connecting link between the old usage and the new :—

And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,  
The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,  
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,  
Yea, all which it inherit, *shall* dissolve ;  
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,  
Leave not a rack behind.

THE TEMPEST.

whom they are recorded as representing the feelings of Anglo-Saxon pilgrims visiting Rome in the early part of the eighth century. But Gibbon translates Venerable Bede as follows, curiously mixing up his SHALLS and WILLs : " As long as the Coliseum stands, Rome *shall* stand ; when the Coliseum falls, Rome *will* fall ; when Rome falls, the world *will* fall."

Before leaving this branch of the subject, which, so far as I know, has not been treated by previous writers with any degree of fulness, there are two points which I should wish to submit to the better judgment of my readers. First, I am inclined to think that, except in pulpit oratory, the prophetic *SHALL* is not used by public speakers in modern times. Secondly, I think that both pulpit orators and poets shrink from using the prophetic *SHALL*, in reference to the future free acts of men. But I feel that, from my own limited reading, I am not warranted in coming to a decisive judgment on these questions; and I appeal, therefore, to those who may be interested in the subject, to assist me with such evidence as may tend either to support or to upset the opinions I have expressed.

*SHOULD and WOULD as Auxiliaries.*

*SHOULD* and *WOULD* are the past tense of *SHALL* and *WILL*, and follow the same rules. The choice between *SHALL* and *SHOULD*, *WILL* and *WOULD*, offers no difficulty, as it is always sufficiently evident, from the circumstances of the case, which tense ought to be employed. A few examples are here subjoined:—

I *should* ill deserve God's blessings, which, since the late terrible event, have come down in mercy upon us, if I indulged regret or querulousness.

CHARLES LAMB.

We *should* have won, in spite of your ladyship, had not the elder brother made his appearance.

THACKERAY.

He's all right enough, Barney is, else I *should* have heard of him.

CHARLES DICKENS.

My General is an angel, Quiggett. I *should* like to worship him; I *should* like to fall down at his boots, and kiss 'em, I *should*!

THACKERAY.

I *should* like to keep this pudding un`er a glass shade, my dear.

MRS. GASKELL.

If I must say what I think, I *should* lay down, with little hesitation, that the truth was almost the reverse of this doctrine.

NEWMAN.

It is just such a shawl as she wished for, when she was married, and her mother did not give it her. I did not know of it till after, or she *should* have had it—she *should* ; but she *shall* have it now.

MRS. GASKELL.

If anybody had told me that you *would* have lived and died an old maid, I *should* have laughed in their faces.

MRS. GASKELL.

But for the goodness of a half-breed woman in the fort, who took pity on me, and tended me, I never *should* have recovered, and my poor Harry *would* be what he fancied himself yesterday, our grandfather's heir, our mother's only son.

THACKERAY.

"I hope you don't mean to say, sir," said Mr. Giles, trembling, "that he's going to die. If I thought it, I *should* never be happy again [future state of feelings]. I *wouldn't* cut a boy off ; no, not even Brittles here ; not for all the plate in the country, sir."

CHARLES DICKENS.

"You ought to be dead, positively dead with the fright," said the fat gentleman. "Why didn't you send? Bless me, my man *should* have come [event determined by the speaker's will—Third Person] in a minute ; and so *would* I [event determined by the speaker's will—First Person] ; and my assistant *would* have been delighted [fact]."

CHARLES DICKENS.

If I had time, I *would* go over this letter, and dot all my *i's*.

CHARLES LAMB.

I am glad you love Cowper ; I could forgive a man for not enjoying Milton, but I *would* not call that man my friend who could be offended with the "divine chit-chat of Cowper."

CHARLES LAMB.

A Liberal Administration *would* make this concession to Ireland from a sense of justice. A Conservative Administration *will* make it from a sense of danger.

MACMULAY.

My thought was, I shall make a very bad soldier, and my brother *would* make a very good one. He has a hundred good qualities for the profession, in which I am deficient ; and *would* have served a commanding officer far better than I ever could.

THACKERAY.

The street which now affords to the artisan, during the whole night, a secure, a convenient, and a brilliantly-lighted walk was, a hundred and sixty years ago, so dark after sunset that he *would* not have been able to see his hand : so ill-paved, that he

would have run constant risk of breaking his neck ; and so ill-watched, that he *would* have been in imminent danger of being knocked down and plundered of his small earnings

MACAULAY.

"Suppose I were to die," goes on George, "and you saw Harry in grief, you *would* be seeing a genuine affliction, a real tragedy ; you *would* grieve too. But you *wouldn't* be affected if you saw the undertaker in weepers and a black cloak." Indeed, but I *should*, sir !" says Mrs. Lambert ; "and so, I promise you, *would* any daughter of mine."

THACKERAY.

If I were a man, I *would* do something famous [determination] before I was two-and-twenty years old, that I *would* ! I *would* have the world speak of me. I *wouldn't* dawdle at apron-strings. I *wouldn't* curse my fortune, I'd make it. I vow and declare I *would*.

THACKERAY.

These examples show, clearly enough, how *WOULD* follows the rule for *WILL*, and *SHOULD* follows the rule for *SHALL*. In those that follow, which are taken from Irish sources, it will be seen how Irish writers and speakers habitually use *WOULD* where the English idiom requires *SHOULD* :—

We *would* be fools, if we sacrificed our prospects on such a precarious chance.

I *would* think it waste of time to dwell any longer on this subject.

That is exactly what I *would* expect.

Twopence will be paid for every dead sparrow that can be produced ; at this price we *would* imagine that the birds will soon become scarce.

If I were to sit in judgment on this apology, I *would* prejudice the entire question which is to be tried in the action.

Why then, Jack, there's something ominous to happen, or we *wouldn't* have you here [meaning that Jack would not have come].<sup>1</sup>

If I was in your coat, I *would* be ashamed.<sup>2</sup>

I was not called upon to work on the farm, nor *would* I have been permitted, even had I wished it.<sup>3</sup>

Why, thin, I 'd be sorry to prove your reverence to be wrong, so I *would* ; but, for all that, I must give it against you.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Carleton's *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, i. 146.

<sup>2</sup> *ib.*, i. 164.

<sup>3</sup> *ib.*, i. 13.

*ib.*, ii. 266.

Sure, I have a great dale of money in the cuff o' my coat. Indeed, I have, and I *won't* want it.<sup>1</sup>

Let us help him, for God's sake, an' we *won't* be apt to take the sickness."

If Mr. O'Brien, the curate of the parish, hadn't been ill himself at the same time, I *couldn't* suffer what I did."

*Special meanings of WILL, WOULD, and SHOULD.*

The rules hitherto laid down have reference to the use of SHALL and WILL, SHOULD and WOULD, when used as auxiliaries to express a future tense, or a conditional mood. But WILL and WOULD are often employed as independent verbs, to express volition. In this sense, they are the equivalent of the verb to Wish, and the rules do not apply. Here are a few examples :—

"If you *will* [wish to] be heard," said Wright, "you shall be heard; but you do not understand your own interests."

MACAULAY.

Why, if thou *wilt*, so let it be—thou shalt.

TENNYSON.

You *will* [wish to] go to Gaunt House. You give an old fellow no rest until you get there.

THACKERAY.

Behold a leper came, and adored Him, saying, Lord, if Thou *wilt* Thou canst make me clean. And Jesus stretching forth His hand, touched him, saying: I *will*, be thou made clean.

MATTH. viii. 2, 3.

The king said to the damsel. Ask of me what thou *wilt* [*pete a me quod vis*], and I will give it thee.

MARK vi. 22.

The disciples came to Jesus, saying, Where *wilt* Thou that we prepare for Thee to eat the pasch?

MATTH. xxvi. 17.

When Charlemagne *would* [wished to] revive science and letters in his own France, to England he sent for masters.

NEWMAN.

Most Oxford undergraduates, forty years ago, when they *would* [wished to] write poetry, adopted the Darwinian or Pleasures-of-Hope versification, which had been made popular by Heber and Milman.

NEWMAN.

We read in Persian travels of the way in which young gentlemen go to work in the East, when they *would* [desire to] engage in correspondence with those who inspire them with hope or fear.

NEWMAN.

If we *would* [wish to] know what the Puritan spirit really is, we must observe the Puritan when he is dominant.

MACAULAY.

If we *would* [wish to] study with profit the history of our ancestors, we must be constantly on our guard against that delusion which the well known names of families, places, and offices naturally produce, and must never forget that the country of which we read was a very different country from that in which we live.

MACAULAY.

I *would* no more be cheated out of my thanks than out of my money.

CHARLES LAMB.

By the midnight taper, the writer digests his meditations. By the same light we must approach to their perusal, if we *would* catch the flame, the odour.

CHARLES LAMB.

So she, like many another babbler, hurt  
Whom she *would* soothe, and harmed, where she *would* heal.

TENNYSON.

"You were wrong, Mr. Warrington," said the Colonel, "and you *wouldn't* [were determined not to] be set right."

THACKERAY.

He was angry, and *would* not [was unwilling to] go in.

LUKE xv. 28.

In like manner, *SHOULD* is often used, in its primitive sense, as expressing duty or obligation. When so used, it is the equivalent of *Ought to*, and is not subject to the rules laid down for *SHALL* and *WILL*.

I *should* [ought to] have written before to thank you for your kind letter, written with your own hand.

CHARLES LAMB.

The joint editorship of the Chronicle must be a very comfortable and secure living for a man. But *should* [ought] not you read French, or do you? and can you write with sufficient moderation, as 'tis called, when one suppresses the half of what one feels or could say on a subject, to chime in the better with popular lukewarmness.

CHARLES LAMB.

Why will you make your visits, which *should* [ought to] give pleasure, matter of regret to your friends? You never come, but you take away some folio that is part of my existence.

LAMB TO COLERIDGE.

Charles had, at the age when the mind and body are in their highest perfection, and when the first effervescence of boyish passions *should* have subsided, been recalled from his wanderings to wear a crown.

MACAULAY.

But here a distinct question opens upon us, whether or not the preacher *should* [ought to] preach without book.

NEWMAN.

We have all of us a right to exist, we and our works: an unpopular author *should* [ought to] be the last person to call in question this right.

MATTHEW ARNOLD.

Lastly, it is worth while to observe that there is a peculiar use of *WOULD*, not at all uncommon, to express an habitual action, or mode of proceeding.

His treatment of me varied according to his hopes or fears, or even his mood for the time being. He *would* have me consigned to my quarters for several days at a time: then invite me to his tipsy supper-table, quarrel with me there, and abuse my nation.

THACKERAY.

This talk happened between us again and again, and Muséau *would* order me to my quarters, and then ask me to supper the next night, and return to the subject of Normandy and cider, and *tripes à la mode de Caen*.

THACKERAY.

For want of better things to do, I was often singing and guitar-scraping: and we *would* have many a concert, the men joining in chorus, or dancing to my homely music, until it was interrupted by the drums and the *retraite*.

THACKERAY.

She was a good mother. . . . Yet she *would* always love my brother above Mary.

CHARLES LAMB.

Besides my daylight servitude, I served over again all night in my sleep, and *would* awake with terrors of imaginary false entries, errors in my accounts, and the like. . . . My fellows in the office *would* sometimes rally me upon the trouble legible in my countenance.

CHARLES LAMB.

Tyreconnel had long before earned the nick-name of Lying Dick Talbot. . . . Indeed in him mendacity was almost a disease. He *would*, after giving orders for the dismissal of English officers, take them into his closet, assure them of his confidence and friendship, and implore Heaven to confound him, sink him, blast him, if he did not take good care of their interests.

MACAULAY.

Mr. Mulliner himself brought them round : he *would* always ignore the fact of there being a back-door to any house, and gave a louder rat-tat than his mistress.

MRS. GASKELL

I remember, when we were boys, I *would* always be asking my tutor for a holiday, which I *would* pass very likely swinging on a gate, or making ducks and drakes over the pond.

THACKERAY.

### *The Irish Idiom.*

The beautiful simplicity of the Irish idiom, as regards the use of SHALL and WILL, has not, I think, been duly appreciated by writers on the subject. It is commonly laid down in books that an Irishman, as a general rule, uses WILL where he ought to use SHALL, and SHALL where he ought to use WILL; and this statement is accepted all the more readily by English readers, because it seems to fit in so well with the natural perversity of the Irish character. But the fact is, that an Irishman, as an Irishman, never uses SHALL at all; with him WILL is the auxiliary for the future tense in all persons, and in all circumstances. When an Irishman uses SHALL, it is not because the Irish idiom requires it, but because he is trying to adopt the English idiom. Unfortunately the great majority of Irishmen never succeed in mastering the English idiom completely; and therefore, in their attempts to adopt it, they often use SHALL incorrectly. That is the whole case, as I understand it.

Hence I have often thought that it would be a good practical rule for an Irishman, in this matter, never to use SHALL unless he is sure that he is using it right. If he is doubtful, it is better to run the risk of making a mistake that is natural to him as an Irishman, than to run the risk of making himself ridiculous.

There is one stock example of the Irish usage, which is

to be found in nearly all books on the subject, and which cannot be too strongly repudiated. The story is told that an Irishman, getting out of his depth in the water, cried out, "I *will* be drowned, and nobody *shall* save me." This story is simply incredible to Irish readers. It probably owes its origin to some ingenious writer, who first took on trust the general rule, that an Irishman uses WILL for SHALL and SHALL for WILL, and then evolved the story out of his own inner consciousness to illustrate the rule. The Irish idiom would be, *I'll* be drowned, and nobody *will* save me ; but I think that an Irishman, even if he were drowning, would hardly arrange the two clauses in this preposterous fashion.

Several English writers have noticed a curious use of SHALL which prevails among the best class of servant-maids in Dublin, and possibly in other Irish towns. When asked to deliver a message, or to execute some commission, they say, *I shall*, sir. This is perfectly good English, but it does not mean exactly what they intend to convey. It expresses simply the future fact, that they will do what they are asked to do ; whereas they mean to make a promise, and the circumstances require a promise. Hence the form, *I shall*, sounds harsh to English ears,<sup>1</sup> and suggests a want of courtesy and good-will : the very last fault that could be charged against Irish servant-maids. When we want to make a promise, or to accede to a request, we must always say *I will*, and not *I shall*.

It is interesting, however, to observe that this particular Irish usage is entirely in accordance with the English usage of Shakespeare's time. Dr. Abbott, in his excellent Shakesperian Grammar, observes that *I SHALL* "is often used [by Shakespeare] in the replies of inferiors to superiors."<sup>2</sup> Thus, in *Henry V.*, when the King says to the Dukes of Bedford and Gloster,

Commend me to the princes in our camp ;  
Do my good morrow to them ; and, anon,  
Desire them all to my pavilion ;

See Sir Edmund Head's *Shall and Will*. London : Murray, 1858, page 18.

<sup>2</sup>*A Shakesperian Grammar*. By E. A. Abbott, D.D. Macmillan, 1881, page 224.

Gloster answers, in the name of both, *We shall*, my liege.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Abbott explains this answer by showing that *SHALL*, in its primitive sense, was used to express duty or obligation. Hence the words, *We shall*, my liege, were equivalent to some such phrase as, *We are bound to do it*, my liege ; and therefore expressed the complete submission of the speaker. But, however this may be, the case is an exact parallel of what one so often hears in Dublin : Tell your mistress that I called, and give her my message ; *I shall*, sir. I subjoin some further examples from the same source :—

*Erpingham.* My lord, your nobles, jealous of your absence,  
Seek through your camp to find you.

*King Henry.* Good old knight,  
Collect them all together at my tent ;  
I'll be before thee.

*Erpingham.* I shall do't, my lord.  
*Henry V., Act iv., Sc. 1.*

*Cæsar.* Go forth, Agrippa, and begin the fight,  
Our will is Anthony be took alive ;  
Make it so known.

*Agrippa.* Cæsar, I shall.  
*Anthony and Cleopatra, Act iv., Sc. 6.*

*Cæsar.* Go to him, Dolabella, bid him yield ;  
Being so frustrate, tell him, he mocks us by  
The pauses that he makes.

*Dolabella.* Cæsar, I shall.  
*Anthony and Cleopatra, Act v., Sc. 1.*

*Angelo.* Give notice to such men of sort and suit,  
As are to meet him.

*Escalus.* I shall, sir ; fare you well.  
*Measure for Measure, Act iv., Sc. 4.*

*Lucius.* Commend me bountifully to his good lordship ; . . .  
Tell him this from me, I count it one of my greatest afflictions,  
say, that I cannot pleasure such an honourable gentleman. Good  
Servilius, will you befriend me so far, as to use my own words to  
him.

*Servilius.* Yes, sir, I shall.

*Timon of Athens, Act iii., Sc. 2.*

From a consideration of these passages, it would be easy to suggest that the exceptional use of *SHALL* by Irish servant-maids, is a survival of early English, like so many

<sup>1</sup> *Henry V., Act iv., Sc. 1.*

other specialities of idiom, commonly put down as peculiarly Irish. But I can find no evidence in favour of such a theory, beyond the mere fact of coincidence. It seems more probable that our Irish maids are not, on this point, trustworthy exponents of the Irish usage: they are, in fact, only putting on their best English for a special occasion; and they use *SHALL*, because, in their simplicity, they fancy it gives a certain elevation of style to what they say. That they use it incorrectly is not to be wondered at, when we remember what little opportunity they have of learning the true idiom.

There is a peculiar use of *WOULD*, in the passive voice, among the less educated classes in Ireland, which is rather puzzling to English visitors. Here are two or three examples of it, taken from actual experience:—

I knocked at the door, but I *wouldn't* be let in [meaning, they who were inside would not let me in].

I wanted to bathe, but I *wouldn't* be allowed [meaning, they who were in authority would not allow me].

I often advised you not to keep company with that young man, but I *wouldn't* be listened to [meaning, you would not listen to me].

It will be observed that this is not exactly a misuse of *WOULD* for *SHOULD*. We cannot correct these sentences by substituting the one word for the other, and saying, I *shouldn't* be let in, I *shouldn't* be allowed, I *shouldn't* be listened to. Hence an Englishman is puzzled, and does not quite see the meaning of such phrases. The explanation, however, is very simple. An Irishman recognises no difference between the use of *would* in the First Person and its use in the Second and Third Persons. Accordingly, when he has before his mind the idea, they *wouldn't* let me in, there is no reason why he may not express it in the passive voice, and say, I *wouldn't* be let in; just as the idea, they shut me out, may be expressed, in the passive voice, by saying, I was shut out.

It is sometimes said that well-educated persons in Ireland seldom make mistakes in the use of *SHALL* and *WILL*. But this is not my experience. Some of the most striking

specimens of the violation of the English idiom, given in this and in my former paper, are due to persons who are not only well educated, but who are highly accomplished scholars. Very few Irishmen, I believe, ever succeed in thoroughly mastering the English usage; and the misuse of WILL is so common, in ordinary life, that it is almost impossible to escape altogether the subtile influence of example and sympathy. I have heard even an Englishman say that, after a residence of some years in Ireland, he had lost, to a great extent, his keen sense of the English idiom.

At all events, it may be taken as certain, that what is usually called a good education, is no guarantee against mistakes in the use of SHALL and WILL. Even in the sacred precincts of the Courts of Law, a dialogue such as the following, which is taken from a newspaper report, may be heard not unfrequently between a leading Counsel and a witness:—

*Counsel.*—Would you be surprised to hear he was ill at the time?

*Witness.*—I *would* not be surprised.

*Counsel.*—Would you be surprised to hear that he had been ill for four months?

*Witness.*—I *would* be very much surprised.

*Counsel.*—Then we *will* have to surprise you.

In this passage, whatever may be said about the use of WOULD, in the first two questions, to which I will advert later on, when dealing with Interrogative Forms, there is no doubt that the answers are decidedly wrong. The witness does not mean to say that he *intends* to be surprised, or that he *intends* not to be surprised; he wishes only to state the *fact* of his surprise, under a certain condition. He ought, therefore, to have said, according to the rules already established, I *should* be surprised, I *should* not be surprised. The learned Counsel, too, was tripping when he said, We *will* have to surprise you. He wanted to convey that it would be his duty to surprise the witness, or that he would be under the necessity of surprising him. Hence he ought to

have said, We *shall* have to surprise you, not, We *will* have to surprise you.

This brings to a close the first division of my subject, which is concerned about the use of SHALL and WILL in direct statement. In my next paper, I will deal with the use of SHALL and WILL in oblique or indirect statement.

G. M.

---

### EVANGELISM BY LITTLE ONES.

MAY I be permitted to offer some suggestions on a subject that should be dear to us as priests and as Catholics?

Some twenty years ago a venerable French priest came over and introduced into this country the work of the Holy Childhood, which had already been prospering in his own. Unfortunately he was not able to go far enough even through the towns; and in these, his visits would seem to have been confined principally to convents. The work was taken up with vigour, and carried on successfully for a time; then, as in the case of most good works, there was a flagging and a falling off; and meantime those places not visited have remained in total or partial ignorance of the nature of the work. Would it not then be well to make it known to the readers of the *L. E. RECORD*, who are mainly priests, and in whose hands alone the work can prosper? In such hope, at least, I would ask respectfully the attention of my fellow priests to a brief recital.

The Society of the Holy Childhood dates back about half a century. A younger sister of the Propagation of the Faith—younger and intended for the young—it is dedicated to the infant Jesus, and has for its chief patron His ever blessed mother. The indulgences, partial and plenary, granted in its favour by the last two Popes mark their approbation; while we have the recorded words of his present Holiness as a testimony of his:—"I DESIRE TO SEE ALL THE CHILDREN OF THE CATHOLIC WORLD MEMBERS OF THIS PIOUS ASSOCIATION."

In Ireland it has for patron His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin; while we find on the list of subscribers such names as Most Revs. the Bishops of Elphin, Ardagh, Cloyne, Limerick, Clogher, Raphoe, Ossory, the Bishop and Coadjutor of Kildare, and others.

The aim of our society is to baptize and educate the children of heathens throughout the world; but particularly in China, where they most abound. Or, we might say, to procure baptism for the dying, and baptism and education for such of them as live. And by what means? By the prayers and offerings of Catholic children of every age and in every country of the world. Recall the words of our Holy Father: "I desire to see all the children of the Catholic world members of this pious association." Beautiful thought! To employ Christian children in bringing home redemption to their pagan brothers and their pagan sisters; in procuring for them the blessing so early given to themselves without any merit of their own. "How beautiful on the mountains are the feet of (these young) messengers of good tidings." They are fulfilling, and that on a large scale, the figurative words of Isaias, enlarging the place of the Church's tent; stretching out the skins of her tabernacles; yes, adding millions to the number of the Church's children! The conversion of the adult heathen is no easy work, owing, among other causes, to inveterate prejudice and deep-seated superstition. But the children can be moulded at one's will, and so they are growing up in the hands of religious fine specimens of a Christian people, and in every way superior to the heathens around them. One is then prepared to hear of their winning favourable opinions; giving the lie to those false and foul charges so often brought against the Christians; and drawing many to the Church.

But what *are* the fruits of this juvenile society, and how are they gathered? By the offerings of Christian children, priests, religious sisters, and lay persons are maintained and enabled to receive, search for, and buy yearly, many thousands of the poor pagan little ones. They are laid at the doors of "the sisters," or found by the wayside, or in the marshes by the river's bank. An unnatural mother, wishing to throw off

the burden of supporting it, will give up her child. But sometimes a mother, not without affection, seeing the better condition of the children of the orphanage, adds her own to their number; and, prejudice abating, not unfrequently follows them herself, and is added to the Church. Large numbers may be had for money, particularly in Africa and China, and in this way many are saved by the missionaries. In every case they are prepared for baptism, should their age require preparation; they are baptized, and soon after, by reason of previous bad treatment, the greater number give up their souls. Year by year the number of baptisms is steadily increasing. Let us come to particulars. We find tabulated in the *Annals* of last September the fruits of *one* year:—

Baptized by the Congregation of Foreign Missions,			
Paris (priests and others)	.	.	180,619
By the Society of Jesus	.	.	78,438
By the Franciscans,	.	.	57,353
By the Vincentians,	.	.	55,586
By other orders and congregations	.	.	79,366

---

Grand Total, 451,362

Nor is the work likely to grow slack. The contrary rather. China, with its three or four millions of souls, is now opened. By reason of existing treaties the missionary can walk freely through the land. He is sometimes in peril (as we know from recent occurrences) from an outbreak of fanaticism among those idolaters; but he can claim the protection of the law, such as it is.

India is another field which promises abundant fruit. The missions there are on the eve of a new development. We are told in the last November *Annals* by the Vicar-General of Calcutta, a Jesuit, that whole tribes of the aborigines in the interior and on the mountains, in no way affected by Brahmin superstitions, are ready to enter the Church. And in Africa, recent explorations have shown the way through that "dark continent" to tribes and peoples whose existence heretofore was but a subject for conjecture. There the missionary follows closely, treading in the foot-

prints of the explorer. And, oh! how his heart is moved with pity for the many little ones torn by the ruthless slave-hunter from the arms of unoffending parents. These little ones are an encumbrance; they impede their parents' journey to the slave-market. They are thrown away, or sold at a low price. Oh, for missionaries to pick them up or buy them! But, alas, the means are too often wanting. They look to Europe for prayers and offerings. Shall they look in vain? Will Ireland, whose priests of old evangelized so many countries in Europe, be deaf to the cries of the little ones from other continents? It was the mysterious cry of the little ones of Erin that brought St. Patrick a missionary to our shores. But I am *preaching*, though such was not my intention, as it should not be. But it is hard to check the pen in presence of a subject so touching and so urgent.

My aim was to deal with simple facts; and if I have done them anything like justice, they have introduced my reader to a work of charity of the very highest order. It needs only to be understood, to engage in it all that is zealous, not only among the clergy and religious, but among the laity at large. It might, perhaps, be said that, never since the first great preaching of the Gospel, were so many regions "white for the harvest."

But where shall we find our place in the great harvest-field? We may not feel called to work side by side with those great reapers who have been bearing the "burden of the day and the heats." But, surely, we should try to strengthen their feeble hands and support their tottering limbs. And we can, by bringing home to the Catholic children of our schools the cry for baptism of millions of little ones in distant lands. This is our sphere of work, to preach the Holy Childhood in the schools and from the pulpit. It is not yet known. Yes—and I speak from experience, after near twenty years working in our midst—it is not known. Our lot has been cast in rather busy times. Public questions of great moment have been agitating even the clerical mind. The papers were filled with them; not a corner to spare for the little pagan applicants. The cry of parties was loud and constant, and the little ones could

not be heard. Yet we might have heard them, if only we had read the *Annals*. Six times every year it is borne across the Pacific or Indian Ocean or up the Atlantic. May we hope these pages of the *I. E. RECORD* will bring it home to all?

But I am met by somebody saying, "Oh! people are very poor; and there are so many calls on their charity." This we sometimes hear; but we often hear of large sums freely contributed to objects purely temporal. Think too of the thousands of pounds flowing yearly into the public-houses. It was found lately that about half a million sterling is annually paid to the British Treasury duty on alcoholic drinks, by one, and that not the largest of our cities. Would it not be well to intercept some of these moneys on their way to the brutalizing beer-house?

But again, these little half-pence, what are they? What account could be made of them for so great a work? It has been shown already what they have been doing, mixed up, no doubt, with some donations. Last year they made up the large sum of £136,918, Ireland's part not amounting to £1,000. And this need not be. If but one-half the children of school age made the little offering, the amount would be like seven or eight thousand pounds; not too much certainly, when we think of the part Ireland has always had in Missions to the heathen.

Here now is a great work before us, in which, I cannot doubt, many a zealous priest will be ready to engage. But how address himself to the work; and how sustain it, so that, like many other good works, it may not fall away, but rather grow and flourish?

First. He should know more about it than could be learned from these pages. For this purpose he should communicate with one of the Honorary Secretaries, say Miss D'Alton, 1, Brighton-terrace, Monkstown, Co. Dublin; or Mrs. Hussey, 14, Belvedere-place, Dublin; she would send to his address a prospectus with the other appliances.

Second. He will introduce it in the schools to teachers and children alike, appointing a time for saying the Hail Mary, &c., and for receiving the offerings. When the

children shall have got well into their heads the nature of the work, they will not fail to be interested; they will speak of it at home; and the parents, in their turn, will be interested, and their offerings will be forthcoming.

Third. It should be introduced to the parish as well as to the schools, and, therefore, made the subject of an address from the pulpit. Many would make offerings, and some, perhaps, bequests.

But fourth. Having put the machinery in motion, he must not withdraw his hand. On occasion of his visits to the schools he should, now and then, address the children on the subject. Even religious teachers will tell you that otherwise it would fall through. Children easily forget; and what interests them to-day will, on the occurrence of a new excitement, be forgotten on to-morrow.

Should the rev. director not find it convenient to work the Holy Childhood as a *Society*, because, we will suppose, he has already a sufficient number of such in the parish, he might make arrangements for merely saying the Hail Mary and receiving the offerings.

In conclusion, I would submit a word, as to the effect on the Christian child, of its action towards the heathen directed by our Society. How beautiful to look upon! the Christian mother making her young child her almoner in favour of the pagan child! opening for it the gate into the Church of God, that it may become its brother in Christ! Such an action on the part of child and mother cannot fail to exercise a softening influence on the young heart. Are they children of the rich? it will show them that others have rights as well as they, at least the right to live; and how they cannot *enjoy* their good things if they share not with Lazarus at their gate. Are they children of the poor? it will show them that others are poorer still; and teach them to spare somewhat of their little moneys from toys and sweets. This will be for them a timely act of self-denial, which, growing into a habit, will prove later on a powerful help in the hour of strong temptation. And will it not be a great encouragement to well-doing when they are told, as they will be told, that their little dole will make for them

many friends in heaven who will receive them into "everlasting dwellings."

What this work will do for those who promote it in a large way, as can the priest in his parish, it is not the province of the present writer to point out. But, speaking for himself and in sight of the death-bed, the words of Him who will judge the cause of the little ones are ringing in his ears: "As long as you did it not to one of these least, you did it not to Me." And, if he slighted such easy means of extending the kingdom of Christ, and of contributing to the salvation of millions, he could look forward to the Judgment Seat only with a feeling of dismay. But the picture has another side. How comforting to remember that by one's little efforts at home he can work in the vineyard abroad, and merit a reward the same in kind, and it may be, in degree, as those who are "bearing the burden of the day and the heats."

J. C.,

*Director H. C.*

---

## THE IMPORTANCE TO THE CLERGY OF THE SCIENCE OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION.

WE hear a great deal about modern progress. It is said that man is continually rising to higher and higher levels of civilization, and that the age and country in which we live represent the best results thus far attained. But, as a minor chord in this psalm of exultation, may be heard the voices of a few malcontents, who bewail the degeneracy of the times, and claim that the achievements of which we boast were the commonplaces of a prehistoric civilization which we have scarcely begun to emulate. *In medio stat veritas*. That there is much truth in the claims of the minority, cannot be denied.

It does not here concern us to compare the modern and

ancient civilizations any further than to note that there is one feature which undeniably distinguishes our own age from all which have preceded it in history. This feature is the progressive unification of mankind. Remote parts of the earth are brought into the closest and speediest communication, and there is a growing reciprocity of trade, of thought, and of influence, between all nations, even those most widely separated in location and culture. The railway, the steamship, the telegraph, the telephone, and the phonograph, are coming into use even in the out-of-the-way corners of the globe, and between them, to use Lord Macaulay's happy phrase, are "annihilating distance."

These material agencies are vehicles of others of a higher order, which work towards the same end. The literatures, even the oral traditions and the household ballads of all nations, are becoming common property, and their books are being interchanged and translated. In this is involved a circulation of ideas which is still farther promoted by the missionaries of the great dynamic religions, Catholic, Protestant, Mohammedan, and Buddhist, who are at once carrying on an energetic propagandism among the adherents of the older and more inert cults, and contesting among themselves every inch of ground at points where they come into contact.

Only one of these creeds, that alone which by all men is called *universal*, has a principle of unity ; and, therefore, that one must be the principal gainer by the movement of unification. This consideration inspires the hope of an ultimate realization of the dream of the world's conversion. When this consummation shall have been reached, the circle of human history will be complete. In the primordial ages before history began to be written, the human race seems to have formed but one family, and to have been united in one religion. The nations, like prodigal children, wandered away from that religion while the world was still young ; and now, after the lapse of ages, they are returning to it again, wiser by the experiences of their exile. The story of their wanderings has never been told ; their mother knows

not when they went, or whither, or why. There is a gap in the history of the Church of God. We have the history of the present dispensation; we have the history of the Synagogue; but the history of the patriarchal Catholicity remains as yet to be written. The science of comparative religion is a questioning of the prodigals regarding their experiences—the collection of materials for the history of the Church of the patriarchs.

But many of the nations which wandered away from the household of faith before the dawn of history have not yet learned their true parentage, and lift unfilial hands against the mother which bore them. Buddhism and Mohammedanism have their votaries among the learned men of Christian lands; and even in America, astounding as the statement may be, there are persons of the highest culture who are consciously adherents of the lowest form of African Fetichism. In Unitarian Churches the pictures of the founders and saints of pagan religions are sometimes placed beside those of our Lord Himself, and equally revered. It is becoming truer every day that any religion to hold its own in the face of modern scholarship, must be able to vindicate its claims, not against a single opposing system, nor against a single group of systems, but against all other cults the world over. The science of comparative religion is, then, in the second place, the form of Christian apologetics most adapted to present exigencies, and the only means of opposing the inroads of pagan religions or of waging successively upon them an aggressive war.

But some of the prodigal children have carried away with them precious family heirlooms. The principal Asiatic nations seem to have never fallen away from ancient civilization, or to have lost the main features of the patriarchal religion. In fact, many of the minute details of their doctrines and ceremonies show such a relation to Catholic doctrine, that they must be considered survivals of the primitive divine traditions. Our own ancestors, on the contrary, were for unknown ages sunk in barbarism, and had forsaken altogether the spirit and practices of the patriarchs. The results of our newly-discarded barbarism manifested themselves in the

Middle Ages, in the disorders and corruptions which some short-sighted men have so foolishly attributed to defects in our holy religion. Would we not be justified in saying that some of our present customs and ideas—for instance, the full-dress costume of our society ladies—betray the lingering influence of our pre-Christian savagery?

We certainly cannot deny that among the Oriental peoples many excellent customs may exist, either associated with their present religions or not, which are derived from that period in which the world was united in the patriarchal Catholicity, and the whole structure of society was moulded by the influence of the true religion, untrammelled by pre-established customs, or false and noxious social traditions. Possibly, then, the study of Oriental religions, in connection with the social and other customs to which they have given rise, may guide us in eliminating more of the barbarian element in our own civilization, and in adjusting our manners, our mode of life, and our social organization, more perfectly to the teachings of the Church.

But the prodigal nations have not all been reduced to the level of swine herds, nor have they been idle since their revolt. If they have not accumulated wealth, they have, at least, gained experience. Is it possible for a whole race of civilized men, like the Asiatic Aryans, to give themselves for ages to speculations regarding the profoundest and most recondite of metaphysical and physical problems without contributing something, be it ever so little, to the sum of human knowledge? Science and philosophy have but two classes of material to work with—the truths of nature, attainable by thought and observation; and the truths of grace, revealed to us by our first parents, and committed by our Lord to our holy Mother the Church. The truths of each order separately must be studied and classified, a duty which belongs to philosophy and natural science on the one hand, and to theological science on the other; and afterwards the two orders of truth must be correlated, and the facts of nature and of man interpreted in the light of them both. The Oriental peoples had the facts of both orders to use, though placed at a disadvantage, by not possessing the truths

of revelation in the certainty, completeness, and purity with which they are known to us. If we take into consideration the whole historic period, say three or four thousand years, they have done a vastly greater amount of study and observation than we, and it is quite possible that the very defect of revelation, as they possessed it, may have caused them to exploit more thoroughly those revealed truths which they retained, and to bring out some important aspects of their relations to natural truths, which we ourselves, with our wealth of truth, may have overlooked. Be this as it may, we must admit, at least, that if we are ignorant of their work, we cannot by any means be sure that we possess anything like adequate notion of the attainments of the human mind, and still less that we have made these attainments our own. But the Asiatic nations have never lost their hold of the great principle that religion is the most important element of human life; all their speculations, all their literature, all their social customs, centre around their peculiar conceptions of religious truth.

The science of comparative religion is, therefore, in so far at least as it involves the study of the literatures of the Oriental nations, the key to the treasures of natural truth which they have acquired and hoarded since their schism from the patriarchal Church, and perhaps since an even earlier date.

To sum up, it is the science of comparative religion, and that alone, by which the early religious history of mankind can be reconstructed, the enemies of Christianity and the defenders of paganism refuted, the fragments of primeval tradition in matters not of Catholic faith gathered together, and the results of the studies and observations of the gentile world compared with, and added to, those of the Jewish and Western Aryan peoples which we represent.

After these considerations it is scarcely necessary to point out of what special importance this science is to the clergy of the Catholic Church. The ecclesiastical historian must depend upon it for the very first pages of the history of religion; the apologist without the weapons it alone can furnish is powerless to contend with the most advanced and

learned of his opponents; the moral theologian and the canonist cannot but gain from it multitudes of useful suggestions; by its means it becomes possible for the dogmatic theologian to compare the theologies of other religions with that of his own; and the Biblical student needs it for a proper comprehension of the pagan religions so often referred to in holy writ. Indeed every priest, even though he be not a theologian or specialist of any kind, would profit by that thorough knowledge of the patriarchal dispensation for which we must depend upon this science.

While the great majority of the clergy must devote themselves exclusively to the cure of souls, there is always a certain number whose special vocation it is to represent the Church in the republic of letters, or to champion it in the world of thought. To these, in particular, it is of the utmost importance to be equipped in that learning which, as has been observed, is, above all, the distinctive feature of our age. The theologian of the times is he who knows not only theology, but all theologies; who can defend and propagate his own, because he can show wherein all others are deficient, and can demonstrate the true causes of their aberrations. This is by no means the first time that paganism has been made to pay tribute to the Church of God by means of such studies as we are advocating.

One of the first students of comparative religion of whom we know seems to have been the patriarch Abraham—at least if we accept Max Müller's explanation of the plural form of *Elohim*, the name of God which is used in the very oldest portions of the Pentateuch. His theory is so interesting that the passage containing it is worthy of being transcribed:—

“*Elohim* is a plural, though it is followed by the verb in the singular. It is generally said that the genius of the Semitic languages countenances the use of plurals for abstract conceptions, and that when *Jehovah* is called *Elohim*, the plural should be translated by ‘the Deity.’ We do not deny the fact, but we wish for an explanation, and an explanation is suggested by the various phases through which, as we saw, the conception of God passed in the ancient history of the Semitic mind. *Eloah* was at first the name for God; and as it is found in all the dialects of the Semitic

family except the Phœnician, it may probably be considered as the most ancient name of the Deity, sanctioned at a time when the original Semitic speech had not yet branched off into national dialects. When this name was first used in the plural it could only have signified, like every plural, many Eloahs; and such a plural could only have been framed after the various names of God had become the names of independent deities, *i.e.*, during a polytheistic stage. The transition from this into the monotheistic stage could be effected in two ways: either by denying altogether the existence of the Elohim, and changing them into devils, as the Zoroastrians did with the Devas of their Brahmanic ancestors: or by taking a higher view, and looking upon the Elohim as so many names invented with the honest purpose of expressing the various aspects of the Deity, though in time diverted from their original purpose. This is the view taken by St. Paul of the religion of the Greeks, when he came to declare unto them 'Him whom they ignorantly worshipped;' and the same view was taken by Abraham. Whatever the names of the Elohim worshipped by the numerous clans of his race, Abraham saw that all the Elohim were meant for God; and thus Elohim, comprehending by one name everything that ever had been or could be called divine, became the name with which the monotheistic age was rightly inaugurated: a plural, conceived and treated as a singular. Jehovah was all the Elohim, and, therefore, there could be no other God. From this point of view, the Semitic name of the Deity, Elohim, which seemed at first not only ungrammatical, but irrational, becomes perfectly clear and intelligible, and it proves better than anything else that the true monotheism could not have arisen except on the ruins of a polytheistic faith. It is easy to scoff at the gods of the heathen; but a cold-blooded philosophical negation of the gods of the ancient world is more likely to lead to deism or atheism than to a belief in the one living God, the Father of all mankind, 'who hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek the Lord, if happily they might feel after Him, and find Him, though He be not far from each one of us; for in Him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, for we are also His off-spring: -

"Deus stetit in synagoga deorum in medio autem deos dijudicat." (Psalm lxxxxi. 1.)<sup>1</sup>

Making due allowances for the inaccuracies of expression inevitable in a work written from Muller's standpoint, we can hardly help agreeing that the explanation is more than

<sup>1</sup> *Chips from a German Work-shop*, vol. i., pages 369-371.

plausible, and we feel almost justified in adding to the title of Father of the Faithful that of Father of Comparative Mythology. Undoubtedly the word Elohim was more readily adapted because of the limit it contains of the doctrine of the Trinity, which is surely implied in the *נִעָשֶׂה* *faciamus* of Genesis i. 26.

What Abraham did for the Semitic religions of his day, what Clement of Alexandria and Thomas of Aquin did for the philosophies of Greece, remains to be done for all philosophies and theologies. Every one of them must be brought into the service of the Divine Master. All the gods of the nations must be summoned before the bar of Divine Truth, that the words of the Psalmist may be gloriously verified.

MERWIN MARIE SNELL.

## WHO IS TO EDUCATE THE CHILD ?

IN a recent issue of *The New York Herald*, a representative of that journal interviewed a very distinguished American prelate regarding a despatch from *The St. Louis Daily Globe* headed: "Who shall educate the child?" In the view of the American ecclesiastic, the communication referred to, and purporting to give a statement of the school question, as viewed by Catholics, was inexact in details, and misleading in its general tenor. His Grace further declared that there is no truth in the assertion that the Archbishops of the *United States*, at a recent meeting, discussed the question: "To whom does the education of the child belong—to the State or to the parents?" He also denied that they have referred to Rome deliberations of this kind on the question of education, or on anything approaching it in the most remote manner.

The Archbishop then adverts to the compromise, made in some places in Minnesota, between the parochial and State school systems. He states that it is absolutely false to say that the plan was condemned among Catholics as a

total surrender of the principle so far held by the Catholic Church on the question of education. He then gives a summary of the plan, to which allusion was made in the despatch from St. Louis, which he regards as very plain and simple. It accords both with State laws and Church requirements, and on this account commends itself to all fair-minded intelligent citizens. An existing *Catholic* school, which observation shows to be in all particulars fit to be put on a line with existing public schools, is adopted by the Public School Board, and conducted during school hours under all the laws and regulations of the Board as to teachers and pupils. The Board is supreme in all that regards the imparting of the instruction required by its own programme, and during the time marked in this programme. In return the Board pays the current expenses. No State money in this matter is paid out for mere sectarian instruction; there is no division of the school fund; there is not the slightest setting aside of State rights. There is, on the other hand, the serious advantage which all American citizens should appreciate—that Catholics have their children instructed under payments from the public fund, to which they are contributors, together with fellow-citizens; and the State has the satisfaction of bringing peaceably, and without violation of personal rights, under its direction, for the imparting of secular instruction, multitudes of Catholic children, who otherwise must keep aloof from it. The Catholic conscience is satisfied under the plan. For, while secular instruction is imparted, there is no danger from Protestant or Agnostic bias of teachers' minds; and, the legal school hours over, the buildings revert to Catholic control, and religious instruction is given. Rome, says he, understands the whole matter very well, and has no more intention of denying the rights of the State in the imparting of secular instruction than she has to overlook the duty of the Church to protect the faith of Catholic children.

He next brings under review the pamphlet of Dr. Bongillon, a highly distinguished professor of the Catholic University of Washington. The title of the pamphlet is, "Education: to whom does it belong?" This, the

Archbishop declares, is a most clear and exhaustive statement of the whole question of education. Education is a complete work concerning the growth of mind and heart, demanding instruction in matters secular and in matters religious. The complexity of the subject-matter of education admits at once a complexity of active factors in imparting it—the condition being always imposed upon each one not to exclude or hinder the other. Dr. Bongillon sees the whole field before him : it is impossible for his eye to confine itself to one corner. He answers the petition—" Education, to whom does it belong ?" in these words :—" It belongs to the individual, physical or moral, to the family, to the State, to the Church ; to none of these exclusively, but to all four combined together in harmonious working ; for the reason that man is not an isolated, but a social being." The part allotted to the State is fully mapped out by the learned writer, and the reasons of this part carefully developed. His words accord with all that teachers of American civil law demand. He shows his principles to be those of soundest Catholicity, quoting in support of them Cardinal Zigliara, Monsignor Sauvé, Rector of the Catholic University of Angers, and Monsignor Cavaguis, Professor of Canon Law in the Roman University. So far the Archbishop. By way of digression, we may here remark that the writer of the above-mentioned *brochure*, is best known to the learned world by his work on moral theology. James Joseph Bongillon, stands in the foremost rank of theological writers. A superficial examination of the work, even by those least qualified to pronounce upon its merits, should convey a clear view of the order and the scientific method which are impressed upon the work throughout ; the style of expression and lucidity of exposition ; the profundity of view and depth of research ; the soundness of the doctrine, and the wide and comprehensive grasp of the subjects brought within the range of discussion—all establish, beyond any manner of doubt, the writer's claim to be one of the leading figures of the day in theological science.

There could be little doubt, then, that one so well versed in sacred lore, would bring to the discussion of the great

question of education, that wide and varied learning and deep culture to make the *brochure* a very interesting essay. To the question, "To whom does education belong?" he answers straight off: "It belongs to the individual, physical or moral, to the family, to the State, and to the Church; to no one of these to the exclusion of the others, but to all united in one harmonious work; for the reason that man is not an isolated, but a social being." Leaving out of view any discussion which may be raised as to the *right* of the individual, the family, the Church, he confines his contribution to an examination of that dark and complicated aspect of the education problem: what is the right of the State to educate? He states his view very clearly and forcibly: "The State," says he, "has authority to see that the parent discharges his duty in the education of his own offspring, and to compel him, where this would be necessary, and in some cases to substitute for him a suitable guardian for the fulfilment of this duty." He then proceeds to say that "if the State may coerce parents who neglect the education of their children, it may also determine a *minimum of instruction, and make it obligatory.*"

This *minimum* of instruction is determined by public opinion, and is to include, at least, the primary elements of education: reading, writing, and arithmetic. "If the State, he contends, has the right to require of the child a minimum of instruction, and the right to punish parents for neglect in this matter, it follows that the State should have the right of prescribing instruction in this or that branch of education, the knowledge of which, in given circumstances, is judged to be necessary for the majority of the people of the State." In other words, according to the writer, the State has the right of obliging all parents, whether they be rich or poor, the proud citizen as well as the impoverished workman, the noble and the peasant, to give, or procure for their offspring a certain amount of instruction which extends, at least, as far as the knowledge of reading, writing, the elements of arithmetic, and any other branch the State may deem necessary for the welfare of its citizens.

On page 26 of the pamphlet, he declares that he cannot

accept the teaching of that celebrated review, styled the *Civiltà Cattolica*, one of the leading Catholic periodicals in the South of Europe. "His views," he says, "are not in harmony with those of the *Civiltà*; and after a full and exhaustive examination of its teaching on the education question, he finds it to be weak and faulty."

As we happen to have the *Civiltà* for the first quarter of January, it may not be out of place here to give a succinct account of the objections raised by the writer in that review against the arguments of Dr. Bongillon in his paper on education. The articles in the *Civiltà Cattolica* on the great question of education are spread over some one hundred and sixty-six volumes. The articles on education, especially those on primary instruction, which appeared in that review, beginning with April, 1850, down to September, 1872, were written by men of world-renown in literature and philosophy. They were Frs. Taparelli and Liberatore. Quoting from *The St. Louis Daily Globe*, November 29th, 1891, Dr. Bongillon calls those who uphold views opposed to his own on the great question under discussion, "a short-sighted people, with their false philosophy." This passage has cut a deep track in the mind of the writers of the *Civiltà*, against which they have indignantly protested. They maintain that the two philosophers quoted already followed and upheld the teaching of St. Thomas, and they then ask: "How could that philosophy be called false, particularly since the Encyclical of Leo XIII.?" The chief points then in Dr. Bongillon's paper are examined with great minuteness, as well as the reasons given in support of his views, and what is called the *weak* and *faulty* character of his arguments is exposed by a direct denial of his leading proposition; his inconclusive deductions resting, as they say, upon a false assumption of premises, only manifest the weakness of the theory he so ardently upholds; and the authorities quoted in support of his contention do not seem to attach to his views anything approaching the certainty of conviction.

Beginning at page 12 of the pamphlet, the views of the Washington Professor are put into a syllogistic form.

"The civil authority has the right to use all legitimate temporal means it judges necessary for the attainment of the temporal common welfare, which is the end of civil society ;" but obligatory instruction in reading, writing, &c., is a legitimate temporal means, which the civil authority judges to be necessary for the end of civil society ; therefore the civil authority has the right of enforcing obligatory instruction, and that under the penalty of law. The argument is dealt with by denying the major of the syllogism, and a passage is quoted from Aristotle to show that it is false : " Non omnia quae necessaria sunt civitati partes sunt civitatis." Everything which is necessary for the welfare of civil society does not lie within the competence of the civil power.

Take, for example, religion, which is the life and foundation of the State, and of the greatest necessity to advance its welfare ; yet it does not emanate from the State, nor is it an appurtenance of it. But then, it may be answered, the writer of the pamphlet has only included "legitimate temporal means," not those which are essentially connected with the attainment of a supernatural end. To this, it is replied, even though the principle of the argument were modified to a limited degree, still it would prove too much.

Is not the *procreatio prolis*, for example, a legitimate temporal means which the State may deem necessary for the end of civil society ? Has the State then the right of making it obligatory, and of commanding matrimonial alliances under the penalty of a law ? If this principle, so modified, were admitted to be true, it would impose on the citizens of the State an intolerable burden, which would be destructive of domestic happiness and individual liberty. But this is not all. Admitting, suppose, the principle of Dr. Bonaparte, it can be asked : with what right does he gratuitously assert, in the minor of the syllogism, what he was bound to prove ? (1) I has to be proved, that this obligatory instruction is legitimate ; and having established that (or this is the point in dispute), it should be shown that the civil power has the

right to make use of all the legitimate temporal means to attain the end of civil society. Then, again, is this obligatory instruction, which is called necessary for the welfare of civil society, in the strict sense of the word a temporal means; and if it be essential to the social welfare of the State, has it been proven to be such? A nation, says the author of the pamphlet, has need of citizens, with a capacity to advance its interests and welfare of intelligent workmen, of skilled agriculturists, learned jurists; but all this proves no more than that the welfare of society requires that there should be some men in it who should know something more than the alphabet; but does not prove that it is necessary for the end of civil society that all, even the *rozzi dei contadini*, should learn to read, and write, and be acquainted with the rudiments of arithmetic, and any other branch which the State may deem it necessary to prescribe. A thing is said to be necessary for the public welfare, if the end of civil society cannot be attained without it. The evidence of such a necessity conveys to it such an importance that every other interest should subserve to it. But does the knowledge of the alphabet, extended to every member of society, involve such a grave necessity for its welfare? Cannot civil society attain its end unless the greater part of the people who compose it can read and write?

But it may be said: the times are changed, and under the pressure of such a change, the conditions that regulate the welfare of society, convey to the State powers which hitherto did not lie within its domain. Against this it is contended, that the influence of the State on the general welfare of society is considerably lessened, and that it is more or less restricted to the requirements of the individual and the protection of his rights. Professor Bongillon supports the right of the State to determine a *minimum* of instruction, and to render it obligatory from the fact that all philosophers recognise a power in the State of punishing parents who neglect the education of their children. Whoever, says he, admits the latter right, must admit the former. This argument, which appears to be very strong, is answered by quotations from a celebrated work of Taparelli, styled

*Saggio Teoretico*, vol. ii. Taparelli maintains that the right which philosophers concede to the State, is that of punishing parents, who corrupt, or entirely neglect and overlook the moral education of their children—the only kind of education the children have a right to. In the opinion of the *Civiltà*, the philosophers confine their view to the moral bringing up of the children, whereas the Professor contends for the right of the State in the matter of elementary literary instruction. Now moral education does not necessarily depend on elementary instruction. One is not indispensably connected with the other, and one can exist without the other. The writer then quotes Cardinal Gibbons in support of his contention, and selects the following passages from his work, *Our Christian Heritage*:—"It does not appear that vice recedes in the United States in proportion as public education advances. Statistics, I fear, would prove the contrary to be the fact." "The second evil," says his Eminence, "that bodes mischief to our country and endangers the stability of our government, arises from our mutilated and defective system of public school education. I am persuaded that the popular errors now existing in reference to education spring from an incorrect notion of that term. To educate means *to bring out*, to develop the intellectual, moral, and religious faculties of the soul. An education, therefore, that improves the mind and the memory to the neglect of moral and religious training, is at best but an imperfect system. According to Webster's definition, to educate is to instil into the mind principles of art, science, morals, religion, and behaviour. To educate, he says, in the arts is important; in religion, indispensable."

On page 26 the Professor tries to strengthen his position, and to add weight to his first contention on the right of the State to educate. "We do not," says he, "see how it can be conceded by Catholics that the State can prohibit parents hiring out their children to work in mines, factories, &c., employments above their strength, and a source of danger to their health—nay, even often threatening life itself—if it be denied to the State the right to force the parents to give the same children a *minimum* of instruction." To this difficulty a solution is offered by a direct denial that they are parallel

cases. The State has a right to forbid its subjects doing what is *intrinsically* wrong:—viz., violating the rigorous right the children have of self-preservation. It does not follow from that fact that the State can oblige its citizens to do a certain thing which is *useful* for their welfare. It must first be proved that the children have a strict right in regard to the parents to receive this elementary instruction; and, consequently, parents who neglect to provide it for their children would be guilty of violating justice, and sin against the welfare of society. In support of this view, the writer quotes the following passage from Schiffini's *Moral Philosophy*, vol. ii., § 517:—

“Excepta institutione morali et religiosa, quae cura parentibus tradenda est sub directione non politicae sed ecclesiasticae potestatis, doctrina in artibus et scientiis, quae in scholis tradi solet, neque esse onus necessario subeundum ab omnibus. Istae enim artes et scientiae sunt de genere illorum bonorum quae pertinent quidem ad debitam perfectionem multitudinis collectivae sumptae, non vero pertinent, aut pertinere possint ad debitam perfectionem singulorum. . . . Bona autem hujusmodi ut alibi notavimus cum S. Thoma, nequeunt cuilibet indiscriminatim imponi per modum praecepti, reipsa tamen obtinentur in societate ab diversitate inclinationum singulorum, accedente impulso divinae providentiae quae omnia moderatur.”

In the preface to his essay, Dr. Bongillon professes to follow the great theologians, especially St. Thomas, and to be guided by the Encyclical of his Holiness Leo XIII. (*Sapientiae Christianae*), from which, strangely enough, he does not quote one passage.

Against the view maintained by the author of the essay, the writer in the *Civiltà* gives a passage from the Encyclical which would appear to tell the other way. “Natura parentes habent jus suum instituendi, quos procrearint: hoc adjuncto officio, ut cum fine, cujus gratia sobolem Dei beneficio susceperunt, ipsa educatio conveniat et doctrina puerilis. Igitur parentibus est necessarium eniti et contendere ut omnem in hoc genere propulsent injuriam; omninoque pervincant ut sua in potestate sit educare liberos, uti par est more Christiano.” (*Ency. Sapientiae Christianae*.) The text cited from St. Thomas, on page 27 of the essay,

and to be found in 1<sup>a</sup>, 2<sup>ne</sup>, q. 95, art. 3, runs thus:—“Legislator debet providere bonae disciplinae per quam cives informantur ut commune bonum justitiae et pacis conservent.” It is said the passage cannot be discovered in the place assigned; and, even if it were, that it does not prove the thesis. It should be shown that the words “*bona disciplina*” signify, and are limited to include, only reading, writing, and the rudiments of arithmetic. And then again: how can it be established from the word *providere*—to take measures—that a coercive power is conveyed to the State, and not that which Catholic philosophers, with Taparelli, concede to it, viz. :—“To give pecuniary assistance, to help parents that are in need, to co-operate liberally in advancing the interests of youth, by opening up for them the secure fountains of truth and honesty by private generosity and public munificence.” The writers quoted by the author are Cardinals Zigliara and Manning, and Monsignor Sauvé, Rector of the Catholic University of Angers.

The reply states that these great authorities cannot be quoted as siding with the Professor. “Ora nessuno di essi difende la sentenza dell'autore.” And first, as to Monsignor Sauvé, in his work *Questions Religieuses et Sociales*, he discusses the following:—“De savoir si l'état a le droit de rendre obligatoire pour tous ses sujets une certaine dose d'instruction;” and his reply is: “non vouloir se prononcer absolument sur cette question.” If so; how can Monsignor Sauvé be summoned as a witness in favour of the teaching of the pamphlet? He then deals with Cardinal Zigliara. In his *Moral Philosophy* L. 2, c. 1, a. 5, the Cardinal explicitly enumerates and determines the rights he concedes to the State on the great question of education; and amongst these one will seek in vain for that *right* termed “elementary instruction.” “Cetera,” says Zigliara, “quae sibi arrogat status vehementer negamus.” All that Dr. Bongillon asserts of the renowned philosopher regarding the matter under discussion is: “that he does not refuse to the State the power of having control over the elementary instruction of youth;” or, rather, he says: “non osa negare questo potere

allo stato." He suspends his judgment; and, consequently, can hardly be cited as an authority in favour of the Professor's views.

The last theologian quoted is Cardinal Manning, who, in a pastoral addressed to his flock in the Lent of 1872, is supposed, on the authority of a certain Fr. Pradie, to have more or less recognised in the State a power to punish a parent who neglects to send his children to school. As the document is not before the writer of the *Civiltà*, he declares his inability to determine the sense in which the above quotation was used, a matter which could only be known by the context. He freely admits that the State has power to punish a parent who is careless about the moral education of his children; from which it is illogically deduced that the State has a strict right to oblige the father of the family to give his children the rudiments of a primary education. Towards the end, the author of the pamphlet states, that "civil liberty of teaching may reach greater extension than moral liberty would allow," and winds up his paper by a repetition of the broad fact that his views on elementary education (a right which he would concede to the State) by modifying the principle, and limiting it to the first and necessary rudiments of knowledge, are in harmony with the teaching of the Church. Nor is the controversy likely to end here. The battle-ground is not now confined to one particular province or country: it is co-extensive with the civilized world. The jealousy of the State has made its influence felt by invading the rights of the individual and the family; nor has it feared to encroach on the domain of the Church. It is sometimes very difficult to define the respective rights of each of the co-partners. The State can command by physical force; and its unlimited control over the public purse—such a powerful factor in education matters—renders it very difficult both for the individual and the Church to do battle with a moral power—the only weapon that is left them to wield in defence of the individual and society. There is one thing pretty clear, that whatever controversy may arise on the speculative rights of the State to educate, or rather to give primary instruction,

there can be no doubt that such instruction cannot convey a full idea of *Catholic* education, or is co-extensive with it. For Catholic education means the regular training of the will and the heart upon the motives and principles set forth by the Catholic religion. Dupauloup, in his work styled *La predication*, gives us in clear and precise terms the distinction between *instruction* and *education*. On page 250 he says :—

“ L'education et instruction sont deux choses très distinctes. L'education c'est le but atteindre, l'œuvre même à accomplir ; l'instruction n'est qu'un des moyens. L'instruction pourvoit l'esprit de certaines connaissances ; l'education élève l'âme tout entière. L'instruction ne s'adresse directement qu'à l'intelligence ; l'education forme tout à la fois l'intelligence, le cœur, le caractère et la conscience. Donner l'instruction religieuse à l'esprit sans faire en même temps l'education religieuse du cœur, du caractère et de la conscience, serait demeurer bien loin du but et de l'œuvre, donc nous voulons ici définir la nature et démontrer l'importance.”

I give the following extract from a recent issue of the *Dublin Review*, which appears very much to the purpose :—

“ The mind and character [it says] have to be formed upon the motives of religion ; the whole life and conduct of Catholic youth must be moulded by, and coloured and seasoned with, Catholic principles. This is no easy task. The wayward will and heart, the unformed character, must be the special solicitude of teachers, day by day, during the years given to education. In a Catholic school the indirect teaching and training are quite as important as the direct. The picture, the crucifix, the prayer said at the stroke of the clock, all help to create the formative influences to which we attach so much importance. Hence the need of teachers trained in a Catholic spirit, as well as in the knowledge of religion ; hence the need of a Catholic atmosphere in our schools ; hence, again, the strongly marked character peculiar to a Catholic school.”

JOHN DOHENY, C.C.

## ST. WOLSTAN'S, CELBRIDGE.

FOR a long time forgotten and unknown in Ireland are the Canons Regular of St. Victor, or as they are sometimes styled the Victorines. Yet once they were very firmly established in our midst, and had large Irish possessions. What must have been their most desirable monastery, on account of beauty of situation and its proximity to Dublin, is St. Wolstan's, the ruins of which are still to be seen at Celbridge. Just where the river Liffey has passed the village begin, on the one side, the lands of Castletown Manor, and on the other those of St. Wolstan's. The ruins are, we may say, on the banks of the river, and about midway between Celbridge bridge and that other old bridge built by John le Decer, Mayor of Dublin, in 1308, still called Newbridge. The ruins which now exist prove the priory to have been of considerable extent. There remain two gateways, one tower, and two fragments. One can still ascend the tower, and mount to the top of the gateway, by stone steps in good preservation. There are also a few little compartments off these stone staircases. Another tower, referred to in the Ordnance Survey letters, was thrown down, about 1840, on account of its unsafe condition.

From the appearance of the ruins, the old monastery might have been a quadrangular building, enclosing a large courtyard; this was a common form of Norman monasteries. Tradition has it that St. Wolstan's was connected by an underground passage with the Church of Donacumper. The remains of this church now form a very pretty and striking ruin in a graveyard on the left-hand side of the main road from Lucan to Celbridge. Donacumper must have a history of its own prior even to the establishment of St. Wolstan's, because from the *Book of Armagh* we learn that every church called Domnach was founded by St. Patrick himself, and there he spent a night. In this ruin are to be seen the walls of a nave and wing. The wing seems to have been added to form a mortuary chapel, and in it can still be seen the relics of an ornamental window.

Almost under the window, inside the church, is an open vault ; and a broken slab, lying half buried at its entrance, records that it was once the " Family burial and sepulchral place of the Alen family, of Alen Court." This vault is said to have originally been part of the underground passage leading from the church to the monastery. It is full of bones and skulls ; and, if it is an underground passage, far ingress is barred by a stone wall seemingly not too long built.

The Canons Regular of St. Victor had their origin in the celebrated Abbey of St. Victor, of Paris. This abbey was built by Louis the Great, King of France, about the year 1113. It was dedicated to St. Victor, who suffered martyrdom at Marseilles under the Emperor Maximin. William of Champeaux, the master of the unfortunate Abelard, was then Archdeacon of Paris, where he was engaged teaching philosophy. Tired of the vanity of the world, with the consent of the king he retired to his new abbey, taking with him, for his chief disciples, persons of singular piety and great erudition. They bound themselves to live under the rules and constitutions of Canons Regular, of which they took the habit, and on account of the patron of the place they called themselves Canons Regular of St. Victor. The original constitution of the order was very strict. According to it meat was never allowed in the refectory, manual labour was part of the rule, strict silence had to be observed, and communication with one another should be only by signs ; the abbots were forbidden the use of a cross or mitre, and they were not to frequent the courts of princes. Hilbert, seventh abbot of St. Genevieve, Paris, one of the houses of the order, got permission from Pope Gregory IX. (1227) to wear a mitre, cross, and other episcopal ornaments. Other abbots followed suit, and by degrees a little laxity crept in. The English war which disturbed France during the reign of King John (1199) especially tended towards encroachments on the strict observance of the rule ; for soon afterwards we find that all the houses of order had become lax except the original one of St. Victor, which still remained faithful. According to the testimony of Louis VIII. of France, there were forty-four abbeys of Victorines in the early part of the thirteenth century.

The dress of the order was a white serge habit with rochet worn over it, and a large black cloak was used when walking out. The choral dress, in summer, was a surplice above the rochet, with a hood hanging over the shoulders; and, in winter, a large black cope, with a cape and hood. The dress of the first canons was simply an alb, which reached almost to the feet; and in choir they wore also on the head a black hood, lined with skin of the same colour; and the hair was shaved according to the fashion of the monastic tonsure. In the beginning, lay brothers were received into the order, and they wore a habit of a dark colour; but in after times there were no lay brothers. Golden rays in a blue sky formed the arms of the order, and the shield was a ducal crown, surmounted with a mitre and cross. The Victorines were in high repute in England and Ireland, and in both these kingdoms they had representatives in the Upper Chambers of Parliament.

The Priory of St. Wolstan's was founded in 1202, by Adam de Hereford, and it got its name on account of the then recent canonization of St. Wolstan, Bishop of Worcester. De Hereford gave to Richard the first prior, the lands on the river Liffey, and the Church of Donaghcumper. Donaghcumper is usually taken to mean *domnach*, a church; and *comair* (old form, *compair*), a confluence of water; but, as is remarked in the Ordnance Survey letters, there is no confluence of water nearer than that of the Rye and the Liffey, two miles and a-half distant, unless the meeting of two very small streams not far off is referred to. It would not seem far-fetched to think that the real meaning is *domnach*, a church; and *comphairteac*, accessor, or *comphairtidhe* (pr. *comfairee*), a companion. The people about call the place Donaghcumper, Donaghcumfer, and Denaghcumfert. The church must have been prior to the foundation of the monastery, and a gift in itself, separated, probably, from the grounds on which the monastery stood by a public road, and connected with it by a long underground passage; therefore, it would not at all be unlikely that the name means the companion or accessory church. It may be said that the name comes from the time of St. Patrick. *Domnach*, in relation to the place,

certainly dates from that time; but there is no reason to prevent us believing that the distinguishing title might not change with a serious change of circumstances.

In the beginning the possessions of the priory were simply some hundreds of adjoining acres, including the Church of Donaghcomper. By degrees, through gifts and purchase, the monks became owners of almost the whole present Catholic parish of Celbridge, as well as some land at Leixlip, not included in that boundary. For instance, we read that in the year 1271, William Randesham or Ravesham, Seneschal to Fulk, Archbishop of Dublin, granted to the priory the lands of Tristledelane, with the appurtenances thereunto belonging, in *Francalmoine*: he increased the number of canons, and obliged them to celebrate duly his and his wife's anniversary, on which day they were to feed thirty poor men, or to give them, in lieu thereof, one penny each, under penalty of one hundred shillings, to be paid to the Archbishop on every such failure, and a further penalty of one hundred shillings to be expended on the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick. In 1310, a certain Nicholas Taaffe, presented for ever to Stephen, the prior at the time, the Manor of Donaghcomper. In 1314, the Churches of Stacumney and Donaghmore were granted to the sole and separate use of the prior. The Church of Killadoon also at one time belonged to the priory.

The history of St. Wolstan's, as a monastery, extends from 1202 to 1536. In this year Henry VIII. seized upon it and all its belongings, and the enumeration of these in the Inquisition includes Straffan, Kildrought, Donaghcomper, Stacumney, Donaghmore, Killadoon, Castledillon, Tippersstown, Laughlenstown, Coolfitch, Simondston, Ballymakelly, Ardrass, and Kilmacredlock. Whether Straffan Church, the ruins of which are still to be seen in the graveyard there, ever belonged to St. Wolstan's, it is difficult to know. The monks certainly owned six acres of land in Straffan, but there is no mention of the church. However, it is reasonable to suppose that this six acres included the site of the present ruin. There must have been, at least, six small outlying churches connected with the monastery, Donaghcomper,

Stacunney, Donaghmore, Kilmacreddock, Killadoon, and the little Chapel of St. Patrick, at Ardrass. These are all now within the boundary of the Catholic parish of Celbridge. Richard Weston was the last prior, 1536; and by special arrangement he was allowed a residence in the monastery for the remainder of his life, together with a small annual sum for support. There is a place near St. Wolstan's at present called Weston-park. On the 1st of December, 1538, the priory with all its possessions, and the Manor of Kildrought, was granted for ever, at the annual rent of two knight's pay to Alen of Norfolk, Master of the Rolls, and afterwards Lord Chancellor.

The Manor of Kildrought, the present Castletown, was separated from the priory only by the river Liffey. It had been for a few hundred years in possession of the Geraldine family, and evidently from the proximity of the estates there had sprung a very friendly feeling between the Earls of Kildare and the monks. It is recorded in Archdall, that in 1390, died Maurice, Earl of Kildare, a munificent benefactor to this house (St. Wolstan's). John Alen, Master of the Rolls, was a relative of the unfortunate Archbishop Alen of Dublin. They were both at the time practically English officials, and together with Robert Cowley, the chief solicitor, they worked on the fears of Henry VIII., so far as to persuade him that the Earl of Kildare was an enemy to the English crown in Ireland. Hence, arose the circumstances which led to the rebellion of Silken Thomas. After his execution at Tyburn, in 1537, the Manor of Kildrought was confiscated to the crown, and in 1538 it was given with St. Wolstan's to this John Alen, in requittal for his seeming great anxiety about the interests of the king. St. Wolstan's remained then in the Alen family till the year 1752, when by a decree of the Court of Exchequer it was sold, and purchased by Dr. Robert Clayton, Bishop of Clogher. He bequeathed it to his niece, Anne, the wife of Dr. Thomas Bernard, Bishop of Killaloe. Dr. Clayton greatly improved the house, which had been built from the ruins of the abbey, after the design of Mr. Joshua Allen. This Allen was no relation of the St. Wolstan Alens, but was an ancestor of

Viscount Allen. He was a man well known for his skill in architecture, and amongst other things planned a house at Sigginstown, in the Co. Kildare, for the tyrannical and unfortunate Earl of Strafford. During the rebellion, and for about the first thirty years of this century, St. Wolstan's was a Protestant school. There is a well near the river still called the Scholar's Well, noted for the purity of its water. Near this well there can be seen what the people about say is the largest bone and the longest stone ever found in a river. The bone is fan-shaped, and the stone is like a thin trunk of a tree standing upright. Not far from the well is also a monument erected to the memory of Robert Clayton. It is a large vase, standing on a square pedestal, on which are the inscriptions:—

“Renascentur  
Quae jam cecidere  
Cadent quae nunc sunt  
As dying yet we live. May 1, 1756.”

“P. M. S.  
Roberti Clayton  
Clogherensis episcopi  
& Catherinae Donnellan  
Conjugis optimae.”

It does not appear that the Alens whilst in St. Wolstan's ever formally became Protestants. In an inquisition of Elizabeth we find that certain lands were taken from Sir John Alen, evidently because he would not conform; and in a list of Catholics from whom land was confiscated in Cromwell's time, we read the name of Lady Alen of St. Wolstan's. The last of the Alens connected with St. Wolstan's was one who spent a good part of his life in France. There he was called the Count de St. Woostan. He was an officer in the regiment of Berwick, and fought with the famous Irish brigade in the battle of Fontenoy, 1745. He afterwards went to India with Lally, famous as a member of the same brigade, and remained with him through all those engagements and adventures there, for which afterwards he suffered so much. In consequence of the active part this Count de St. Woostan had taken with the French

in their wars with the English both in Europe and India, he lost all rights to his Irish possessions; and, as we have seen, they were sold by the Court of Exchequer in 1752. The Count died at Amboise, in 1782. From a collateral branch of this Alen family the Howards of Norfolk derive their additional name of Fitzalen.

St. Wolstan's, and its adjoining church, Donaghcomper, seem to have been not only the centre of religious life for a large district around, but a centre of social activity. Tradition has it that the market was held in front of Donaghcomper Church; and, as far as investigation goes, it is hard to find any other church from which the town of Celbridge derives its name. The old name of Celbridge was Kildrought, the church of the bridge (*droichet*), of which this latter was a translation, and *Kil* was made *Cel*. Of course the more correct appellation would be *domnach*; but it is easy to understand how the common people travelling along this main road, and recognising Donaghcomper as an important market-place, would be constantly referring to it. They would call it the church of the bridge, it being near the bridge and *kill*, the more familiar and easy name for a church rather than *domnach*, just as we find in other places such familiar terms as the cross chapel or the kill chapel, rather than church. The present town of Celbridge only really commenced its existence with the advent of the Dongan family to Castletown, in 1616, and whatever little importance the place had for some hundred years before must have been simply its connection with St. Wolstan's and Donaghcomper. Even so late as 1690 we have in one of the State papers registering the popish priests, James Warren, described as parish priest of Dennycomfert.

St. Wolstan's has now been for a considerable time in possession of the Cane family, and the present owner, Captain Claud Cane, shows his appreciation of the place by his continuous residence here, and the amount of labour which he employs in connection with it. He has the ruins nicely railed in, keeps the grounds in perfect order, and is much respected by the people of the district.

M. F. HOGAN, C.C.

## Liturgical Questions.

### THE ECCLESIASTICAL CALENDAR.—V.

#### THE EPIACT.

*Epact* is a word of Greek origin, and in its generic signification means an ally, an addition, or a supplement. In the calendar it is employed to designate the moon's age on the last day of the solar year; or, in other words, the number of days by which twelve calendar lunations fall short of a solar year. The calendar lunations, it has been already stated, are supposed to have alternately thirty and twenty-nine days. To the lunations which end in the odd months of the year are assigned thirty days; and to those that end in the even months, twenty-nine. The former are called *full* (*pleni*), the latter *hollow* (*cavi*) months, and twelve such lunations contain

$$6(30 + 29) = 354 \text{ days.}$$

The common solar year, then, exceeds the lunar by eleven days. And to these days is given the name *Epact*, because they are *added* to the lunar year to make it equal to the solar. We must not, however, conclude that the term *Epact* always signifies eleven days, or that the *Epact* of every year is the same; for, in strictness, the *Epact* of a given year as has just been said, is the moon's age on the 31st December of the preceding year.

Let us now take any year in which the 1st of January is the day of new moon. On the 31st December of that year the moon will be eleven days old; in other words, the thirteenth new moon will fall on the 355th day of that year, or on the 21st December. The *Epact*, then, for the year following will be eleven, and the moon's age on the last day of this year will be twice eleven, or twenty-two days. Twenty-two is, therefore, the *Epact* for the third year in this series. At the end of the third year the number of intercalary days will be three times eleven, or thirty-three. But as a *full* lunation has only thirty days, it follows that in

these three solar years there is, in addition to three times twelve lunations, one complete lunation of thirty days, together with three days. The age of the moon, then, at the end of the third year, is three days; which, consequently, form the Epact for the fourth year. In the same manner—that is, by adding eleven each year, and deducting thirty whenever possible—are found the Epacts for the succeeding years. But in the last year of the cycle, instead of thirty, only twenty-nine should be deducted.

In the lunar cycle, or cycle of Golden Numbers, as it was employed before the correction of the calendar by Pope Gregory, the Epact of the first year was eleven; of the second, twenty-two; and so on, according to the order just indicated. And as this cycle was regarded in practice as being absolutely correct, the nineteen Epacts, corresponding respectively with the nineteen years of the cycle, were regarded as forming a perpetual table of Epacts. The following table, given among the introductory matter in missals and breviaries, is that employed before the correction of the calendar:—

GOLDEN NUMBER.	EPACT.	GOLDEN NUMBER.	EPACT.
1	XI.	11	I.
2	XXII.	12	XII.
3	III.	13	XXIII.
4	XIV.	14	IV.
5	XXV.	15	XV.
6	VI.	16	XXVI.
7	XVII.	17	VII.
8	XXVIII.	18	XVIII.
9	IX.	19	XXIX.
10	XX.		

To find from this table the Epact for any year in the Christian era preceding 1582, it is only necessary to find the Golden Number of the year in question. Opposite this number in this table will be found the Epact required. We can also find the Epact for any year during the same period, by means of the Golden Number alone, without the aid of the table. For since eleven is the Epact for the first year of the cycle, and since the succeeding Epacts are formed by

the continuous addition of eleven for each year, and the subtraction of thirty as often as the sum equals or exceeds that number, it follows that, if the Golden Number of any year be multiplied by eleven, and the product divided by thirty, the remainder will be the Epact. An example will show that both methods give the same result. Let it be required to find the Epact for the year 1540:—

$$\frac{1540 + 1}{19} = 81 \frac{2}{19}.$$

The Golden Number for the year 1540 is, therefore, 2; and opposite this number in the table is the Epact 22: consequently, the remainder found by the other process should also be 22. And it is. For

$$\frac{2 \times 11}{30} = \frac{22}{30}.$$

But, unfortunately, this simple method of finding the Epact is not perpetual. Two causes are at work which tend to disturb the relations between the Golden Numbers and the Epacts. One of these causes tends to increase the Epact corresponding to each Golden Number by one after each period of about three hundred years, while the other tends to diminish the Epacts by three in each period of four hundred years. The former of these disturbing causes has its origin from the lunar cycle; the latter from the bissextile intercalation in the calendar of the solar year.

The lunar cycle supposes that two hundred and thirty-five lunations exactly correspond in length to nineteen civil years. But the latter exceeds the former by a little under one hour and a-half.<sup>1</sup> Hence, after about sixteen and a-half lunar cycles, the lunar phases would happen one day earlier than indicated by the Golden Numbers, and it would then become necessary to increase the Epacts by one. For the Epact denotes the moon's age on the last day of the year; and if the new moon of December in a certain year happens one day earlier than indicated, the age of that moon on the 31st December will also be one day more than the Epact for the following year, as given by the table. From this it follows that when the

<sup>1</sup> 1 h. 28.8', *Ency. Britt.*, art. "Calendar."

table of Epacts given above was in use a little over three hundred years, each Epact should have been increased by unity, in order that they might express the real age of the moon at the beginning of the respective years in the cycle of Golden Numbers. This change would have made the Epacts, corresponding with the first years of the cycle, to be

XII.	XXIII.	IV.	XV.	XXVI.	VII.	&c.
1	2	3	4	5	6	&c.

At the end of another such period, another unity should have been added to the Epacts, and a third after the completion of a third period, and so on. But, as has been said, no change was made in the table of Epacts from the time of the first Council of Nice to the correction of the calendar (325-1582).

The second cause which affects the relations between the Golden Numbers and the Epacts has, as has been said, a tendency to diminish the Epacts. The Julian calendar, to which the lunar cycle was adapted, regarded every fourth year without exception as a leap-year. But three out of every four of the century or secular years, though bissextile in the Julian, are common years in the Gregorian calendar. The effect of omitting the intercalary day in each of these years is to diminish the moon's age by one day on all days after each omission. To illustrate by an example:—In the year 1700, the 20th February was the day of new moon. The moon's age, therefore, on the 28th of that month was nine days; and on the 1st March, was ten days. But had 1700 been a leap-year in the Gregorian calendar, as in the Julian, the moon's age would have been ten days on the 29th February, and eleven days instead of ten on the 1st March. Consequently, on the 31st December, 1700, the moon's age was one day less than it would have been had 1700 been a leap-year. And the moon's age on the 31st December is the Epact for the following year. Hence, the Epact for the year 1700 was less by one day than that which stood opposite the Golden Number for 1700, in the cycle which did duty during the preceding century.

To make still clearer this effect of the omission of the intercalary day in the century years, the following two tables

of Epacts are given. Table A was in use from the correction of the calendar in 1582 till 1700. Table B came into use at the beginning of 1700,<sup>1</sup> and will continue in use until 1900. Both these tables, like the one already given, are found in missals and breviaries: but instead of beginning there, as here, with the Golden Number 1, and proceeding in order throughout the cycle, they begin with the Golden Number for the year in which each table first came into use, 6 being the Golden Number for 1582, and 10 for 1700.

TABLE A.

GOLDEN NUMBER.	EPACT.	GOLDEN NUMBER.	EPACT.
1	I.	11	XXI.
2	II.	12	II.
3	XXIII.	13	XIII.
4	IV.	14	XXIV.
5	XV.	15	V.
6	XXVI.	16	XVI.
7	VII.	17	XXVII.
8	XVIII.	18	VIII.
9	XXIX.	19	XIX.
10	X.		

TABLE B.

GOLDEN NUMBER.	EPACT.	GOLDEN NUMBER.	EPACT.
1	"	11	XX.
2	XI.	12	I.
3	XXII.	13	XII.
4	III.	14	XXIII.
5	XIV.	15	IV.
6	XXV.	16	XV.
7	VI.	17	XXVI.
8	XVII.	18	VII.
9	XXVIII.	19	XVIII.
10	IX.		

There are one or two points of interest about these two tables to which it is necessary to call attention. Comparing the table already given for the time anterior to the correction

<sup>1</sup>The Epact was not actually diminished until the 1st March, 1700; but as the chief use of the Epact is for determining the date of Easter, and as the lessening of the Epact occurs before the Easter moon, the diminished Epact is regarded as the Epact of the year in which the lessening takes place.

of the calendar with Table A, it will be noticed that the Epacts in the earlier table, opposite the several Golden Numbers are greater by exactly ten than the corresponding Epacts in Table A. Thus, while in the former, the Epact XI. stands opposite the first year of the cycle, in the latter the Epact I. occupies the same position. The reason is obvious. The year 1582 was ten days shorter than it should have been, owing to the omission of the ten nominal days from the month of October. Hence, on the 31st December of that year, which corresponded with what would have been the 21st but for the correction, the moon's age was ten days less than the table of Epacts made it. Hence, the Epact for the following year<sup>1</sup> had to be diminished by ten.

In Table B, an asterisk is placed opposite the first Golden Number, and stands for either 0 or 30. Practically, it signifies that the Epact is *nil*; or, what amounts to precisely the same thing, that the age of the moon on the 31st December of the last year of the cycle is thirty days; which, consequently, all go to make up the intercalary month, and leave no remainder.

The principal reason for printing these two tables was to show that after the year 1700 all the Epacts are diminished by unity. Remembering that the asterisk stands for 0, a glance shows that this is the case.

It may be asked how it comes to pass that the table of Epacts, which served for the latter part of the sixteenth century and the whole of the seventeenth, will not serve for the eighteenth, seeing that the eighteenth century has one table in common with the nineteenth, although the year 1800 was no more a-leap year than 1700. Before replying to this question it will be convenient to explain two terms which will be used in the reply. These are the *lunar equation* and the *solar equation*. By the former is meant the correction for the excess of the cycle of nineteen years over two hundred and thirty-five lunations; this excess, as we have seen, amounts to one day in something over three hundred years. Clavius reckoned it at one day in three hundred and twelve and a-half years, and decided that the

<sup>1</sup> And for the year 1582 itself, from the Ides of October to the end.

lunar equation, that is the addition of one day to the Epacts, should take place eight times in each period of two thousand five hundred years, beginning with the year 1800. This equation is to be made at the end of each of the first seven periods of three hundred years, and the eighth time at the end of a period of four hundred years. Having been made in 1800, it will then be made in the following years, 2100, 2400, 2700, 3000, 3600, 3900, 4300, 4600, &c.

The solar equation is the correction for the disturbance in the relations between the Golden Numbers and the Epacts, caused by the omission of the intercalary day in the century years not divisible by four hundred. This equation is, therefore, to be made three times in every four centuries, beginning with 1700; that is to say, in the years 1700, 1800, 1900, 2100, 2200, 2300, 2500, &c.

Now for the question. It is easy to understand how the same table served from 1582 till 1700; for the year 1600 was a leap-year; consequently there was no solar equation, and it had been decided by Clavius that the first lunar equation should be made in 1800. In 1700 the solar equation had to be made, as we have seen, and the Epacts were thus diminished by unity. In the year 1800, it is true, the solar equation had again to be made, and the Epacts should again have been diminished by unity. But the lunar equation had also to be made in this year; and thus the day added on account of the lunar equation, took the place of the day subtracted on account of the solar, and left the Epacts unchanged. The same will happen in every year in which the two equations are to be made.

From these data it is easy to construct a table of Epacts for any future century, and, therefore, to find the Epact for any future year. Table B, we have said, indicates the Epacts for the last century as well as the present one. Let it be required to find the Epact for the years 1792 and 1892.

$$\frac{1792 + 1}{19} = 94 \frac{7}{19}$$

$$\frac{1892 + 1}{19} = 99 \frac{12}{19}$$

Having thus found the Golden Numbers of the years in question to be respectively seven and twelve, we look to Table B, and find the Epect 6 opposite the former, and 1 opposite the latter. The Epect for any year in these centuries can also be found without the table by the rule already given for finding the Epect of any year before the correction of the calendar. But since in the cycle for these centuries the Epect opposite the first year is 0, it is necessary to diminish by unity the Golden Number of the year whose Epect is required before multiplying by eleven. Let us find by this method the Epect for the same two years, 1792 and 1892.

$$\frac{(7-1) 11}{30} = 2 \frac{6}{30},$$

$$\frac{(12-1) 11}{30} = 4 \frac{1}{30}.$$

The remainders, 6 and 1, give the Epects as before for 1792 and 1892 respectively.

---

#### THE SIGN OF THE CROSS.

“REV. DEAR SIR,—I have remarked that some of the faithful, when making the Sign of the Cross, finish it on the breast, others on the right shoulder. Would you kindly say which is the correct form—the right hand to the forehead, saying, *In the name of the Father*; then under the breast, *and of the Son*; then to the left shoulder, *and of the Holy Ghost*; and on the right shoulder, *Amen*. Or, the right hand to the forehead, *In the name of the Father*; under the breast, *and of the Son*; to the left shoulder, *and of the Holy*; to the right shoulder, *Ghost*; and *Amen* on the breast.”

The second manner of distributing the words when making the sign of the Cross would seem to be the more correct. Here is what Martinucci says:—“The Sign of the Cross is made in this manner. The left hand is placed slightly under the breast, with palm open and extended, and turned towards the breast. The right hand, likewise open, is raised, and with the extremities of the index, middle, and ring fingers, the forehead is lightly touched, while the words,

*In the name of the Father* are said. The right hand is then lowered to the breast, which is touched in a similar manner, while the words, *and of the Son*, are said; the same hand is then made to touch first the left, and then the right shoulder, and the words, *and of the Holy Ghost*, are spoken. Immediately the hands are joined, with fingers extended and likewise joined, and *Amen* is said."<sup>1</sup>

D. O'LOAN.

---

## Correspondence.

---

### THE UNIFORM CATECHISM AND ITS WORK; THE ACT OF CONTRITION AND ITS IMPROVEMENT.

"REV. SIR,—A uniform catechism, and on the lines indicated by His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, can hardly fail to be looked on as other than a great national boon. The catechism has a great work to do. It is the one book by which, beyond any other, the Church gives forth her teaching to be impressed on the minds of all her children. She makes it the treasury of those saving doctrines that are entrusted to her by her Divine Founder, at least of those that more directly concern man's eternal interests. In it she simplifies and explains the doctrine of her heavenly mysteries, as far as it can be explained to poor weak human intelligence. In a word, the *catechismus dominicus* carries into effect, in great part, her work by means of the catechism.

"The catechism, well worded, well ordered, well taught, what important services has it not to render! In the hands of the good mother, the active man, the religious brother, the careful school teacher, the pious Sunday catechist, the zealous priest—what a vast work it has to do, and what a golden opportunity it has for doing that work! The sinner at piety is not yet there to taint the youthful mind, nor the libertine with his profane jests; the agnostic is not yet there, nor the indifferentist, nor the freethinker; all these are yet away. But the mother is there, the nun and the teacher are there: they have the field all to

<sup>1</sup> L. 1, cap. i., n. 2.

themselves during the first twelve or fifteen years of the child's life ; and if, catechism in hand, that time be well employed, that opportunity be well utilized, what a radically good work is done, what a life-long benefit is conferred, what a rampart is raised up around that child's innocent mind against the onslaughts of vice and error of later years !

“Everything, then, in connection with the catechism, has a claim to the highest degree of care and excellence : its style which should be simple, its order clear, its wording accurate, its selection of matter practical, its arrangement faultless, its scope comprehensive.

“Acting on his Grace's invitation, conveyed in his paper in the *I. E. RECORD*, the following remarks from a missionary point of view, chiefly on uniformity in the catechism, are respectfully submitted.

“UNIFORM CATECHISM, FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF MISSIONS.

“The missionary at his work in different parts of the country has often to cite the catechism. If the words he quotes are those precisely which his hearers had learned, and with which they are familiar, he has readier access to their minds and hearts. Then he has sometimes to instruct the children, to give a children's mission ; it will be a great help both to him and to them, if his catechism were the same as theirs.

“Again, in a great many missions, a certain class turns up that is ignorant of the necessary truths. They have to be instructed then and there ; and, failing to take in what is taught them, have to be rejected ; and now rejected, may be for life. They must then be instructed at any cost, if at all possible. Now it is here precisely the advantage of a uniform catechism for the whole country comes in ; if the part of the catechism the instructor cites, if the words he uses, are the very same with which that ignorant person had been, perhaps, slightly acquainted when a child, there may be in that identity the sole ray for hope of success in instructing him. It may, perhaps, be the single flint in that hard head from which the necessary spark of knowledge could be struck. What is here said in regard to missions, might, I think, be corroborated by the experience of chaplains to prisons and workhouses, where tramps and vagrants turn up, and many others who are in similar need of having their early knowledge of the Christian doctrine revived.

“UNIFORM CATECHISM, AND OUR FLOATING POPULATION.

“But apart from missionary work, is not our moving and floating population generally exposed to considerable inconvenience from diversity of catechisms, as they change to different parts of the country. The children of the military, of the police, and of public officials generally, who move about from station to station with their parents, their catechetical instruction still going on, and finding in the place they reach a catechism different from that they have just left, must find this a *gravamen*. Manifestly, here there must be a process of unlearning, learning, with an ending in confusion. A new fish-curing establishment is set on foot, or a strike takes place in one part of the country, while new railway works, or a new factory, opens in another. Whole families come from afar and cluster round them. The children go to school, and must, of course, be taught the catechism. Many were half way through one of different wording in the place they left. This is hardly showing fair play to the children. Are they not likely to feel the difficulty, and with it a distaste for the catechism? A like inconvenience must be felt by children in convents and colleges, by those in industrial schools and reformatories, several of whom will have to finish their learning of the catechism in other and distant parts of the country. Nor is all this mere theorizing, as cases of frequent occurrence go to show. Let me give one that occurred in a Catholic country abroad. A boy of respectable family, residing there, was sent to different schools and colleges to complete his education. His pious parents are careful that he should always attend catechism. He states that he had to make his way through at least half a dozen different ones, which he looks on as one of the greatest *gravamens* of his life.

“THE CATECHISM TO ENLIGHTEN AND PREPARE FOR THE  
SACRAMENT OF PENANCE.

“As the object of a catechism is to enlighten as well as to instruct, there are two or three great *ignorantiae* very prevalent among our people on which it might be made to shed some rays of light. They regard the requirements for the Sacrament of Penance. First, there are many who, in the accusation, speak of bad thoughts when they really mean bad actions, and say nothing further, unless interrogated. Again, the fewness of those who are capable of distinguishing between the merely having and

the consenting to the bad thought, is really astounding; and this among classes whose education otherwise has been by no means neglected. And as to any perceptible attempt at examen of conscience, it may, I think, be safely stated, that the minds of the great majority are as blank as the bleak wilderness. They come in, look vacant, say nothing, get confused, throw the whole burden of the examen on the confessor, are not pleased unless he does it; yet but give two or three evasive answers to every question, before they can be brought to venture even on a guess. Hard work this on priest and penitent, making confession doubly difficult; unless, indeed, the former betakes himself to the simpler course of *laissez aller*, to which the unpreparedness of the penitent offers so strong an incentive. In this matter of examen — up to what the formal integrity requires — our Irish Catholics contrast very unfavourably with the faithful of other lands — with those of the old Catholic parts of England, for example, or with practising French or German Catholics. One of its causes would seem to be, that being left to the frightfully long forms of examen, so common in our prayer-books, they get bewildered, and give up the whole thing as a kind of abstruse science, with which only a confessor could presume to deal. Might not the catechism do something here, at least in the way of making a beginning, of applying a remedy to so great and so wide-spread a deficiency? Could not this be done, say, by laying down an order of examen, and by asking some twelve or fifteen questions along that order, on those sins into which poor weak nature is most liable to fall? Thus a nucleus or model for future examinations of conscience might be formed, which would be of great help in bringing people to confession, by showing them how to go about it. In general, I think, it may be said, that it is a matter of great importance in a catechism to bring out well whatever has a bearing on the Sacrament of Penance; as knowledge in that line will always be of service every year during life — each time, in fact, that people go to confession. This cannot be said of many other chapters in the catechism. Dunlevy's old Irish-English catechism is very good in this respect.

“THE CATECHISM AN EFFECTIVE, AS WELL AS AN EARLY  
ENLIGHTENER ON MORAL EVILS OF THE DAY.

“Again, might not the catechism begin to cast the first rays of enlightenment into the youthful mind, on some of the great

moral evils of the day, and thus become more practical, as his Grace of Dublin observes. Intemperance is one, betting is one; but there are others. Are not the two-thirds of our girls up to their eyes in novel-reading within a few months of their leaving school; and thus in many cases, getting disposed to take an attitude in questions and notorious events of the day, contrary to that which a sense of modesty and religion would dictate? Is it not a pity to see so many of our Irish girls, to whose taste for the sensational the tales of our Catholic weeklies and monthlies soon grow insipid; and, consequently, finding among them but comparatively few readers, running with their first spare or appropriated penny, for one of those London journals that float over the water to us each week by the ton. Could not a little space be given in the catechism, by way of question and answer, or lesson, to enlighten the youthful mind on such an evil, to show that such reading wastes time, fills the fancy with illusions, draws the heart and will in a wrong direction, unfits for the practical duties of life, and sometimes mars a high destiny, as was nearly the case with St. Teresa. And because it is not enough to destroy without building up, could not an appendix to the catechism, or even its cover, give a list of those ascetical, historical, useful or entertaining books and safe periodicals, which each child should try to confine her reading to and spend her spare pennies upon. This might serve to form her reading taste, and preserve her, perhaps, from embarking on the ocean of romance, first in fancy, and afterwards in practice.

\* Another evil of our day—and who will say that it is a small or a circumscribed one?—arises from the faithful allowing themselves to be easily led by anonymous writers in the public press, even when these come into collision with the teaching voice of the pastors of the Church—voices that are divinely commissioned to teach and guide their flocks. Might not a few questions and answers, conveying sound doctrine on this point, be of great service in guiding the youthful mind? In fact, the catechism, in order to do its work effectively, must be as Raphael in regard to the young Tobias. It must not only teach and instruct, but furthermore, like the great Archangel, it has to cry out against the big fish of the moral evil that is ready to devour the boy or the girl as soon as they turn their feet from school, and begin to dip them into the waves of the world.

“True, it may be said that these remarks had better find

their application later on, in the instructing by the pastor of his flock generally. Yes, but what if that time later on should find the girl with her candle burned down at midnight hour over the love romance; or if it should find the young man in one of the hooting and yelling mobs that comes rushing furiously along our streets, sparing no one, priest or layman? Would they then listen?

“But the catechism, of course, can be expected to do no more than make a beginning—casting a first ray on these things; what if a society were to spring up on our Irish soil, having for its object the spreading of safe and moral reading—a wholesome literature among the people; doing for Ireland something similar to what the Catholic Truth Society is doing with such good result for England. Or shall we wait till some further upheaval, like the recent one, comes with sudden and startling effect upon us, to show how unexpectedly deep the cockle had extended its roots even in holy Ireland?

“THE CATECHISM WELL COMMITTED TO MEMORY.

“In regard to the triple catechism, to suit the different degrees of proficiency among the pupils, an important point would seem to be, to have no difference as to wording in the matter common to them; nothing to weaken the indelible impression which the words, well committed to memory, would be calculated to make for life, this being an immense advantage. The late Father Harbison used to say that he derived great advantage, in his sermons and instructions, from the words of his catechism, so well impressed on his memory when a boy, that he never forgot them. A case that turned up in one of our missions in England several years ago, may also be given in illustration:—

“An old man of ninety years comes to confession. He could not speak a word of English. To make a confession to his satisfaction, as he felt years and infirmities pressing upon him, he had gone back to Ireland some years before, and to his native parish, which was also that of his present confessor. To test his knowledge of the necessary truths and of the Sacraments he was asked some questions in the catechism. The old man's eye brightened up with an unusual fire, and his tone of voice grew clear and precise, as he gave answer after answer with perfect accuracy. Asked as to how he came to know his catechism so well, he said that in his early days the young people, by the advice of their

parish priest, used to assemble now in one house, again in another, to learn the catechism. So well was it impressed on his memory, that his ninetieth year found it engraven there still. Confession over, the old man left, and now with lighter step, as if he felt he was making surer for his heavenly home. His wife, who was nearly as old as himself, presented herself next. She knew the catechism, all but as well as her husband; and, confession over, moving a pace backward, kneeling down, and with hands and eyes uplifted to heaven, pronounced a blessing, which I hope may remain. It began with the invocation of the Blessed Trinity; then, coming down to the Queen of Angels and the different choirs of the angels, thus ended:—

seven times the full of the sepulchre of Christ of blessings  
be upon you. Seven times the full of the graveyard of St. Patrick  
of blessings be upon you.

That is, 'seven times the full of the sepulchre of Christ of blessings be upon you. Seven times the full of the graveyard of St. Patrick of blessings be upon you.'

How different if, like others, they had forgotten the necessary truths! One could not withhold a tribute of admiration for that good priest, and a prayer for his soul, who, without school or scarce even a chapel, could so have taught the Christian doctrine in the beginning of the century as to have it still fresh and green in the minds of the old people towards the end of it. This he did by having the words of the catechism well impressed on their memories.

#### "THE ACT OF CONTRITION, WHAT OF JOINING IT TO ONE OF ATTRITION?"

"With the catechism will, I suppose, appear the acts of Contrition, Faith, Hope, and Charity. Is there not some room for improvement in the act of Hope? As it at present stands, is it not begging to some readers as it is to some intelligences?"

"Again, might not the act of Contrition be so improved as to join to it the motives for, and so make it one of attrition also? The one in common use, containing but the motives for contrition, what, if the penitent's interior dispositions do not reach contrition, whilst at the same time he does not advert to the motives for attrition, or, even if he should, does not formulate or externate them sufficiently so as to make them fit *quasi-materia* for the Sacrament? Are not absolutions in cases such as this invalid? and, if so, are they not in the greater number, inasmuch as the

class of sinners that attrition brings within reach of the sacramental grace is greater than that which contrition does?

“Certainly it is for the confessor to see to the fitness of disposition on the part of the penitent, either by satisfying himself that the confession itself is *dolorosa*, or that the dolor is excited by his exhortation at the end of it, in order to give absolution; but then, confessors have often great crowds waiting beside their confessionals, whilst they are limited in time; and some, not unfrequently, take it for granted the penitents themselves have a care to excite the necessary sorrow. All, however, are not of this way of thinking, and hence the care of some confessors to supplement the act of Contrition, as in common use, by bringing in the motives *ex gehennae vel paenarum metu*, and emphasizing it with the penitent; this being about the best and readiest way of suggesting the motives, and externating the dolor. The act would then run, as all know, somewhat as follows:—

“‘O my God, I am heartily sorry for having offended Thee, because by my sins I lost my right to heaven, deserved hell, and despised Thy infinite goodness. I also grieve for having crucified my loving Saviour Jesus Christ, who deserves all my love. I, therefore, detest all my sins with my whole heart, and am resolved to sin no more.’ Or shorter:—

“‘O my God, I am very sorry for having offended Thee, because by my sins I have lost heaven, deserved hell, and offended Thy infinite goodness. I am now resolved to sin no more.’

“It is not so easy to combine brevity, simplicity, and comprehensiveness, in a good act of sorrow; and hence the reader is likely to have something to say about it.

“From whatever cause, whether from the slowness that attrition had, as sufficient sorrow for the Sacrament, according to the meaning applied in the words of the Council of Trent, in taking hold of the minds of theologians generally, till the days of St. Alphonsus; or from the not very long interval from that time till now; or from some other reason; certain it is, for the fact is patent, that the motives for attrition find but meagre space in our ordinary acts of sorrow; though, of course, they come into our prayers generally. Hence, may we not hope that the new catechism will take under its wing to us through the island a comprehensive act of sorrow, with an element of the motives *ex gehennae vel paenarum* in it.

“For these reasons, therefore, a new catechism, as satisfactory

as may be both in matter and form, and, might it be humbly hoped, uniform for Ireland generally, can hardly fail to be looked on otherwise than as bringing with it a national benefit. It would give additional aid and stimulus to the holy work of instructing the little ones and the ignorant. Without it we are hardly doing justice to the children of our floating population, a section that, with the rapidly increasing means of transit, and the opening of new employments, is likely to go on increasing. Without it we are hardly up to the requirements of the time: we are, in fact, somewhat behind the age; the country, therefore, has reason to rejoice in the prospect of soon rising above its style of catechism of the penal days.

“M. GEOGHEGAN, C.S.S.R.”

---

#### OUR CATECHISMS.

“REV. DEAR SIR,—His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin in his article on ‘Our Catechisms,’ draws attention to the incompleteness of the answers as given in Butler, and shows that many of them, standing apart from the questions, are not only unintelligible, but also ludicrous.

“The Maynooth Catechism attempts to remedy this defect, and, generally, in the answer repeats the question. Some find fault with this method, on the ground that it loads the memory of the child with too many words. But a return to the old system would be an apparent, not a real saving to the memory of the children. For, catechism is taught, not merely that the child may be able to answer the questions given, but chiefly in order that the young may carry away from school knowledge of religious doctrine to be used in after life. This knowledge, the answers in Butler’s Catechism, taken by themselves, do not give, as many of them are unintelligible without the questions. A knowledge, then, of both question and answer becomes necessary.

“In my opinion, each answer should contain a statement of fact, doctrine, or instruction, complete in itself, and capable of being understood when standing alone. If the answer be not intelligible without reference to something which goes before it or comes after it, it is incomplete and defective, and of no practical use to the child.

“I find that the compilers of a catechism, quite recently

published, do not appear to hold this opinion; as in the work, which contains 427 answers, there are 256 which cannot be understood without reference to the questions. In fact, so dependent are they upon the questions, that it would be necessary for an examiner, or a bishop about to confirm a child instructed in this catechism, either to know the text of the questions accurately or to read them out of the book. This is very evident in many of the answers in which pronouns are used, and the nouns whose place they take can only be known by consulting the questions. The examination thus becomes mechanical, and the result is obtained something after the fashion of those ingenious machines called ‘penny in slot,’ which the Automatic Delivery Company provides. You put in a penny, and in return you get your weight declared, a package of sweets, postage stamps, &c. But if you try with a coin of greater value, or even one of the same value in different form—for example, two halfpennies—the machine will not move. So, unless the exact question be given, you will get no result from a child instructed in the answers of this catechism. In fact, the answer only fits one question. Change the question in any way, making it simpler by division, or putting it plainer or in better form, and the machine does not work.

“If a child has committed to memory questions as well as answers, and thoroughly mastered both, I admit that such a child will be able to give an account of the contents of this catechism. But, surely, the compilers did not expect that the majority of children could do this? In point of fact, is any child ever taught to do it? I give some specimens:— ‘Jesus Christ.’ ‘Almighty God the common Father of all.’ ‘In the sepulchre or grave.’ ‘To hell for all eternity.’ ‘There is actual sin.’ ‘Baptism and penance.’ ‘Despair and presumption.’ ‘The Bishops of the Holy Catholic Church.’ ‘The amendment of our lives. By the Sacraments.’ ‘Glorious and immortal.’ (This last just requires the interpolation of the one word, “pious,” to make it the standing toast of the Orangemen.) ‘He confirmed them for ever in glory.’ ‘That we may mortify our passions and appetites, and do penance for our sins.’ ‘All contempt, stubbornness, and disobedience to parents and superiors.’ ‘Because they are holy, and excite our devotion by reminding us of Christ and His saints; they also encourage us to imitate their virtues and good works.’ ‘By prayer, fasting, alms-deeds, indulgences, and particularly by the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.’

'In honour and commemoration of our Saviour's death.' 'It is called her Immaculate Conception.' And so on through the entire work very many of the answers—the exact number is 256—cannot be understood without reference to the question. Indeed, the last answer on the Immaculate Conception requires reference, not only to the question, but also to the answer which immediately precedes it.

"In avoiding this fault of indefiniteness, care should be taken not to go into the opposite extreme, as too close an adherence to the system of repeating the words of the question in the answer gives an appearance of stiffness to the work; and the framing of the question, on account of the necessity of its again appearing in the answer, often taxes the ingenuity of the compiler.—I remain, faithfully yours,

"ATQUR."

---

#### OUR NATIONAL CATECHISM.

"VERY REV. SIR,—I have carefully read the paper on the catechism in the January number of the I. E. Record by his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, and have also spoken to several of the Brothers on the intended changes proposed by his Grace.

"They all agree with me that, giving the substance of each chapter of the catechism as a reading lesson in the first instance, and breaking up the lesson afterwards into concise questions and answers, as far as that could be done, would be a great improvement on the old catechism.

"The simplifying of the questions and the substitution of less difficult words, as suggested by his Grace, would be also a decided boon to children who have to commit the catechism to memory.

"In connection with the reading lesson section, I may, perhaps, be allowed to mention that some years ago the Brothers in Cork, having to prepare the children of the schools for two confirmations in the year, adopted the plan of reducing the questions and answers to reading lessons along with the text: and they found that the children thereby understood the catechism better than formerly, and in a shorter time: but that has all passed away now, and the reading lesson catechism is no longer used, as the Confirmations are not so frequent

"From the care taken by his Grace in the consideration of

this subject, and his suggesting the reading lessons in the catechism, I feel it is unnecessary for me to treat of the great advantage it must be to the children in adopting an easy and simple style for such as are struggling to read, perhaps, the third or fourth standard reading books.—I am, Very Rev. Sir, faithfully yours,

“ RICHARD A. MAXWELL.

“ MARINO, DUBLIN, 19th January, 1892.”

---

#### CEREMONIES OF SOME ECCLESIASTICAL FUNCTIONS.

“ I HAVE seen with pleasure, in the February number of the I. E. RECORD, that several articles which appeared in it from time to time on liturgical questions are now published in one volume; and, though I read the articles as they appeared, I have given an order to its publisher for the new volume. While fully in harmony with the appreciative spirit in which the reviewer notices the work, I fear he was not fortunate in giving us an average specimen of the learned author's writing. His remarks on Holy Saturday are as follows:—

“ ‘ The ceremony of blessing the baptismal font should be performed on Holy Saturday in every church in which there is *de jure* a fixed font. . . . The ceremony should be repeated on the Eve of Pentecost. . . . A parish priest having charge of more than one parish should have all the fonts blessed by as many priests.’ (Pages 178-179.)

“ Now this, to my mind, supposes an obligation where none exists, and is calculated to interfere with the proper celebration of a function, by keeping the priests of a surrounding district away from the cathedral church, which obliges under sin.

“ Pope Benedict XIII., who was so anxious in having the ceremonies of Holy Saturday carried out, as to threaten with excommunication those who disregarded them, required four trained clerics, with a suitable priest, for the ceremonies in a rural parish. This was the greatest concession which the poorest and most rural district could extort from him. But the *Memorial of Rites*, issued for the rural districts, supposes the clerics to be trained so as to help in the blessing of the Paschal candle, in responding to the Prophecies, and to the Psalm, *sicut servus*, &c. They were to be taught to sing in harmony with the celebrant (‘*aequa vocum concordia ea quae in Processionibus recitanda, praecipiuntur*’).

" But Gardellini, having before his mind parishes more rural than those contemplated by the *Memoriale* of Pope Benedict, asks what is to be done in parishes in which there is only one or no cleric who is entitled to wear a surplice? Gardellini, whose decisions are as the law, answers that the ceremonies are better omitted altogether when in such cases they cannot be carried out with decency. (*Bene est ut in his omittantur functiones cum modus desit quo, si non solemniter, debita tamen cum decencia peragantur*).<sup>1</sup>

" We should bear in mind that the law contemplates by clerics those in some ecclesiastical grade.

" Gardellini, under the word *Ministrantes*, gives a decision of the S. Congregation, which declares that those serving at a Conventual Mass should be clerics in surplice.

" On other grounds the blessing of the font in the circumstances is forbidden. I allude to a private blessing apart from Mass, which sometimes is done. A doubt was proposed 'whether in parochial churches, where there was a lack of singers, a private instead of a *Solemn Mass* was allowable in order to have the light, wax, and water, blessed.' The answer was *negative*, n. 3443, July, 1697.<sup>2</sup>

" Now this decision clearly implies that the blessing of the font is not separable from Solemn Mass on Holy Saturday. Without speaking of the divine law, which is opposed to the indecent discharge of religious functions, the positive law of the Church does not command or encourage the blessing of the font in most rural churches.

#### " SYLVESTER MALONE."

[I beg to thank my distinguished and courteous critic, both for the kind reception he has accorded to *The Ceremonies of some Ecclesiastical Functions*, and for the opportunity he has now afforded me of removing an erroneous though pretty general notion about the contents of the book. The book is not made up, as Father Malone implies, merely of the articles published in the *L. E. RECORD*. These articles fill very little more than half the volume; the chapters making up the remaining half are now published for the first time.

<sup>1</sup> *Decreta Authentica*, sub voce *Officium*, 16 C.

<sup>2</sup> S. Cong., 7th Sept., 1862. *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, sub voce *Missa privata*.

In the extract on the ceremonies of Holy Saturday, quoted by Father Malone, these three clear and definite statements are made:—1. The baptismal font should be blessed on Holy Saturday in every Church having *de jure* a fixed font. 2. The ceremony should be repeated on the eve of Pentecost. 3. A parish priest having charge of more than one parish should have the fonts blessed by as many priests. Father Malone does not state clearly which of the three obligations here implied he thinks does not exist, or whether he is of opinion that none of them exists. His arguments, however, seem to be directed against the first alone. To it, then, I shall for the present confine myself, merely stopping to remark that the third obligation is disjunctive both in the book itself, and in the quotation from which Father Malone quoted. The full sentence runs as follows:—

“A parish priest having more than one parish should have all the fonts blessed by as many priests, *or should have blessed water brought from the church in which he himself officiates to replenish the fonts in the other churches.*”

It is contended that the obligation of having the fonts in parish churches blessed on Holy Saturday cannot exist for the following reasons:—(a) Such an obligation would in some cases interfere with a higher obligation, namely, that which urges certain priests to be present in the cathedral on that morning in attendance on the bishop. (b) In most parish churches the requisite ministers cannot be had. (c) Private masses on Holy Saturday are forbidden by a decree of the Congregation of Rites. This last argument may be dismissed at once. This decree was published in the year 1697, and the *Memoriale Rituum* of Benedict XIII., permitting private masses in certain well-defined circumstances, was first published in 1725. Hence, though the decree originally implied “that the blessing of the font is not separable from Solemn Mass on Holy Saturday,” it could no longer continue to imply this after the publication of the *Memoriale Rituum*. Unless, then, as a monument of the former discipline of the Church, the decree of 1697 has no bearing whatever on the present question.

Before replying to the remaining arguments, let me point

out the nature of the obligation for the existence of which I am contending. Like the obligation of every positive law, this one also yields to circumstances. It does not exist in circumstances which render the fulfilment of it either physically or morally impossible. Hence it cannot co-exist with a higher and contradictory obligation. If then a higher obligation, whether of the natural or of the positive law, urges *all* the priests of a parish to be absent on Holy Saturday, whether in the cathedral or anywhere else, the parish priest of that parish is not obliged to have his font blessed on that morning; unless, indeed, he can easily procure a priest not connected with the parish to perform the ceremony. Again, both the natural and the divine law require that all ecclesiastical ceremonies should be performed with decorum, and the positive law of the Church, interpreting the natural and the divine law, commands the priest who performs the ceremony of blessing the font on Holy Saturday, to have four assistants. Hence in making the statement to which Father Malone objects, I did not, and I could not, mean that the obligation implied in that statement urged either those priests who are strictly bound to attendance on their bishop on that morning, or those others who cannot find in their parishes the necessary assistants. We agree, therefore, about the principle; but about the application of the principle, we most decidedly disagree.

He implies that *all* the priests of a district, curates as well as parish priests, are obliged to assist at the blessing of the baptismal font in the cathedral on Holy Saturday. Now, by the general law of the Church, no such obligation is imposed. Canons are, of course, bound to assist at certain functions in the cathedral, and among these the blessing of the font by the bishop on Holy Saturday should be enumerated. But parish priests who are not canons, and *a fortiori* curates who are neither parish priests nor canons, are not bound by any general law to assist at the pontifical ceremonies in the cathedral. At any rate I have been unable to find any trace of such a law. In those dioceses in which there are no canons the bishop must have other assistants, and these may be either parish priests or curates, or partly one and partly

the other, according to the custom of the place. But it would be very strange, indeed, if a bishop selected his assistants in such a manner as to leave even a single parish without one priest during the solemn *Triduum* of Holy Week, or even during one day of it. It is hardly necessary to add that the ceremony of blessing the font is not so exclusively the right of the parish priest that he cannot, if obliged to be absent himself either at the cathedral or at any other place, delegate another to perform it. Hence when Father Malone says that the obligation of blessing the fonts in parish churches on Holy Saturday "is calculated to interfere with the proper discharge of a function, by keeping the priests of a surrounding district away from the cathedral church," he is speaking of a case almost, if not altogether, purely speculative.

The second reason, namely, the utter impossibility of finding in most parishes the proper assistants for the celebrant of the ceremonies of Holy Saturday, and of the other days of this *Triduum*, has considerable weight. Three for Thursday and Friday, and four for Saturday, all clerics, were ordered by Benedict XIII., and Gardellini—undoubtedly a great authority—as quoted by Father Malone, would prefer not to have these ceremonies carried out at all in those parishes where the number of clerics required could not be had. If then it be absolutely necessary for the licit performance of the ceremonies of Holy Week, that the celebrant should be assisted by three or four clerics "in some ecclesiastical grade," it would be practically impossible to have these ceremonies performed at all according to the ritual of Benedict XIII. in any rural parish in any country whatsoever, not to speak of our own. In most countries at the present time it would be easier to find three priests during Holy Week than three ordained clerics. But it is not by any means necessary that the assistants should be clerics in the strict sense.<sup>1</sup> Too much is made by Father Malone of both the words and authority of Gardellini. *Bene est* is a very mild form of expression, and indicates that the

<sup>1</sup> See *The Ceremonies of some Ecclesiastical Functions*, chap. vi., page 231.

writer cannot have had any very strong objection to the doing of what he merely says *it would be well* to omit. Moreover, Gardellini's decisions may be "as the law," but they most assuredly are not the law. His opinion deserves respect, but cannot of itself impose an obligation. Finally, the decree of the Congregation of Rites, requiring the server of a Conventual Mass to be a cleric in surplice has nothing at all to do with the question of the ceremonies of Holy Week in small churches. Of course it would be the proper thing to have clerics to serve at the altar at all times, as well as during Holy Week; but my contention at present is merely that they are no more necessary for the proper and decorous discharge of the functions of Holy Week, and of Holy Saturday in particular, than for the due celebration of parochial mass or vespers on feast days; and that altar boys of ordinary intelligence and training can supply their place as well in the former as in the latter set of circumstances. Ronsée says that it is *congruous* that the assistants in small churches on Holy Saturday should be clerics, in order to lend greater solemnity to the ceremonies, but that it is *not necessary*.<sup>1</sup> Three other writers<sup>2</sup> of name, whose works are at present before me, hold the same opinion; while no writer whose works I have been able to consult commits himself to the statement that *it is necessary* that the assistants on Holy Saturday, or on any other day of Holy Week, should be clerics, to the exclusion of lay boys.

I have, now, disposed of the arguments against the existence of the obligation which has given rise to this

<sup>1</sup> Having quoted a decree of the Congregation of Rites (n. 4163, April 12, 1755, in which these words occur—*Qui facultatem habent totum benedictum quatuor saltem clericos in ministerio habere*—he writes: "*Quatuor saltem clericos, etc. Scilicet de congruitate ad maiorem caeremonie celebritatem non vero de necessitate.*" Ronsée, *Opera Liturgica*, tom. vi. p. 107; Mechliniae, 1830.

<sup>2</sup> "*Ubi deficiunt clerici ordinati subrogari possunt Sæculares.*" Wagelsdorf, *Compendium Sacrae Liturgiae*, n. 159, 2.

"*Jam sæculum hoc ritibus (Memoriale Rituum) requiritur et sufficit, et præter celebrantem præsto sint tres ministri licet laici super plicem edati.*" Hausherr, *Comp. Cæremoniarum* sect. 11, § 12, 2.

"*On tolère généralement que les Cleres proprement dits soient remplacés par des Enfants de chœur.*" Favrel, *Compendium*, p. 445, note. Paris, 1814.

controversy, and have, consequently, established its existence in a negative manner. I shall now do the same thing in a positive manner, and for this purpose I shall at present do no more than cite the following questions addressed to the Congregation of Rites, and the replies given by the Congregation:—

“*Quaer.* An Ecclesia parochialis omnino adigatur ad functiones Sabbati Sancti juxta parvum Caerimoniale sa. me. Benedicti XIII., si sufficienti clero destituatur?”

“*Resp.* Affirmative, et servetur in omnibus solitum juxta parvum Caerimoniale Benedicti XIII.”<sup>1</sup>

“*Quaer.* An in Ecclesiis parochialibus in quibus nullus extat clerus sed solum parochus, possit vel debeat iste facere benedictionem candelarum, cinerum, palmarum, novi ignis Cerei paschalis, fontis baptismalis, et caeterorum hujusmodi, necnon instituere officium Feriae Quintae in Coena Domini; et Feriae Sextae in Parasceve sine cantu et solum privata voce prout celebratur missa privata?”

“*Resp.* Servetur parvum Caerimoniale, a sa. me. Benedicto Papa XIII., ad hoc editum.”<sup>2</sup>

I hope my learned and indulgent critic is now satisfied. For my part, I shall be more than satisfied if he does not find me tripping more seriously elsewhere in the volume of which he has been pleased to speak so kindly.

D. O'LOAN.]

QUESTION REGARDING THE “BENEDICTIO IN ARTICULO MORTIS.”

“REV. DEAR SIR,—The solution of the question proposed by ‘An Inquirer’ in the last issue of the I. E. RECORD surprised me not a little. The question was:—‘In giving the *Benedictio in articulo mortis*, is it necessary to ask the sick person to invoke the Holy Name?’

“1. I am, I have to confess, in exactly the same position as ‘Inquirer.’ I have never done so, though I have endeavoured to secure the dispositions required by the Constitution—*Pia Mater*—of Ben. XIV., and indicated by the rubrics of the ritual. I have, however, yet to learn that he and I, and the many others

<sup>1</sup> n. 4971, 5, die 22 Jul., 1848.

<sup>2</sup> n. 4904, 1, die 23 Maii, 1846.

who no doubt, have followed this practice, have erred in the past in a matter of such very serious importance to the dying.

"2. It will, I fancy, be readily conceded that, in order to impart the plenary indulgence attached to the Apostolic Benediction *in articulo mortis*, it will be quite sufficient to comply with the conditions that are laid down for administering it. Now, the conditions to be complied with by us, missionary priests, in Ireland are those which are prescribed by Pope Benedict XIV. in the aforesaid Constitution, published in the year 1747. To prove what I have here asserted, I shall have to trouble you to insert a most important Decree of Pope Clement XIV., empowering all patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, &c., subjects of the Propaganda, to communicate to the priests of their respective dioceses the privilege of giving the blessing and plenary indulgence to the faithful *in articulo mortis*.

"3. The decree runs thus :—

“*Næ Christianis fidelibus inter Hæreticos et Infideles in qualibet orbis parte degentibus, et in ultimo vitæ discrimine constitutis, ea spiritualia auxilia desint quæ Catholica Pia mater Ecclesia filiis suis a sæculo recedentibus Solet misericorditer impertiri : Sanctissimus D. N. Clemens Div. Prov. Papa XIV. in infrascripto Sec. S.C. De Prop. Fide referente, in Audientia habita die 5 Aprilis, 1772 proximam charitatem, qua illos potius amplectitur, omnibus et singulis RR. PP. DD. Patriarchis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Vicariis Apostolicis, necnon RR. Praefectis, seu Superioribus Missionum tam Cleri Saecularis, quam Regularis in locis Missionum et supramodò existentibus, seu quocunque tempore extiterint, permittitur communicare facultatem impertiendi Benedictionem cum Indulgentia Plenaria Fidelibus praedictis, ad extremam agnoscere redactis : cum et etiam extensione, et facilitatione hujusmodi Sacerdotibus, et respective Missionariis, eorum jurisdictioni subjectis, pro locis tamquam suarum Diocesium, vel pro Missionum Districtibus tantum communicare possint et valeant : *Immo et hac Benedictione impertienda servetur Formula praescripta a San. Mem. Ben. XIV. in Constitutione data 9 Aprilis, 1747. quæ insuper Pia Mater inferius registranda.*”*

"4. It will be observed from this part of the Decree of Pope Clement XIV. that the only condition laid down as necessary for granting the plenary indulgence is a compliance with the formula prescribed by Pope Benedict XIV. in his Constitution, *Pia Mater*, ‘*Dummodo*,’ says Pope Clement XIV., ‘*in hac Benedictione impertienda servetur Formula in scripta a Ben. XIV.*’ Provided that in giving the blessing the formula presented by Benedict XIV.

be preserved. This was the only condition insisted upon by Clement XIV. Now, in the formula of Pope Benedict XIV., which consists of rubrics and the manner or form of imparting the blessing to the faithful, there is not a word about invoking the Holy Name. Every priest is familiar with the formula of Benedict XIV.; it is the one which is found in our rituals, and in the more modern editions of the Roman Breviary and the Diurnal, and each one can see for himself that the invocation of the Holy Name is not specified among the conditions for gaining the plenary indulgence of the Papal Benediction. I conclude, therefore, that the invocation of the Holy Name cannot be an essential condition to the granting or the gaining of the indulgence of the Apostolic Benediction.

“5. What, then, somebody may ask, are the conditions for granting and gaining this indulgence? It is, indeed, not necessary to specify them; they are enumerated very explicitly in Pope Benedict XIV.’s Constitution, and are explained at great length by some of our most eminent writers on the sacred liturgy and the rubrics. They are, however, speaking in a very general way.

“‘EX PARTE SACERDOTIS:—1. Ut sit delegatus ad hanc indulgentiam impertiendam. 2. Ut adhibeat *formulam* a Ben. XIV. praescriptam. 3. Ut infirmum adhortetur, ut morbi incommoda atque dolores . . . libenter perferat, &c. (Vid. Rubricam.)

“‘EX PARTE INFIRMI:—1. Ut gravis sit ejus infirmitas. 2. Intentio saltem interpretativa lucrandi indulgentiam. 3. Actus contritionis et charitatis. 4. Actus quo infirmus mortem aequo ac libenti animo de manu Domini suscipiat,’ &c. The state of grace is also, as a matter of course, necessary.

“6 But it will occur to somebody to say, it is a long time since the days of Benedict and Clement, and it may be that some other Pontiff since then has added the invocation of the Holy Name as a condition necessary for gaining the indulgence. If anybody should say that this has actually been done, it would be for him to prove his assertion, to show his credentials. *Non enim est imponenda obligatio nisi de ea certo constat.* He would, moreover, be in the difficult position of having to explain how the addition has not found its way into the authorized rituals that are in common use among the clergy.

“7. As far as I am aware, no such addition has been made; and, to show that the conditions are now what they were in the time of Pope Clement, I shall—*a*) Give an example of the form

in which our bishops delegate this faculty to their priests ; and (b) the form in which the Propaganda gives the same faculty to those who apply directly to the Sacred Congregation for it. The 'Faculty Paper,' which I have before me has as follows :— Ex potestate S. Antistitibus, Cons. Ben. XIV. incip. Pia Mater, facta, facultatem Indulgentiam Plenariam in articulo mortis impertiendi, Nobis Nostri Episcopatus initio concessam, *ad normam prædictæ Constitutionis* Tibi per totam Diocesim exercendam commendamus.' The Propaganda form is :— 'SSm̃us. Dñus. Noster . . . sequentes facultates benigne concessit . . . S. Impertiendi Benedictionem cum Indulgentia Plenaria Fidelibus in articulo mortis constitutis, *Juxta folium typis impressum*, ac pariter insertum.' The '*folium typis impressum*' contains the *rubric* approved by Benedict XIV. for imparting the Apostolic Benediction, and is the same, both as to rubrics and forms, as that which is found in our rituals. It would, therefore, appear that the essential conditions are to-day the same as they were in the time of Clement, and that the form prescribed by Benedict XIV. is the one still to be followed.

"S. What answer then shall we give to the following?—

"There cannot be two opinions on the point raised by our correspondent. The invocation of the Sacred Name—orally, if possible, otherwise mentally—is an essential condition for gaining the indulgence of the Apostolic Benediction *in articulo mortis*, when the dying person is physically and morally capable of making the invocation in either of the above ways. The explicit and very emphatic declaration of Lehmkuhl should be enough of itself to convince us of this. For it is very unlikely that a theologian of his wonderful acumen would emphasize by the use of italics an assertion that was not practically certain. But the Decree of the Congregation of Indulgences, to which he refers, removes all shadow of doubt. The question was proposed to the Congregation as follows :— '*Invocatio saltem mentalis SS. Nominis Jesu de quo fit mentio in Brevibus ad Episcopos de hac benedictione missis præscribitur, quando aegrotus suæ mentis est compos, ut conditio sine qua non, ad indulgentiam vi istius benedictionis lucrandam.*' To this the Congregation replied in one word—*affirmative*. Therefore, when the blessing is given to a dying person, having the use of his senses, he does not gain the indulgence unless he invokes the Holy Name at least mentally.'

"9. My answer to it is : 'Aequè ac præmissæ extendant conclusio voces.' The conclusion should have been : therefore when the blessing is given to a dying person, having the use of

his senses, he does not gain the indulgence unless he invokes the Holy Name, at least mentally, *Quandocunque in Brevibus ad Episcopos fit mentio de invocatione saltem mentali SS. Nominis Jesu*. The answer of the Sacred Congregation above quoted, and referred to by Lehmkuhl, was given in reply to the special question proposed to it; and in that special case submitted for its decision, it of course 'removes all shadow of doubt.' It is the answer bearing date—not 20th September, 1875, as stated in the I. E. RECORD—but just a century earlier, September, 1775, which is quoted also by De Herdt in his "*Sacrae Liturgiae Praxis*," tom. 3, n. 308. Of it, De Herdt, having first enumerated the usual conditions for gaining the Indulgence, says:—

" 'Praecedentes condiciones in Const. Bened. XIV. requiruntur, sed praeterea aliae atque aliae imponi possunt, et etiam imponuntur in Indultis, quibus facultas benedictionem impertiendi Episcopis Belgii Concedi solet, scilicet: 6° Ut infirmus "Sit Confessus ac sacra Communionem refectus, vel quatenus id facere nequiverit, saltem Contritus nomen Jesu ore, si potuerit, sui minus corde devote invocaverit, et mortem tanquam peccati stipendium de manu Domini patienti atque alacris animo susceperit,"' &c.

"But, it has been said, De Herdt does not say that this condition is peculiar to the indulgences granted to Belgian bishops, and is not contained in the indulgences by which this power is conferred on other bishops. True; but the important point is, he does not say that this condition is contained in the indulgences by which this power is conferred on all other bishops—Irish bishops included; and a wise maxim in matters of this kind is that Canonical one: *Res inter alios acta nobis neque prodesse neque nocere potest*.

"11. But I fancy I hear somebody say, what about our own O'Kane? It was stated that if "An Inquirer" had searched his O'Kane a little more carefully he would have found the condition to which he objected mentioned as one of those required for gaining this Indulgence.'

"12. In order to understand thoroughly O'Kane's position, I think it well to ask you to insert in this place the remaining portion of the Decree of Pope Clement XIV. It continues thus:—

" 'Quoniam autem facile continget, ut aliqui ex praedictis Christifidelibus ex hac vita decedant' (the Decree alludes to the faithful in missionary countries), 'quin Ecclesia Sacramentis

fuertint muniti, et alisque sacerdotis cujuslibet assistentia : ideo sanctitas sua, ex ubere Apostolicæ benignitatis fonte, etiam illis Plenarium Indulgentiam elargitur, si contriti Nomen Jesu, corde saltem, invocaverint, et mortem de manu Domini, ea qua decet, Christiana animi dimissione, et spiritus humilitate susceperint, animamque in manus Creatoris sui commendaverint. Quæ postrema Decreti pars, ut Christifidelibus omnibus innotescat, eam in suis Dioecibus ac Missionibus, Antistites, et Superiores memorati i lenti lem, et præsertim sanctæ visitationis tempore publicare eurent, ac satagant. Datum Romæ ex Aedibus, S. C. D. P. F., die 5 Aprilis, 1772.

“ ‘ S. BORGIA, *Sac. Cong. Secretarius.*’

“ 13. It will be seen at once that the Plenary Indulgence here granted by Pope Clement is quite a distinct one from the Apostolic Benediction. It has reference to an altogether different state of things. It applies to the case in which the dying have not received the last rights of the Church, and have not been consoled by the assistance of a priest in their last illness ; whereas the Apostolic blessing supposes the ministry of a priest. The faithful are not, however, forgotten in this trying ordeal, for many indulgences are held out to them, and may be gained by them on very easy terms. This one, granted by Pope Clement, may be gained by complying with the conditions mentioned in his Decree, viz : — (a) being contrite, *i.e.*, in the state of grace ; (b) invoking the Sacred Name with the heart, if not with the lips ; (c) accepting death with resignation and humility from the hands of God ; and (d) by commending their soul into the hands of their Creator. I must not be understood to say that it is necessary to make each one of these four acts distinctly and separately.

“ 14. O’Kane, having treated of the Apostolic Benediction, says, under N. 978 :—

“ ‘ It may be observed that this (the Apostolic Benediction) is not the only Plenary Indulgence that can be obtained at the hour of death. A great many have been granted for this hour to the faithful who are members of certain pious confraternities, who practise certain devotions, or who have rosaries, crosses, medals, &c., to which the indulgences are attached, provided they comply with the requisite conditions . . . N. 979 : ‘ The conditions required for those granted *in Articulo Mortis* are very easy. They are, for the most part, those acts which should, in any event, be frequently elicited by the Christian in danger of death—acts of contrition, acts of the love of God, and of perfect resignation to His holy will, *and the invocation of the Sacred Name with the heart, if not with the lips.*’

"15. It will be observed that this passage, beginning with N. 979, was the one quoted in the last number of the I. E. RECORD ; and from the context of O'Kane, which I have here furnished, it must be quite evident to anybody that in it he is not speaking of the Apostolic Benediction, neither is he treating of the conditions that are requisite for giving it. Indeed, he makes this too clear by the very formal mode of transition from subject to subject which he adopts :—'The Apostolic Benediction is not the only Plenary Indulgence that can be gained at the hour of death. A great many have been granted for this hour. . . . The conditions required for gaining them are very easy,' &c., I fail, therefore, to see by what elaborate process of searching, 'Inquirer,' could have discovered in O'Kane, that the invocation of the Sacred Name is an essential condition for gaining the indulgence of the Apostolic or Papal Benediction. I should have rather said to him, *Inquirer non est inquietandus*.

" SACERDOS DUBLINENSIS."

[The solution which I gave in last month's I. E. RECORD, and which is here criticized with so much learning and ability, has, I understand, attracted considerable attention. This is not surprising. For if it be true what I have stated, that the invocation of the Sacred Name by a dying person who is physically and morally capable—not *incapable* as it was wrongly printed—is an essential condition of gaining the indulgence of the Blessing in *Articulo mortis*, it does seem unaccountable that all reference to this condition should be absent from the approved liturgical books in which the form for this blessing is given. However, if it be proved *a priori* that this invocation is an essential condition, the fact that it is not mentioned among the conditions in the liturgical books will not change the case. And I take it that the decree of 1775 does prove this to be an essential condition. "Sacerdos Dublinensis" admits that the decree in question has this force when mention of the invocation of the Sacred Name is made in the Briefs granting powers to bishops to give this blessing, and to subdelegate their priests to give it. Now when I was writing the reply to "Inquirer" of last month, I was of opinion that all bishops get exactly similar Briefs with regard to the

*Benedictio in Articulo mortis.* Hence I did not deem it necessary to make that addition to my conclusion which "Sacerdos Dublinensis" suggests.

My opinion that the Briefs sent to different bishops are not themselves different, receives no little support from the very question proposed to the Congregation of Indulgences about which the present controversy mainly centres. "Invocatio saltem mentalis . . . de quo fit mentio in Brevibus ad Episcopos missis praescribitur, etc.?" There is in this question no word or phrase limiting *Episcopos* to the bishops of any province, nation or race. Besides, the several authors who state that this invocation is an essential condition add no limiting clause. De Herdt, of course, says that the invocation of the Sacred Name is mentioned in the Briefs sent to the Belgian bishops; but as he does not state that this is peculiar to Belgium, and as all the other authors I have been able to consult satisfied themselves with the general statement, I again concluded that all bishops received similar Briefs. This conclusion may be erroneous; "Sacerdos Dublinensis" says it is; at all events it is a question of fact which can be decided, as far as this country is concerned, by a glance at one of the Briefs which our bishops receive. But if it be erroneous, it is certainly the opinion of several eminent authors whose works are now before me. Their words must convince anyone of this.

"Certo essentialis conditio est ut nomen Jesu pie invocetur, idque etiam ore, si possibile est, alioquin saltem corde." (Lehmkuhl, v. 2, n. 564, 4 b.)

"Conditiones hujus indulgentiae (in *Articulo mortis*) lucrandae sunt, (a) . . . (b) . . . (c) invocatio nominis *Jesu* saltem mentalis." (Wapellhorst, *Compen. Lit.*, n. 294, 3.)

"Le mourant doit invoquer au moins de cœur, s'il ne le peut de bouche le saint nom de Jesus. La réponse a la question suivante declare cette condition essentielle. *Invocatio*, etc.?" (P. F. Beringer, S.J., *Les Indulgences*, etc., tom. 1, part 2, sect. 3, n. 14.)

The last-named writer, Father Beringer, S.J., was Consultor of the Congregation of Indulgences, and both the

original work, written in German, and the French translation from which I quote, have printed on the first page a special decree of this Congregation approving of the work. Yet Father Beringer's words prove conclusively that in his opinion the invocation of the Sacred Name is an essential condition, not merely in this or that particular country or set of circumstances, but in all places and in all circumstances, provided the dying person is able to make the invocation. The words I have quoted from Lehmkuhl and Wapelhorst show that such was their opinion also. Lehmkuhl's Theology is a work intended for the whole world, and not for any particular country. Had the writer been aware that in any country this condition is not essential he should have given some hint that such is the case. Wapelhorst, writing in America, whose bishops, like ours, receive their faculties from Propaganda, gives the invocation of the Sacred Name among the essential conditions for gaining this indulgence, and hints at no exception. In face of this testimony, I think "*Sacerdos Dublinensis*" must be a brave man if even he *non est inquietandus*.

He says, however, that the Briefs sent to Irish bishops contain no mention of this condition. If so, all right; it is then not an essential condition for us. But until his statement is confirmed he will pardon me for continuing to hold the *tutior pars*, and for saying that every priest in every country should regard this condition as essential, unless he is officially informed by his bishop that it is not essential. Before the next issue of the I. E. RECORD I shall strive to procure a copy of the Briefs given to our bishops. I should have done this before replying to "*Sacerdos Dublinensis*;" but I did not know of his letter until the very last moment before this issue of the I. E. RECORD went to press, thus leaving me only a few hours to write this reply.

D. O'LOAN.]

## Document.

---

### IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS OF THE IRISH HIERARCHY ON THE EDUCATION QUESTION.

At a General Meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, held on the 10th of February, 1892, at Holy Cross College, Clonliffe, the following resolutions on the Irish Education Question were adopted :—

“ I. That we press upon the attention of the Government and the authorities of the Irish Educational Department the inequality of the present rate of capitation payment in the case of convent schools, the superior efficiency of the teachers of those schools being abundantly demonstrated by the results of their teaching, as shown in the official returns published from year to year by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland.

“ II. That we recommend the adoption of the following principles in the distribution of the additional grants now available for the purpose of education :—

“ (1) That if any change is to be made in the present arrangements regarding the payments of school fees, a sum of £100,000 should be applied for the establishment in Ireland of a system of assisted education on the lines of the scheme recently adopted in England.

“ (2) That the balance of the grant should be applied for the augmentation of the teachers' salaries, an addition such as will secure equality of treatment being made to the capitation payments in cases where teachers are paid by capitation in lieu of class salaries.

“ III. That, as an Education Bill for Ireland is to be introduced by Her Majesty's Government, we take this opportunity of renewing the claim so frequently put forward by us on former occasions for the adoption of the recommendation made in the report of the Powis Commission of 1868-70, in reference to the removal of restrictions upon religious freedom in schools that are attended exclusively by Catholic or by Protestant children, in districts where sufficient school accommodation is provided for all the children in separate schools, under Catholic or Protestant management respectively.

“ IV. That we also renew our protest against the continued maintenance of the model schools.”

## Notices of Books.

---

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ARCHBISHOP ULLATHORNE, WITH SELECTIONS FROM HIS LETTERS. London : Burns & Oates. New York : Catholic Publication Society Company.

IT is a genuine pleasure to us to recommend to our readers this story of a great man's life told by himself. Such a work must always be of interest and instruction.

“Lives of great men all remind us  
We can make our lives sublime.”

But over and above the ordinary interest which belongs to such works, the life of Archbishop Ullathorne is surrounded by a halo of romance, which gives a rare charm to his biography. Life at sea is not an ideal preparation for the ecclesiastical state; and it is seldom, indeed, that a lad who begins life as cabin-boy on a trading vessel ends it as archbishop.

In a chatty, frank, and always interesting style, the Archbishop carries the reader from stage to stage of his strangely chequered career, and not for one moment is the narrative dull, or the treatment of any subject commonplace. In the opening page we are told how he was “descended from gentle birth,” his father being connected with the great chancellor and martyr, Sir Thomas More, and his mother with the famous Arctic navigator, Sir John Franklin. Then, lest this should seem to savour of family pride, we are told, on the next page, that his grandfather was a shoemaker.

He tells us that he himself was born in Pocklington, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, on May 7, 1806. When he was nine years old, his family went to reside at Scarborough. There he first saw the sea, which was soon to be his home; and he speaks of the expansion which this “wonder of creation gave to his mind.”

“I was a heavy, clumsy, lumpy urchin,” he says, “with what a Protestant clergyman's daughter described as large, blobbing eyes. I cared little for play, and my parents did not know what they could ever make of me.” At the age of twelve he was put to his father's business—grocery, drapery, and wine; but, imaginative youth as he was, he soon tired of this uncongenial work, and, bent upon seeing the world, determined to go to sea. At the age of thirteen he became cabin-boy on a Scarborough trading vessel,

and made voyages to the Mediterranean and the Baltic. The summer skies of the Baltic enchanted him, and he gives a beautiful description of a sunrise witnessed there. "Perhaps, the most beautiful scene that I ever saw in creation was a sunrise in the Baltic. The summer nights in that climate were to me enchanting. The sun went down with a large, glowing disc, and in a couple of hours was up again, so that one could read a good print at midnight. But on that wonderful morning the sun, as he rose, had fairly centred himself in a glowing sphere of amber, expanding beyond into a rich orange, which passed into crimson, and then into purple, covering half the hemisphere with these brilliant hues, whilst the opposite half-hemisphere was a pale reflection of the same, and the disc was chequered with these colours, like a stained window. I once, and only once, saw a counterpart to this gorgeous spectacle, in a sunset in the tropics. It was on my first voyage to Australia. The whole western sky was banked up from the horizon with crimson clouds, presenting, with their shades and salient lights, the picture of a lofty mountain range, with a city piled in pyramidal form, like Algiers, with its towers and battlemented walls: but all of glowing flame, intense as a furnace."

The story of "Bill's" sailor life is intensely interesting; his narrow escapes from drowning on two occasions; his desertion from his vessel because the skipper kicked him; his return to sea upon another vessel—everything is told in the most natural way, and here and there are beautiful descriptions of the places touched at in his voyage.

Three years of his life had been spent at sea, when one Sunday morning, at Memel, in East Prussia, he went to hear Mass, and all at once the rudder of his life was turned, and the sailor boy was soon to become the soldier of Jesus Christ. "The Mass had begun when we entered the chapel. . . . The men knelt on the right side, the women on the left; . . . with their hands united, and their eyes recollected; they were singing the Litany of Loretto to two or three simple notes, accompanied by an instrument like the sound of small bells. The moment I entered I was struck by the simple fervour of the scene; it threw me into a cold shiver; my heart was turned inward upon myself; I saw the claims of God upon me, and felt a deep reproach within my soul."

On his return to London, he wrote to his parents that he wished to give up sea-life, and return home; and his next step was to enter the Benedictine Priory of Downside. This was in

February, 1823, when, though he had seen so much of the world, he was not yet seventeen years of age.

Of his collegiate life and studies at Downside, we have a full and interesting account till his ordination as priest in 1831; then he gives a graphic description of his voyage to Australia, the following year, as Vicar-General of Australia, and His Majesty's Catholic Chaplain in New South Wales; of his labours and difficulties, and successes, in the Colonies; of his heartrending experience among the convicts of Norfolk Island, and of his ceaseless efforts to abolish the brutal convict system. His return to England in 1835; his visit to Maynooth to seek young priests for the Australian mission; his impressions of men and things in Ireland; his return to Australia; his final departure thence for England in 1840; his second visit to Maynooth, when he preached the annual retreat to the students of the college—all is described in the most fresh and interesting style that makes the book more pleasant reading than many a work of fiction. On his subsequent labours as priest in Coventry; his appointment as bishop to the See of Adelaide, which he was permitted to decline; his acceptance, under obedience, of the office of Vicar-Apostolic in the Western District; and, finally, his appointment to the Midland District, when he went to reside in Birmingham, he has much of interest to say; much that throws light upon important contemporary events.

The "Autobiography" ends with the year 1850, and the restoration of the English hierarchy, for which, ever since his return from Australia, he had striven so strenuously.

From this imperfect outline the reader will see that Dr. Ullathorne's was no ordinary career; and that the materials for his biography were not far to seek. Fortunately, too, he was a man who could not only make history, but could also write it; and so we have, in this history of himself, a delightful book, a relic of a great and good man, which we should like to see enshrined in the library of every priest.

It is a decided defect in the editing of the "Autobiography" that it has neither a table of contents nor an index, and we hope that when the second edition is being published, this will be remedied.

J. M. R.

# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

APRIL, 1892.

## THE CHURCH AND DIVORCE.

THE sacredness of marriage was one of the severe touchstones that separated the Old Dispensation from the New. We have it in our Lord's own words: "And there came to Him the Pharisees tempting Him." (Matt. xix. 3.) Their *temptation* was about this knotty question of divorce: "Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause?" Our Lord's answer was: "Have ye not read, that He who made man in the beginning, made them male and female? And He (who made them) said: For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and cleave to his wife," &c. There was something in this answer that did not exactly correspond with their notion of things, for they said, "Why then did Moses command to give a bill of divorce?" Plainly our Lord and the Pharisees were, so to say, at odds and ends. They were at one side, and He at the other of the question. Our Lord then laid down the law, representing the two beliefs. "Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, permitted you to put away your wives." But our Lord was not going to take into account that *hardness of heart*. His law was going to proceed on different lines. In this matter, evidently, He was not going to follow Moses. "From the beginning," is His answer, "it was not so. And I say to you," &c.

As the question of the indissolubility of marriage is not to be discussed in this article, but rather the historical aspect of divorce, there is no necessity of going at any further

length into the discussion on this text. All that is necessary here to be remembered is, that our divine Lord was in opposition to the teaching and to the customs of the Jews with regard to divorce.

But as it was in the beginning, so has it continued to be ; one of the severe touchstones pointing out the religion that is with Christ from those religions that are with the Pharisees, is still the sacredness of marriage. This teaching was the Church's invariable practice in its earliest and freshest days. We will not look to Church history for a proof, nor to ecclesiastical annals ; but we open the pages of *Hansard*, where, least of all, a proof might be supposed to be found. In the volume for July, 1857, we read :—" In respect of history, I make this proposition boldly, that for the first three hundred years after Christ, you have not a shred or a vestige of divorce with re-marriage for any cause whatever." Mr. Gladstone is the author.<sup>1</sup> That was standing by Christ rather than by the Pharisees ; and, surely, nowhere could there be found a better interpreter of the words and intentions of our divine Lord than the Church of the first three hundred years. And if the Catholic Church of to-day be of the same mind as the Church of the first three hundred years, nothing can more certainly than that prove that its stand is with and by Christ, and not with the Pharisees. It was, moreover, foretold to the Church that if it were of the world, the world would love it ; but because it was not of the world, the world would hate it.

The sacredness of marriage steps in here again, and once more acts the touchstone. The world, because of *its hardness of heart*, asks that its passions be, if not pandered to, at least tolerated. Christian men stepped into the power once held by Roman Caesars ; power seeks for satisfaction and indulgence, and will not brook restraint ; and these men demanded that their desires should be the law ; that their appetites should be accounted above and beyond the moral code. As before God, however, all men are equal, so before His Church, His representative on earth, all are equal too. Indeed the

<sup>1</sup> See Speech on Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Bill.

Church would no longer be His representative, if, when He said one thing, it said another. It is His representative; and here is a touchstone that proves its representation. "From the beginning," He said, "it was not so; and I say to you, it shall be no more." "From the beginning," it says, "it was not so; for the first three hundred years it was not so; to-day it is not so; and for ever it shall not be." Thus, in the first three hundred years did the Church witness to the truth; and in those years *the sacredness of marriage* was one of the touchstones that distinguished it from the false religions that surrounded it.

Of the Roman laws, in or about the Christian era, we read that, in the matter of divorce, they had sadly degenerated from the ancient Roman laws of the republic. Historians, accounting for the degeneracy of the old Roman stock and blood, point to this matter of divorce as one of the elements helping to bring about the change. Denis of Haliarnassus, contrasting the laws of the two periods, writes in great praise of the early Roman laws, because of their stringency in the matter of divorce. "Then," he says, "there existed an unalterable confidence between husband and wife; and there was no need for legislation to compel persons to get married."

Under Augustus there was passed the strange law, compelling the patricians to get married; and Seneca says that the law compelling marriage was not looked upon as a very burdensome or vexatious enactment, inasmuch as any day whatsoever they could get released under its counterpart, the law of divorce. The witty Juvenal tells that many of the high-born dames at Rome had the happy secret of changing eight husbands in five years. St. Jerome says, that he himself saw interred at Rome a venerable lady, who had the fortune of being invited to change her name only two-and-twenty times.

No wonder, under the circumstances, that we find St. Augustine almost savagely laying it down—"that marriage was from God, but divorce from the devil." "Everyone," he says, "who knows the Catholic faith, knows full well that marriage was instituted by God, *conjunctio a Deo, ita divortium a diabolo sit.*" Indeed it

was what might be expected ; when a nation grows rich, and loses the severity of its early life, then effeminacy steps in, and a consequent laxity of morals is the result. The Church, then, in the first three hundred years took its stand unflinchingly and unwaveringly by Christ, and would not yield to *the world's hardness of heart* ; but ever taught, and ever practised, that " it was not so from the beginning."

We next call on the Dark Ages—for many a thing foul and hushed up is said to be done in those Dark Ages—we call upon them for their testimony ; and lo ! they put forward *en evidence* the famous cases of Philip and Bertrade, and Philip and Agnes. In the time of the first Philip of France, there was a remarkable woman at one of the provincial courts. Bertrade was the daughter of Simon of Montfort. It was well known that there were illicit relations between her and Foulk, Count of Anjou, even during the lives of the first two wives of Foulk. She was now married to him ; but she seemed to covet higher honours, and thought that the throne of France was not quite out of her reach. Having met at one of those tournaments then prevalent, the king was captivated by her, and at once began to take steps to make her his queen. At this time, Philip's legitimate wife, Bertha, had borne him three children, and was still living.

A secret conclave was held, at which the queen was divorced, and ordered, because of her conduct, to be imprisoned in one of the king's castles. Philip's next desire was to have this step approved by the bishops of the kingdom, and then to be married and crowned in a public ceremony with Bertrade. There was a young bishop, however, lately appointed to the diocese of Chartres, whom Philip greatly feared. This bishop, Ives, had gone to Rome to be consecrated, and on his return Philip received him with the loudest acclamations, cautiously had the matter broached to him, offered all manner of honours, and then solicited his acquiescence. It was told him that all the rest of the bishops had agreed ; but Ives gave for answer : that he had not yet known the minds of the bishops, and that until his own conscience was clear on it, he would not sanction by

his presence what, at best, seemed to be a very suspicious matter. The king found the body of bishops firmer than he had thought; and, fearing a tumult if the ceremony was performed publicly, he had the marriage performed in private. The bishops immediately condemned the act: some of the lords raised troops to wage war on the king, and the Pope called on the French episcopacy to examine the whole affair according to the canons, to declare the marriage null if on examination it was found to be what apparently it was, and if the king were not obedient to the canons to use the censures of the Church. The king suspected Ives to be at the bottom of the whole matter, and Overpau entered and pillaged the lands belonging to him; and one of the king's courtiers, Hugh, Count of Chartres, took the bishop a prisoner, and confined him in his castle. At the remonstrance of the united body of bishops, however, the king relented, and the bishop was released. Having done this act of grace, the king went so far as to solicit the approval of the Pope: and, failing that, called for a council to examine his case. Of course this was all for the purpose of gaining time. The king wanted to have it held at Rheims, in his own kingdom; but in order to secure full liberty for the council to discuss all necessary matters, the Pope ordered that it be held at Abbeville, then outside the estates of the king. At this council Bertha, the mother of the king's three children, was declared to be the king's legitimate wife: and excommunication was directed against him for putting her away and taking another woman. Philip threatened to take part with Gilbert, the antipope; but his threats were looked upon as the outcome rather of passion than of determination. Wherever he went he yielded to the necessary effects of the excommunication: the public office and public ceremonies of the Church were everywhere suspended on his approach: and, it is said, that he himself would not put on his crown.

At this time his wife, Bertha, died. Up to this it was plain as noonday the position the Church ought to take up: but in this juncture what ought it to do? Now he was free to marry, and would it not end all scandal if these two were

married. The unexpected death of Bertha, the queen, led, however, to suspicions of foul play; and it would manifestly be to the injury of society if it were allowable to undermine the life of a spouse in order that the other party may be free to marry a third person for whose sake the death has been brought about. For this reason it was declared that Philip and Bertrade were not free to marry. This was in the beginning of 1095. Notwithstanding the censures of the Church, they still continued to live together. About this time Pope Urban II. came to France to stir up the nation in favour of the Crusades. Before leaving he had an interview with the king. The king came to the Council of Nîmes, where the Pope was, and promised that he would send away Bertrade; that he was tired of his shameful and sinful life; that he was sorry for the scandal he had given; and now begged for absolution from the Pope's hands for all censures. Joyfully the Pope gave it, and having finished his other works returned to Italy. Scarcely was he beyond the Alps, however, when Philip's fit of fervour faded away, and he once more brought the woman to his court.

In July, 1099, Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Crusaders; but Urban, though he was alive when it fell, heard the news of its fall in another world. Pascal II. succeeded him. He at once ordered his legates to summon a council to meet at Poitiers, and to have the bishops there take united steps against the king. At once excommunication was launched against Philip and Bertrade, and to such an extent did the whole nation join in it that though the king and Bertrade remained for fifteen days at Sens, not one church would open its doors to the monarch.

He continued a miserable and unhappy life until the 5th December, 1104, when he received absolution at the Council of Paris. The remainder of his life was spent in penitence; a promise of which was given by his coming barefooted that December day to the Council. To the last he had hoped to obtain a dispensation to marry, but to the last he was refused; he then wanted to join a monastery, but would not be permitted. His end was unexpected and sudden, but not unprepared.

In this case the Church witnessed to the indissolubility of the marriage bond: but it did more, it defended the outposts that render the sacredness of the domestic life invulnerable. If it permitted Philip, after shortening the life of his queen, as was reasonably suspected, to be joined in wedlock to the woman for whose sake the attempts were made on the queen's life, then a premium would be set upon attempts to shorten the life of either of the conjugal party. In that case such a wrench would be given to domestic happiness and the confidences of married life, that what Jesus Christ meant as a sacrament of heavenly and earthly peace, would be but as the bonds of Dalilah when Sampson awoke, and broke them, "as a man might break a thread of tow when it smelleth the fire."

It may be of use to bring forward an example from the Bible, and see how Almighty God regards such matters. In the eleventh chapter of the Second Book of Kings is related the fall of David, as well as his subsequent attempt to get the brave Urias out of the way. In this attempt David was unhappily successful. Now when Urias was dead, and when Bathsheba was pregnant, what would a reasonable person of the nineteenth century think that David ought to do: in fact, what was there left him "in honour" to do, but the one thing, namely, to marry the woman? Well, let us see what God thought of that one thing that "in honour" David was bound to do. "And the wife of Urias," we read, "heard that Urias, her husband, was dead, and she mourned over him: and the mourning being over, David sent and brought her into his house, and she became his wife, and she bore him a son; *and this thing that David had done was displeasing to the Lord.*" (2 Kings, xi. 26, 27.)

The teaching of the Catholic Church on the matter of divorce is thus briefly and neatly stated by Dr. McCarthy: "The teaching of the Catholic Church has always been, that the bond of marriage (consummated) between Christians cannot be dissolved but by the death of one of the parties. This doctrine is clearly laid down in the New Testament. Mark x. 11, 12: 'And He saith to them: Whosoever shall put away his wife, *and marry another*, committeth adultery

against her; and if the wife put away her husband, *and be married to another*, he committeth adultery.' Luke xvi. 18: 'Every one that putteth away his wife, *and marrieth another*, committeth adultery; and he that marrieth her that is put away from her husband, committeth adultery.' Rom. vii. 2, 3: 'For the woman that hath a husband, while her husband liveth is bound to the law. But if her husband be dead, she is loosed from the law of her husband. *Therefore, while her husband liveth, she shall be called an adulteress, if she be with another man*; but if her husband be dead, she is loosed from the law of her husband; so as that she is not an adulteress.' 1 Cor. vii. 10, 11: 'But to them that are married, not I, *but the Lord commandeth*, that the wife depart not from her husband; and if she depart, *that she remain unmarried*, or be reconciled to her husband.'

"In these four passages," concludes Dr. McCarthy, "the indissolubility of marriage is expressly and universally asserted without the least hint at any exception." (Comment on St. Matthew xix. 9.)

"If we read but the history of the Middle Ages [says Balmez], of that immense scene of violence, where the barbarian, striving to break through the bonds which civilization attempted to impose on him, appears so vividly; if we recollect that the Church was obliged to keep guard incessantly and vigilantly, not only to prevent the ties of marriage from being broken, but, moreover, to preserve virgins (and even those who were dedicated to God) from violence, we shall clearly see, *that if she had not opposed herself as a wall of brass to the torrent of sensuality, the palaces of kings and the castles of seigneurs would have speedily become their seraglio and harems.*"<sup>1</sup>

An example of this has already been given. We now proceed to give one other, taken also from those turbulent times of the feudal lord, and the self-willed baron, and the all-powerful, relentless sovereign; and then move on to later days. Philip Augustus had been ordered home from Palestine by his doctors. At this time he was a widower. On approaching his native France, reports reached him of a princess in Denmark, who was the wonder and model of her

<sup>1</sup> *European Civilization*, page 116.

time, fair beyond the daughters of men, and virtuous as fair. He despatched ambassadors to sue for the hand of this wondrous princess. They went and were successful. Like Rebecca of old, she left her home, and travelled with the messengers of her future lord. As soon as Philip was made aware of her coming, he set out at once to meet her, desirous to see his beautiful bride, the theme of all tongues, and the love of all hearts. They met at Amiens, and Isembourg of Denmark seemed to the eyes of Philip not only equal to, but far beyond anything that rumour had spoken of her. So taken was the king by her appearance and manner, that the very day they met, that day they were married. But next day came a change, *mirabile dictu*; and Philip "hated her," in the words of Holy Writ, "with an exceeding great hatred; so that the hatred with which he hated her was greater than the love with which he had loved her before." Historians relate this fact in all circumstances, and there seems no reason to doubt it; but so singular did it seem then, as indeed it does now, that the change was attributed to witchcraft. In three months, at any rate, from the date of the marriage, Philip convened an assembly of bishops and knights at Compiègne. The Archbishop of Rheims, uncle to the king, and legate to the Pope, presided over this council. The king laid before them his great scruples of conscience; that he had found that he was a distant relative of Isembourg, the impediment of consanguinity before the Council of Trent extended much further than now, and producing witnesses to prove the existence of relationship, he begged of the bishops that the marriage he declared null. The assembly found that the evidence of the witnesses proved the case of the king; and thereupon the prelates present declared the nullity of the marriage, and that the king was free.

Philip wished that Isembourg would be conveyed back to Denmark; but she declared that she was the true and lawful wife of the king, and that since her conscience would not permit her to enter into second nuptials, she demanded that she be allowed to enter a nunnery, and there devote her life to serving the King of kings. For this purpose the

king chose a convent in Flanders, and left her to live there (it is said) in the greatest poverty.

This convent was in the diocese of Tournay. A young and a distinguished man was then bishop of the diocese. This good ecclesiastic, Stephen, had been abbot of St. Genevieve, in Paris. His nomination was made to the diocese by the Archbishop William, uncle to the king, while the king was with the Crusaders in the East; and the monarch looked with such favour on this young bishop that, while abbot, he had acted as godfather to one of the king's children by a previous marriage. Stephen was thus bound by ties of obligation to the throne: but, notwithstanding all these, the pitiable state of Isenbourg, and the harsh way she was treated, touched him to the heart.

His first endeavour was to soften the prejudices of the Archbishop William, who had pronounced sentence against her. His letter is extant:—

“I leave to God [he said] to pass judgment in so delicate a matter; but I cannot help feeling grieved when I see a princess of royal blood reduced to beg for the necessities of life, after selling her ornaments and portion of her clothes. Anyone would be touched to see her so patient in the midst of so much misery. It is seldom, indeed, we see one of her birth and dignity, whose virtues are their highest recommendation. She passes the whole day in prayer, pious lecture, and manual labour. Nothing but what is serious or penitential occupies her mind, and she wastes not a moment on idle things or vain conversation. From the early morning till noon she is occupied in prayer; and in one less mortified and less holy it could hardly be believed that all her prayers and wishes are for the welfare of the king.”

Such a character, coming from a man of Stephen's well-known ability, prudence, and penetration, could not be without its weight. At the same time the cries of compassion of all virtuous and good people were heard on every side. The kingdom of Denmark was sorely writhed; and the king of that country, who was brother to the Princess Isenbourg, carried his complaints to the ear of the Holy Father.

Pope Celestine was then very old; he at once saw, however, that wrong, or at any rate informality, had been

committed; and he quashed the sentence on the ground that it was reserved for the Holy See alone to judge the cause of princes. This was the 13th March, 1196; and, in the June following, Philip married Agnes of Meranie; and throughout France nothing was said or done. Celestine III. died, however, on the 8th January, 1198; and on that very day there ascended the throne of the fisherman one of the most remarkable popes that ever sat thereon. While the old man was in his declining days, he was anxious that Cardinal John of St. Paul should be elected his successor; and had even offered to resign, so that the cardinal might be elected. All agree in saying that he would have made a fit and excellent pope; but it was pointed out that, in resigning the papacy for the sake of electing John, the Pope was interfering with the freedom of election on the part of the cardinals. It may be with the intention of shutting out John; but whatever be their intention, on the very day of the death of the Pope, the cardinals, contrary to all usage, met and elected Cardinal Lothaire, of the house of Segni, who took the name of Innocent III. He was then a young man of but thirty-seven years; but was one deserving of the highest honours by his learning as well as by the purity of his life; and the hopes that were formed of him at the time of his election were fulfilled, and even surpassed, by the grandeur and dignity of his reign, and the nobility of his heart and soul. Many things demanded the attention of the Pope. It was the time when the Crusaders were returning from the East, bringing with them new ideas and trains of thought and modes of life from their travels and their intermingling with other nations. Germany, England, Sicily, had each its own trouble; yet the cause of the lone woman on her knees in the convent in far-away Flanders did not escape him. He sent as his legate, Peter of Capua, into France, with orders to push the matter vigorously. Some overtures were made to Philip, which Philip listened to, and played with. But he had a stern man to deal with in the legate. As soon as it appeared that the monarch was not to be brought to reason by gentle means, Peter laid the whole kingdom under interdict, and threatened with suspension any bishop who

hesitated to obey. So absolutely had the whole king's dominions obeyed the order of the Pope's legate, that Philip could not find a spot in which his son, Louis, could be married to Blanche of Castile. He had to beg of the king of England, who was Blanche's uncle, to allow the ceremony to be performed in portion of his territory: for the kings of England at that time had portion of France: and it was in this place that the marriage was performed, no sacraments being allowed to be administered within the royal dominions.

Scarcely was the religious ceremony over, than Philip set himself to be avenged of the Church, for the slight it had put upon him in the face of Europe. He drove bishops from their sees, canons and clerics from their choirs, parish priests from their benefices, seized on their goods, distrained them, and while his anger lasted, harassed them in every way that his passion could suggest. The storm, however, in a short while blew over, and the cries of his people, and the qualms of his own conscience, made him regret what he had done in his anger. Once again, therefore, he opened negotiations with the Pope; but the latter required that Agnes should be put away, and Isembourg taken back, and that all things should stand as they stood before the pretended divorce had been spoken before he would hear of any negotiations. Philip consulted his barons and bishops; and their advice was to yield to the Pope. Seeing among the counsellors who gave this advice his uncle William, the Archbishop of Rheims, the same who had declared the sentence of divorce—"the sentence you pronounced then at Compiègne," he cried in bitterness, "was simply a delusion;" and ordered him out of his presence. There was, however, no alternative under the circumstances, and the king reluctantly parted with Agnes, and sent for Isembourg. A council was then called, to meet at Soissons; the Pope wrote to the King of Denmark to send the queen counsellors; and the whole case was to be tried anew. The annalists tell a strange thing: they say, that when Isembourg's defenders had stated her case, they withdrew, on the plea that the legate of the Pope was favourable to Philip. In this

junction, when the innocent queen was without an advocate, a poorly-dressed, unknown ecclesiastic stood up in court, and prayed the judge to be allowed to defend innocence; and on being permitted, he pleaded, they say, with such eloquence and power, that the cause was at once decided in the queen's favour. Next morning Philip hurriedly left the place, carrying with him the queen; whom, however, he still kept a prisoner for some time in one of his fortresses. After some further communications with the Pope, Philip, finding Innocent not to be moved, took back his wife, and thereby gave himself peace of mind, joy to his kingdom, and edification to Christian Europe. He lived ever after in union with her, till the time of his death, which occurred in his fifty-eighth year, and which was religious and consoling.

Thus it was in the Dark Ages, as in the Early Ages, the Church of Christ bore witness, at the side of its divine Founder, that "it was not so from the beginning." The end of the Middle Ages will supply us with the famous case of Queen Catherine and Henry VIII.; on which *the Calendars of Letters and State Papers*,<sup>1</sup> illustrating the reign of Henry VIII., and the historical industry and research of Father Bridgett, C.S.S.R., have thrown valuable additional light; and the case of Napoleon I. and Josephine de Beauharnais will illustrate the Church's action in our own times; and in this disputed and intricate question, the writings of the Count D'Hondeville, Wolschungen, and others, afford us reliable and satisfactory data.

R. O'KENNEDY.

<sup>1</sup> New Series of publication.

## THE MOST REV. JAMES BUTLER, D.D.,

ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL, 1774-1791.<sup>1</sup>

THE history of Dr. Butler is in reality the history of the Irish Church of his time. He was the foremost figure amongst the Irish Catholics during the seventeen years that he occupied the see of Cashel; he led and directed their efforts to acquire religious freedom, and to his influence and guidance the successes they achieved are in a great measure due. Hence I have hoped that even a sketch of his life may have a more than merely local interest, and may direct attention towards an interesting period of our ecclesiastical history which is less widely known than it should be.

If the doctrine of survival of the fittest be applicable to genealogies, than the Butler name and family there is none fitter in Ireland. From the beginning they struck wide and deep root in the kindly soil of their adopted country. They had, indeed, what they did not always give their Irish neighbours, sufficient fair play for proper expansion; but so had others, of whom there is no longer a trace. They were foremost in war and in peace, in Church and in State, often more loyal than the king himself, often more Irish than their Irish friends. And when royal favour and worldly interest won over some of the heads of the family to the new creed, most of the members remained faithful to the old religion, and gave life and lands freely in its honour and defence. But loyalists or rebels, Protestants or Catholics, when strife was over they stood to each other like brothers. Penal laws and attainders, therefore, they were generally able to elude, and the various branches of the family continued so Catholic and so flourishing, that in the eighteenth century they gave five prelates to the southern province.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> My authority for the facts relating to Dr. Butler consists almost entirely of original documents and letters, either existing in the diocesan archives, or published in the *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, v. iii., in Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, v. iii., and in England's *Life of Fr. Arthur O'Leary*.

<sup>2</sup> These are so often confounded, even in works of authority, that it may be useful to set them down in order:—1. Dr. Christopher Butler, a grand-nephew of the first Duke of Ormond, was Archbishop of Cashel,

Dr. James Butler was fifth in direct line from that Viscount Mountgarret who was son-in-law of Hugh O'Neill, fought with him against Elizabeth, and later on commanded an army for the Confederate Catholics, and was President of the Supreme Council at Kilkenny. His family possessed extensive property in Kilkenny, which, though confiscated under William and Mary, they managed to recover. His father, who increased it, was one of the richest Catholic Commoners in Ireland. James was the fourth son, and was born in Dublin, the 19th March, 1743.<sup>1</sup> Though he lost his parents before he was seven years old, his early training was not neglected. To carry out his desire of entering the clerical state, he crossed over to France about 1760—a perilous venture, as many found it, at a time when the seven years' war was raging on the continent, and English and French fleets were watching each other in the Channel. With better luck than others he got across safely, and entered the Seminary of St. Sulpice, in Paris. After a few years there he went to Belgium, and then to Lille. On the 22nd September, 1764, we find him receiving Minor Orders at Ypres, as a student of Ossory. The circumstance of his birth in Dublin, "*ubi licet natus totus peregrinus es*," as Dr. Fitzsimon told him when he applied for an *Exeat*, gave him some anxiety, and he was also for a time resolved on attaching himself permanently to the diocese of Tournay; but finally deciding for Ossory, he entered the College of St. Omer, of which the celebrated Alban Butler was then rector; and here he was ordained priest on the 25th May, 1771. He was persuaded by Alban Butler to accept the

1712-1757. 2. Dr. James Butler I., Coadjutor to the former from 1759; Archbishop, 1757-1774. He belonged to the Dunboyne branch, and was next heir to the notorious Lord Dunboyne. 3. Dr. John Butler, Bishop of Cork, 1763-1787, when he resigned his see, and abandoned the Catholic faith. 4. Dr. James Butler II., the object of the present sketch. 5. Dr. John Butler, Bishop of Limerick, 1778, which dignity he resigned before he was consecrated. He belonged to the Society of Jesus, and was brother of Lord Cabir.

<sup>1</sup> New style. His baptismal certificate is dated March 6th, 1742, old style, neglect of which circumstance led Dr. Renchan into error. See *Collections*, i. 355. The date given in the text depends on Dr. Butler's own authority. The date of the certificate corrected for new style would be March 17th, 1743, leaving still a difference of two days.

chair of Rhetoric in the College, and there can be no doubt but that his character owed many of its remarkable qualities to his close and familiar relations with this very distinguished man. We shall soon hear Alban Butler's opinion of his pupil.

The young professor at St. Omer was neither unknown nor forgotten at home. His relations with the old country must have been intimate, for when his namesake, the Archbishop of Cashel, finding that an octogenarian needed help, looked around for an assistant and successor, the kinsman in France was his immediate choice. It speaks loudly for both that his selection received the unanimous approval of his clergy.<sup>1</sup> James Butler, not quite thirty years old, naturally dreaded a position of so great responsibility. His first motion was to decline it, but the advice of Alban Butler overruled his fears. The Archbishop wrote earnestly to the Pope in support of his petition, which he begged as the crowning happiness of his episcopate and the one favour he needed to close his eyes in peace. Alban Butler seconded his request in a letter of singular, almost extravagant eulogy of the proposed candidate.

"Sprung from the line of the Dukes of Ormond, a kinsman of the highest families, of adequate wealth, he cannot but be most acceptable to Catholics and Protestants alike, even to the Government itself. Excellently versed in all manner of sacred learning, he is held in the highest esteem by the entire clergy and people. His singular uprightness, his unstained innocence of life, his holiness of character, his divine spirit of prayer, his zealous practice of every virtue, his wonderful modesty, humility, mortification, his tenderest charity and effusive liberality, have gained him such universal veneration as only one who sees it can believe. All who know him everywhere declare him to be a saint. His great modesty indeed, entirely averse to every dignity, will have to be overcome: nor will his sincere reluctance be conquered except by the obligation of obedience and charity. So many and so great gifts persuade all that his youth will prove no obstacle to his governing with authority, discretion, and general esteem, but will rather help to sustain him in the zealous discharge of his various duties."

<sup>1</sup> Some, indeed, for a time favoured the appointment of Fr. Edmond Ryan, a priest of the diocese, living in Madrid as agent at the Spanish Court of one of the Electors of Germany, but they did not persist in their desire of him.

As if he feared he had been too warm in his praise, he adds:—

"I have no personal interest in having Fr. James Butler, or any other appointed. This one thing I affirm, that this man's eminent piety, tender conscience, and burning zeal, united to learning and illustrious birth, cannot but be a striking example and edification to the clergy of that entire mission."

So recommended it is no surprise that he was immediately selected by the Propaganda on the 8th February, 1773. Six days afterwards the selection received the approval of Clement XIV., and by Brief, dated March 15th, he was named Bishop of Germanicopolis *in partibus* and Coadjutor with right of succession to the Archbishop of Cashel. His consecration took place at Amiens, on the 4th July following.

Having provided his successor, the Archbishop did not urge his immediate return, and Dr. Butler continued to reside at St. Omer, acting as Vicar-General of that diocese, till, in May, 1774, he succeeded to the see of Cashel. He could no longer remain tending another's flock while his own in much anxiety and danger needed all his care. He at once set out for Ireland. If he did not, like many of his predecessors, return to face active persecution, he had to meet other dangers, perhaps even more trying and subtle. His action and policy as Archbishop have been criticised, as I think, unfairly. I hope I may be able to offer an impartial and more favourable account of both.

To understand them the condition of his people must be known, for to serve their true interests was his constant purpose. For thirty years there had been no active persecution, except perhaps at some moments of special panic, or where some unusually virulent magistrates had authority. Catholic chapels were visible in the country,<sup>1</sup> Catholic

<sup>1</sup> But very different from our modern churches. The following descriptions of some from the Visitation Book of the first Dr. James Butler may be of interest:—

"1752, June 15th. Visited the Rev. William Ryan at his Chapel of Murree, which is neat and clean. A good altar, made of boards wainscotted, a resemblance of a tabernacle, no altar-piece or pictures, glass windows: part of the wall wants repair, and no part of it plastered, roughcast or whitewashed, but ceiled with boards over the altar and rails. He has no

worship went on unhindered. But it was all by the merest connivance. "There were laws," says an old writer, "in the statute-book, which, if put in execution, would not suffer a Papist to breathe outside the bars of a jail in Ireland. But though these laws are still in force it is long since they have been in action. They hang, like a sword by a thread, over the heads of these people, and Papists walk under in security and peace, for whoever should adventure to cut the thread would become ignominious and detestable in the land." Whilst unhappily there were many who would not see, or were willing to brave the ignominy, the general feeling favoured toleration. Racial fears and hatreds were dying out; persecution, it was felt, needed urgent justification, and the only motives advanced in its favour—Irish disloyalty and the dangerous teachings of Catholicity—were beginning to be looked on with strong suspicion. But toleration did not mean concession, very few of its advocates carried it so far;<sup>1</sup> and there was a fierce ascendancy faction eager to keep the sword dangling over the wicked Papists. They looked on them and treated them as slaves; sordid interest and dread of retaliation opposed every effort to make them citizens. They maligned them as fanatical believers in a dangerous religion, which held it lawful—when practical, even a duty—to depose and murder heretical princes, to deceive and persecute heretics. Not one of them was to be trusted; no oaths ever sworn could bind them; they had papal pardons and dispensations to condone every deceit. The Catholic clergy were to a man, they said, in the pay of the Pretender: and the

chapel but one, at present, the other being demolished by Mr. Rawson. It was razed in the year 1748.<sup>2</sup>

"A chapel newly built, not thoroughly thatched, without whitewash, plastering or glass windows, which are ordered to be repaired in all haste."

"1754, July 19th. Ballingarry. The chapel duly built east and west, a stone wall seven feet high, two gable-ends, a boarded altar in the east end, four small windows, whereof two are glazed, a large door in the west end, with a large stone basin for holy water at said door, twelve couples well thatched."

<sup>1</sup> Lord Charlemont is a good example. A most tolerant man, he considered the Irish Parliament madly profuse in its concessions to Catholics. He would give very little and very slowly. See his *Memoirs*, lately published by the Historical MSS. Commission.

Whiteboy rising and outrages, into which misery was driving the harassed people, were but the first signs of a general Popish rebellion. Proofs were abundant—a French invasion was deduced from the sight of a French coin in Munster; informers were plentiful—the demand created its own supply. Every abandoned wretch who craved for money, revenge, or mercy, knew the price and found a ready market for his calumnies. The judicial murder of Fr. Sheehy in 1766 shows the temper of the times and the malignity of the country justices. No Catholic dignitary was above suspicion; many were denounced and arrested. The Government, indeed, very generally discredited these charges, and often shielded their victims when it could conveniently. It was not prepared to take too much trouble about them, but even so the Catholics had come to look upon it as comparatively a friend and protector.

But tolerant ideas were spreading, and time was working in the Catholic interest. The Catholics, too, were beginning to bestir themselves. They might have refused to be put upon their defence: but, long unused to fair play, they were only anxious to gain a hearing, and vindicate themselves and their religion. The initiation of this policy may have been a letter which the Primate, Dr. Reilly, addressed in 1757 to another archbishop. He reminds him of the general ignorance of their religion, and consequent prejudice against it among the greater part of Protestants, and records his surprise that no adequate measures have been taken to remove them:—

“ Now, methinks [he continues] there is no method of setting these prejudiced gentlemen right in regard to us more proper than this public and solemn way of addressing our hearers in the face of the world. . . . Let us not, therefore, be any longer wanting to ourselves or hearers, whose welfare in every respect challenges our utmost vigilance and attention. We can expect no bad consequence from publishing this Pastoral. We shall thereby gratify the benevolent, humane, and charitable part of Protestants who have no quarrel to us but on account of principles not ours, and which we now no less solemnly than unanimously disown—a disavowal that will undoubtedly very much mortify others of them who care not what our tenets are, provided they are such as will disqualify us from being looked upon as sincere and inoffensive subjects. No time is more seasonable for our

purpose than the present. All our clergy and laity of the most distinguished rank and sense here think so; but no time is to be lost. If you think you may implicitly depend on the compliance of your worthy suffragans, be pleased to let me know it without delay; if not, I am confident you will exert your usual activity in procuring it with the utmost despatch."

I find no record of any special sequel of this appeal, unless it be an exhortation to this effect publicly read in the churches in Dublin that same year, or another fuller declaration of the same import, drawn up by Dr. Keefe, Bishop of Kildare, and publicly signed and adopted by the Leinster and Ulster bishops and their people.

All the Catholics, however, do not appear to have equally favoured this policy of conciliation. Devotion to the Stuart interest kept some aloof, amongst them a section of the clergy. The right of nominating to vacant sees, which James II. claimed and got before his deposition, was continued to him and to his son, whom the Roman Court recognised as James III. Many Irish bishops had been so nominated, and many of the clergy had in one way or another benefited by the Stuart influence in France or Rome. Devotion or gratitude kept many from publicly disowning the claims of the family. But all enthusiasm for them was long since dead in the country; the common people cared little under what king they lived—to live at all was their difficulty; and every man of sense knew that a revolution was the maddest of fancies. Much the greatest and best part of the clergy saw the folly of putting the interests of an unworthy family above those of an entire nation. Hence by public addresses and declarations, often indeed neglected and discouraged, they were urging their claim to be considered, and to be treated, as good and loyal citizens. Intolerance was slowly, but surely, giving way before their attacks; and towards the beginning of the last quarter of the century it could no longer prevent concessions, it was able only to influence the manner and conditions under which they were granted.

These conditions were not gracious; in a better state of society they would be offensive. Neither slight nor offence

was intended by Government; if Catholics had taken either they would have pleased only their enemies. Penal relaxation was to be heralded by a solemn declaration of allegiance to the reigning house, and a renunciation of the imputed dangerous tenets; and in 1774 an Act was passed prescribing a form of oath and declaration to be used for that purpose. The form adopted was one drawn up by some leading Catholics in Dublin, under the direction of the Archbishop, Dr. Carpenter, and apparently with his approval. The formula declares strictly civil allegiance to the reigning king, and entirely rejects the Stuart claims; detests as impious and unchristian that it is lawful to murder heretics or keep no faith with them; renounces the opinion that the Pope has any temporal or civil power, direct or indirect, in this realm; and declares that the oath is taken in the plain sense of the words, and that no Papal or other dispensation can annul or absolve from its obligation.

The Act met with a very varied reception. While many Protestants thought it useless or insufficient, all were eager to see how Catholics would receive it. A number of these for different reasons loudly denounced it, and though the general opinion among them held it quite lawful, no one seemed courageous enough to proclaim that.

The Act came into operation in June, 1774, and in the following September Dr. Butler took up his residence in his diocese. How to treat the proposed declaration was the first difficulty he had to face. He was fortunately well equipped to meet it. He had closely followed Irish affairs from St. Omer, knew thoroughly Catholic and Protestant feeling, the embarrassment of friends, the delight of enemies at Catholic hesitation, and soon found he could count on strong support from his suffragans and others.

Meantime the opinion was being carefully spread through the country that the formula was disrespectful and offensive, if not indeed heretical: a similar oath was said to have been lately condemned, and the authority of high dignitaries was freely invoked. The opposition came principally from the regular clergy—though even amongst them the test had some brilliant defenders—and centred round Dr. Burke, a

Dominican, Bishop of Ossory. He had been appointed to that see in 1759 on the nomination of the Pretender, and three years later published his great work, *Hibernia Dominicana*—a mine of copious and accurate information on Irish Church history. A marvel of research and industry, the book had one serious fault, time and author considered. A prudent man in his position would have hesitated before making himself a public champion of opinions which could only foster mutual distrust and enmity between two sections of the Irish people. Dr. Burke, unfortunately, did not hesitate. He openly insists on the Stuart claims, and all but denounces the reigning monarch as a usurper, and his supporters as unjust detainers of other men's property. Some years later, in a supplement, he published with marks of extravagant approval a letter of a Papal Nuncio at Brussels condemning violently, as opposed to the teaching and practice of the Holy See, an oath somewhat similar to that now proposed.<sup>1</sup> This letter had been addressed in 1768 to the Irish metropolitans, who, convinced of its intemperance, declined to give it circulation. Dr. Burke did not feel called on to imitate their caution. He even presented copies of his book and supplement to many Protestants, and to the Library of Trinity College. His works and his opposition to the test were eagerly welcomed, and he was for a time the most popular Catholic outside Catholic circles in Ireland; he was *the learned, plain-spoken and honest titular Bishop of Ossory, superior to all the other prelates in learning and celebrity, an honourable and reliable witness of Catholic teaching and policy.*

The Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Carpenter, weakly yielded to his influence, and joined its opponents in denouncing the formula. The bishops of the western province were divided in opinion; the Archbishop, Dr. Skerret, was also a nominee of the Pretender. And, in the northern province, internal dissensions of the gravest character in Armagh not only prevented any action, but even fostered disunion. Munster

<sup>1</sup> In the oath which the Nuncio condemned some theological censures were improperly introduced and applied. The declaration of 1774 omitted these, and differed in other respects.

alone, thoroughly earnest and united under its new metropolitan, was unanimous in favour of giving the required guarantee.

Anticipating attack, the Munster bishops prepared to fortify their position. A consultation embracing the entire formula was drawn up by Dr. Butler before the new year of 1775, and was forwarded to the Universities of Paris and Louvain. A select committee of the Sorbonne appointed to consider the consultation had agreed in March to a completely favourable report, and one hundred and fifty Doctors were prepared to sign it, when the Syndic of the Faculty received an order from the Court prohibiting all signatures. The first article of the consultation caused the difficulty. It asked whether allegiance might be sworn to the reigning family in England to the exclusion of the Stuarts. On this the French Court would not, for obvious reasons, allow the Sorbonne to pronounce. But a way out of the difficulty was discovered by the Faculty. They declared the question to belong purely to English constitutional law; and, as utter strangers to this, they declined to pronounce upon it. This answer, of course, was more than sufficient. The other articles, they said, most certainly contained nothing contrary or dangerous to Catholic faith; nothing which a Catholic might not lawfully, much even which he might laudably, attest on oath.

Protected by such authority, Dr. Butler and his suffragans met near Cork, in July, 1775, and declared unanimously that the test contains "nothing contrary to the principles of the Roman Catholic religion." A cautious and moderate declaration, indeed, and accompanied by no precept; but example and private exhortation were known to be quite sufficient for the rest.

As a corollary, the bishops felt that some expression of opinion on the *Hibernia Dominicana* was necessary. At that meeting, or earlier, it had been decided to meet in Dr. Burke's own city for the purpose of getting his consent to expunge the few objectionable passages in his work. This was considered quite sufficient for their purpose. Other prelates also were to be present. But at the last moment Dr. Burke

objected, and the proposed meeting was abandoned. In consequence, the Munster prelates, Dr. McMahon of Killaloe, a Dominican, excepted, met at Thurles with Dr. Keefe of Kildare, and, as a sad and necessary duty, solemnly expressed their entire disapprobation of the work, both as tending to destroy the fidelity and submission due to the king and disturb the public peace and sow dissensions, and also as giving a handle to those of a different religion to impute to them maxims they utterly rejected, and which are by no means founded on the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>1</sup> They might have imitated Dr. Burke in publishing this disapprobation. They, however, communicated it to their clergy alone; it was only twelve years after, when Dr. Burke's book was used against Catholic interests, that Dr. Butler was forced to give it to the world.

The effect of these declarations was at once manifest. The Catholics flocked to the courts, headed by their bishops and clergy, and subscribed the formula. Dr. Butler himself and his clergy took the oath at the winter sessions. The following extract from a letter which the Bishop of Cork wrote to him on the 30th December is instructive:—

“ I would be earlier in wishing your Grace every happiness, but I was so busy. The same excuse will serve for my not appearing before a magistrate to take the test. I could not come sooner to town, and the weather was so bad, and my clergy so busy, that I could not call them together to accompany me. I shall as soon as ever I can go about it. I fear the Friars of this town will take advantage of it to hurt me in the eyes of those they influence in the town, which are not a small number. . . . But if religion gains by it, I don't care. I fear the troubles at home and abroad will prevent parliament or administration from attempting anything at present.”

Troubles, indeed, were coming thick and heavy on Dr. Butler and his supporters. Pamphlets vaunting high

<sup>1</sup> Time has ratified their judgment. Perfect copies of the *Hibernia Dominicana* are extremely rare. The parts disapproved of have been generally cancelled. The account of this declaration in Renchan's *Collections* is very misleading. The author does not quote it, which is rather unusual; and there is nothing in it equivalent to aversion and disgust of Dr. Burke's principles. His name is not mentioned, and the strongest and only expression used is “our entire disapprobation.”

approval condemned them at home; and they found themselves traduced in Rome as supporters of the English interest and seekers after royal favour, and their action represented as opening a door to schism, and endangering, if not betraying, the jurisdiction and supremacy of the Holy See. Soon what purported to be a Roman declaration on the test was circulated through the country: "*Ex mente S. Pontificis declarat Sacra Congregatio juramentum illud periculosum, illaudabile, et juribus Sanctae Sedis valde injuriosum.*" The Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Ossory had written to Rome demanding the application of strong measures against the oath and its advocates. The declaration above was somehow circulated as the answer. When it was brought under Dr. Butler's notice he wrote at once to Dr. Carpenter earnestly requesting a sight of the original document. Unhappily he could not obtain it. Had he seen it he would have been spared much anxiety; it did not bear out the pretended extract. Rome had written with its usual care and caution. The Prefect of Propaganda reminded Dr. Burke that a similar test proposed in Holland had been neither approved nor condemned in Rome. He declared that Irish affairs required practically the same treatment, and entirely declined to adopt the strong remedies suggested. He permitted, indeed, rather than recommended, private exhortations, and these alone, to be used against it. One point only in the declaration did he criticise strongly, namely, the assertion of the Pope's inability to annul or dispense in its obligation; and even of this he merely said: "*Quae sane affirmatio jura Romani Pontificis et Ecclesiae valde laedere, nec sanctitati ac veritati jurisjurandi videtur esse conveniens.*" Neither the words circulated, nor anything at all equivalent, were to be found in the letter, which rather favoured silence than opposition.

But the Munster bishops were thoroughly alarmed, and felt some vigorous defence of their action was needed. On Dr. Butler's shoulders fell the burden of it. Indeed he was already beginning to suspect the pretended condemnation, but he wrote at once to Cardinal Castelli, explaining in general terms the object and character of the test, and

promising to send on soon a fuller memorial which he and his suffragans were preparing. This memorial recited faithfully all the circumstances attending the declaration, and enclosed a copy of it and of their decision upon it.

Cardinal Castelli's answer was brief. They should have first consulted the Holy See before deciding on a matter of such consequence, and more especially as no law forced them to publish such a formula. It was this that gave no small pain to his Holiness and the Sacred Congregation. Of the formula itself not a word was said. Now for the first time, as Dr. Butler remarked, they had certain knowledge of the charge against them, and he probably felt that there was some force in it. But he had a good defence, and he wrote at once in answer. They did not consult the Holy See because the decision did not seem to them to offer any difficulty. They addressed the Universities, not to remove any doubt they entertained, but to clear away unquiet scruples from the minds of others. They had not produced the declaration; it had been drawn up originally under the direction of some who now condemned it. But no law urged its adoption? Yes, the first law of all, the good repute of their calumniated religion and the safety of their unhappy people. If they had rejected the formula, would it not be said that it was either because they were disloyal subjects, or because they dared not disavow the imputed tenets? The excesses and crimes of the Whiteboys in Munster, so loudly attributed to the religious fanaticism and turbulence of their people, were a new motive why all unjust suspicion should be carefully avoided.

"As our devotion to the Holy See is profound, so is our sorrow at these reports of our disrespect. As for myself [he adds], who might, had I chosen it, have enjoyed comfort in the world, and who in the Church, which I serve at my own expense, have only care and labours and anxiety—why should I barter my heavenly reward, my only desire and hope, for any courtly favour, vain novelties, or temporal gain? No, Eminence, my constant prayer is, that God may take away that life He has given me before I ever become a stumbling-block to my people or a scandal to my religion. But while with His favour I enjoy it, my sole ambition shall be to promote His glory, and the salvation of my flock, adhering to the faith and Chair of Peter till my latest breath,"

His letters, honest, earnest and eloquent, and showing such transparent loyalty to the Holy See, put the test and its supporters in a new light before the Roman authorities. Coldness and suspicion vanished before them. Very soon too all traces of opposition disappeared in Ireland. Their greatest opponent, Dr. Burke of Ossory, died during the discussion, in 1776. Dr. Butler, his suffragans, and many others made an earnest but unsuccessful effort to have the Dean of the diocese, an advocate of their policy, appointed to the vacant see. They were rather dismayed to find another Dominican, Dr. Troy, selected. His views, it was presumed, would be similar to those of his predecessor, and rather hostile to his opponents. So, indeed, they were for a time. Dr. Troy soon saw that a conciliatory policy was not only prudent, but imperative, and he was candid enough to give public effect to his opinion. "As I have long," he wrote in February, 1778, "reconciled my mind to the formulary, I think I cannot but follow the example of our *cofreres* who already have sworn or are resolved to appear in order to subscribe it." Dr. Carpenter himself finally reconsidered his position, and in November of the same year subscribed the declaration with great parade at the Court of King's Bench in Dublin. The influence of the Irish bishops obtained its substitution some years later in England instead of another proposed but objectionable formula—for his action in which affair Dr. Butler got special thanks from Rome—and in 1795 it was approved to be taken, as it continued to be for thirty-five years, by all students and professors of the newly founded College at Maynooth.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Butler bore his triumph meekly, complete though it was. The Cardinal Prefect who had written so coldly to him in 1776, two years later wrote to congratulate him on the pleasing hope of freedom and consequent development then dawning on the Irish Church. Those hopes were well

<sup>1</sup> In face of these facts the strictures passed on the test and its supporters in Dr. Reuchlin's *Colloquia* are quite unaccountable. Stranger still, the author had himself taken that "studiously irreverent and insulting" oath at least twice.

founded. The Catholics had a much increased number of friends in the Irish Parliament, and the tolerant spirit of this assembly in 1778 surprised Lord Charlemont when he remembered what it had been six years before. The change he declares himself unequal fully to account for. The courageous policy of Dr. Butler and his friends should get its share of the credit. Their action had raised the people from the position of slaves begging for favours to that of citizens demanding rights unjustly withheld. A government which freely offered them a means of proving their loyalty to the State bound itself to accept their profession, and treat them as citizens. The declaration was, as it was meant to be, the thin end of the wedge which must split asunder the whole mass of penal enactments. The work unhappily met unexpected delays, one of the chief of which, perhaps, was the strife of parties over other questions. Amid such contests the admission to complete political freedom of so large a body, whose future policy must have been a matter of mere conjecture, could not be proposed with any chance of success, and there was no party then in the Legislature sufficiently devoted to endanger its own in order to promote Catholic interests.

I may be thought to have dwelt too long on this point of Dr. Butler's career. But it is, I think, the most important of all, and gives the keynote to his character and policy. It must not be supposed, however, that these controversies occupied all his time and attention. He had enough for other work, and there was plenty of useful work to do. Immediately after settling down in his diocese he drew up a scheme for the thorough visitation of it : one which many bishops afterwards did him the honour of adopting. The question of clandestine marriages, too, claimed his notice. The number of them contracted was very great, and many sad abuses were the consequence. The law of clandestinity, if ever previously promulgated in the province of Cashel, which is doubtful, had certainly lapsed by disuse. All felt that its observance was urgently needed, though all recognised the existence of serious difficulties. This was one of the questions considered by the Munster prelates at their

meeting in July, 1775, and they resolved unanimously on promulgating the law, which was done the September following. Dr. Butler was chiefly instrumental in securing the removal of the greatest difficulty ten years later, when Pius VI. declared mixed marriages, past and future, to be valid, even though clandestine.

But his other principal work during these first years of his episcopate was the production of his catechism. It supplied a crying want : how well it did so its constant popularity has testified. The visitation book of his predecessor, which I have already quoted, shows the care then taken to have the children instructed ; but there seems to have been no methodical exposition of Catholic teaching then in use for the people. The catechism was written in 1775, and was no sooner published than all were anxious to have it. Some bishops who had been preparing one for themselves adopted his as in every way suitable. A letter from his friend the Bishop of Kildare is worth quoting :—

“I can't here forbear paying you my sincerest compliments for the most excellent catechism you published for your diocese. I had almost finished one for my own, and intended publishing it in a very few days. But upon seeing a copy of yours, just from the press, with Mr. Field, to be corrected, I grew ashamed of my own performance, and accordingly dropt it. I believe the like has happened Dr. Carpenter : for he also was about publishing a catechism for his own diocese, when I was last in Dublin. And here I must tell you a droll adventure which happened on the occasion. I was present when an Augustinian Friar came to request his approbation of a catechism he had made. The Dr. told him he had made one for his own diocese, and would allow of no other. The Friar then urged that he look at his catechism, ready printed : he opened it, and found on the title-page : *Permissu Superiorum*. He asked who these superiors were. ‘Our own Regular Superiors,’ quoth the Friar. ‘Go then,’ said the Dr., ‘teach it to your own Regulars, and let me hear no more about it.’ But the last time I saw the Dr., he told me he read your catechism, liked it mightily, and adopted it for his own diocese, and recommended me to do the same, which he needed it not. I expect it will become the standing catechism of the whole kingdom. That you may long continue to be its chief ornament shall be the constant prayer of, my dear Lord, your ever faithful and most obedient humble servant.”

It is to Dr. Carpenter's credit that no political differences restrained his approbation. Dr. Troy also adopted it, though less frankly. "As to the catechism," he wrote, "Dr. Carpenter has already adopted it. It has been printed here under the title of a 'Catechism for the Instruction of Children,' without any mention of Dr. Butler. I own that our *confrères* in Munster deserve no compliment from us, but think the catechism peculiarly calculated to promote the Christian doctrine among the lower class of people." Before ten years it had already passed through seventeen editions. Who can reckon how many it has seen since?

Its effect on the Protestant mind was not its least happy consequence. A Protestant catechism happened to be published with authority at exactly the same time. Comparison was instituted between the two with striking result. The Protestant teacher carefully recited every old calumny against Catholics and their religion, and held them up plainly to the hatred and suspicion of his youthful readers as eager to persecute and murder them if they had the chance. Dr. Butler, on the contrary, was seen to insist upon the universal bond of charity, which drew all men of every creed and sect together, and obliged them to mutual help and aid; and he laid down strictly the duty of obedience to authority, religious and civil, all authority being from God. What a Church teaches its youth manifests so truly its real doctrine and spirit, that many Protestants, thoroughly ashamed of the contrast, cried out with indignation against the bigotry of their teachers, as making their religion indefensible, and disturbing the peace and harmony of society. All tended to advance the good cause he had at heart.

T. R. POWER.

*(To be continued.)*

## THE BLESSED TRINITY REFLECTED IN MAN.

"Creatura mundi est quasi quidam liber, in quo relucet representatur et legitur Trinitas fabricatrix secundum triplicem gradum expressionis, scilicet per modum vestigii, imaginis et similitudinis." —ST. BONAVENTURE, *Brevisiloquium*, Pars. ii., cap. 12.

EVERY Catholic believes in the adorable mystery of the Blessed Trinity: that is to say, he professes his unqualified adhesion to the doctrine that there is but one God, and that in this one God there are three distinct Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Father is truly God. The Son is truly God. The Holy Ghost is truly God. Yet there is only one God. The Father is not the Son. The Son is not the Holy Ghost. The Holy Ghost is neither the Father nor the Son.

This mystery is above reason. In other words, it is above and beyond the utmost reach of our limited capacities. Nor should this be a matter of surprise, since all our powers, both intellectual and sensitive, are circumscribed.

We can hear, but only within a certain distance; the further off is the sound, fainter and feebler it grows, till at last it becomes absolutely inaudible. Yet we do not deny the existence of sounds because they surpass our power of hearing. Who, sailing over some broad expanse of water, has not seen on the distant shore the intermittent puffs of clear white steam from some hurrying engine? We catch occasional glimpses of the train as it dashes through the rocky cutting, or over the iron bridge. Our ears can hear no sound at such a distance. We listen attentively, but our sense of hearing gives no report. The flies buzzing about our head are less inaudible. Yet we know, as a matter of fact, that the great powerful engine is rushing along with a most tremendous rattle and clatter over the metal bridges, and clanging and booming like thunder as it goes, only we have not a sense acute enough to hear it at such a distance.

So is it with regard to sight. We can see, but only within narrow limits, and under restrictive conditions. We can

gaze upon the distant mountain, but we cannot see a vestige of the town or village nestling in the valley on the opposite side; because vision depends upon light, and light travels only in straight lines. Or, again. We rivet our gaze upon a drop of stagnant water, and can detect no impurities within it: while, in sober truth, it may be the home and happy hunting-ground of, not hundreds, but of millions of living and moving infusoria and animalcula. It is true that it is impossible for us to see the village in the valley, and the animalcula in the rain-drop, yet it would be most unreasonable to deny either the one or the other solely because, with all our pains, we fail to detect their presence. Once we confess our hearing and our eyesight limited, we are compelled to admit that there may be an innumerable number of objects existing which we have never heard or seen, and the nature of which we have no suspicion.

Now what is true of the corporal eye is equally true of the mind's eye. We possess intellect. It is a great gift of God; but its capacity falls far short of infinitude. Like the bodily eye, it is limited, and can range only a certain distance. It has its own well-defined horizon, beyond which it cannot trespass. We can understand many things; but of an infinitely larger number of things we know absolutely nothing. The nature and attributes of God, for example, no created intelligence can ever hope fully to fathom. To deny its truth, however, because our minds cannot fathom it, is as foolish as to deny the sounds that we cannot hear, or the sights that we cannot see.

Though the mystery of the Blessed Trinity is, as we have already remarked, above reason, it is not contrary to reason. For observe, we are not taught that three Gods are but one God; nor that one Person is three Persons; but that three Persons are but one God.

But if Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are all one and the same God, how are we to distinguish between them? How shall we know one from another when all are essentially one and the same substance? If the one is and has all that the other is and has, how comes it that one is not the other? We answer: the Father is not the Son, because He gives

birth to another, but is not born Himself. The Son is not the Father, because, though He Himself is born, He gives birth to no other. The Holy Ghost is distinct from the Father, for He does not give birth to a Son; and He is distinct from the Son, because He is not *born* of the Father, but *proceeds* from Father and Son. He has no Son, so He is not the Father. He has no Father, so He is not the Son. He is produced by both Father and Son, therefore He is distinct from the one and the other: for that which is produced is distinct (at least so far as relation is concerned) from that which produces.

Let us now come to the purpose of our essay, and speak of the reflection of this stupendous mystery in the person of man.

Though nothing in creation can ever explain the inexplicable, or clear away the mystery of the being of God, yet it has pleased His Divine Majesty to leave traces of His triune nature even on creatures; and if on all creatures, then especially on man. In the very opening chapter of Genesis it is narrated that God said:—"Let us make man to Our own image and likeness." "Let *Us*:" by the plural form "*Us*" is indicated the plurality of divine persons. By the singular form "*image*" and "*likeness*" (and not "*images*" and "*likenesses*") is indicated the unity of the divine nature. So also "*Our image*" is the expression used, and not "*My image*," to show the plurality of persons; and "*Our image*," and not "*Our images*," to show the unity of essence.

The English catechism asks:—"Is this image in your body or in your soul?" and the child is made to answer:—"This likeness is *chiefly* in my soul;" by which it would seem to imply that it exists, at least in some measure, in the body. Let us consider this resemblance first, as being the least important.

Recalling to mind the history of man's creation in the Garden of Paradise, we find that God—(1) first created Adam. Adam, consequently, possessed neither father nor mother, and existed without any human predecessor. In this respect he resembled the Eternal Father, the first

Person of the Blessed Trinity, who is born of none, and proceeds from none. When Adam had been created, (2) God then proceeded to create the second person of the human family, *i. e.*, Eve. But He did not fashion her in the same manner as He fashioned Adam, that is to say, directly from *the slime of* the earth. He formed her out of Adam. “The Lord God cast a deep sleep upon Adam, and when he was fast asleep, He took one of his ribs, and filled up flesh for it. And the Lord God built the rib which he took from Adam into a woman.” (Gen. ii. 22, 23.) And Adam seeing her, recognised whence she had come, and addressing her exclaimed:—“This now is bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh.”

In the person of Eve we have an image and likeness of the Eternal Son. As the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity is born from the First Divine Person, and from no other; so the second person of the human family, Eve, is born from the first human person, and from no other; *i. e.*, Eve is made from Adam. And (3) when God imposed upon Adam and Eve the command to increase and multiply and fill the earth, He at the same time gave them power to engender and bring forth children; but only conjointly and by their united action. Hence we read in the fourth chapter that Cain was born, and then Abel and others. Now, the children, the fruit of the first marriage instituted and blessed by God, are a figure or image of the Third Person of the Holy Trinity. As they were the descendants not of Adam alone, nor of Eve alone, but of both Adam and Eve, they image forth the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity, the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from both the Father and the Son. So, again, just as Adam and Eve and their offspring were all of the same human race and of the same nature, so this unity of nature is at once seen to be a reflection—a very imperfect one, it is true, but yet a reflection—of the unity of nature in the three divine Persons of the Blessed Trinity. This was a very special way of introducing the human family into being, and wholly exceptional, since we nowhere read of God adopting any similar system in regard to the lower order of creatures—so that it evidently had a special meaning.

The image of the Trinity, thus dimly reflected even in the bodily relations of the race grows stronger and more clearly defined as we leave the material and rise to the contemplation of the spiritual side of man's nature, *i. e.*, his immortal soul. In point of fact, the image and likeness of God is chiefly in the soul. This likeness has been variously explained and elucidated by different authorities. We will follow and simplify, so far as is possible, in our own words the explanation which seems to us the most natural and obvious, which we take to be that of St. Augustine.<sup>1</sup>

The soul of man is a simple spiritual substance; and, inasmuch as it is free from all material parts or organs, it is a most fitting and beautiful image of the divine unity of God's nature. But while it resembles the unity of God, when considered under one aspect, under another aspect it also suggests and represents the Trinity in God. Thus:—

A. *Resemblance to the Father.*—In every human soul we have existence, knowledge, and love. The very first thing that we can so much as conceive regarding the soul is that it exists. The soul, unlike the body, is not born of the substance of the parent, but owes its existence directly and exclusively to God. So far, therefore, as its relation to its own species, *i. e.*, to man, is concerned, it comes from none. It is without father or mother. It thus resembles the Eternal Father, who receives His substance from no other.

B. *Resemblance to the Son.*—The soul, however, not merely exists, as the earth and sea exist, but it is aware of its existence, and is conscious of its own being. In other words, *existence gives birth to self-knowledge*. Hence we have the single and indivisible soul in two different and perfectly distinct relations—*viz.*, the soul knowing, and the soul known: the soul contemplating, and the soul contemplated; the soul as subject, and the soul as object. The self-knowledge which springs forth, or is generated from its existence, is a figure of the Second Divine Person, who is born, or springs forth, or is generated from the Father. And further: as in the Blessed Trinity, the

<sup>1</sup> See *De Civitate Dei*.

Father is God, and the Son is God, and yet there are not two Gods; so in man, that which contemplates is the soul, and that which is contemplated is the soul; yet there are not two souls, but one only soul, which is at once the subject knowing and the object known.

*C. Resemblance to the Holy Ghost.*—But this is not all. The soul not merely exists; nor does it merely know that it exists: for this very knowledge in its turn gives rise to love. It knows itself, and at once it is drawn to love what it knows. This love, which proceeds from the existing soul contemplating its own existence, is a figure or image of the Holy Ghost. Take a concrete example:—A man contemplates himself: as a consequence of this contemplation he knows himself; and this knowledge breeds within him a love of himself.

What contemplates?—The soul.

What is that which is contemplated?—The soul.

What is that which loves?—The soul.

Then, are these three souls? No; they are all one and the same soul. Although existence is not the same thing as knowledge; and though knowledge is not the same thing as love, yet it is the very selfsame, indivisible, soul that—(1) exists, that (2) knows, and that (3) loves. So that there are not three souls, but one only. Here, then, we have a distinction of relation, and yet a unity of nature, within the soul of every man, whereby we may trace, however dimly, the image of the Trinity in ourselves.

And observe, there is not only this threefold distinction in the soul, reflecting the Three Divine Persons of the Trinity; but what is, perhaps, still more remarkable, there is also a reflection of their mutual relations and interdependence. The Father does not spring from the Son, but the Son from the Father. So, in the soul, existence does not spring from knowledge, but knowledge from existence: I must exist *before* I can possibly know myself. So, again; if I existed—and, like a tree or a rock, did not know I existed—I could not elicit an act of love. The love of myself is dependent upon two conditions: I must *firstly* exist, and *secondly*, I must know that I exist, before I can by any possibility

experience the sensation of love. This third act, therefore, like the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity, proceeds from the First and Second, and not from either if taken singly.

If we now pass on to the consideration of human action, *ad extra*, we may trace the image of the Blessed Trinity a step further. Theologians teach that whatsoever exists in creation is the work of the Three Divine Persons; and that every action of Almighty God upon the world of matter or of spirit, is an effect of the united co-operation of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

Let us, then, here observe that similarly every act of man, *per se*, is an effect of the co-operative exercise of his three great faculties—knowledge, power, will. Although knowledge is distinct from power, and power is distinct from will, and will is distinct from knowledge, still, all three faculties are invariably called into play when a human act is performed. So essentially united are all these three powers, indeed, that to remove or arrest the influence of any one of them would be to effectually arrest the act itself.

Take the simplest illustration. Suppose it is a question of communicating a piece of news. Here three conditions must be realized. 1st. I must *know* what it is that I am going to enumerate. 2nd. I must possess the *power* of representing my knowledge so that it may be understood by others—*i. e.*, I must be able to clothe my thoughts in words or signs expressive of my ideas; and thirdly, I must possess the will—*i. e.*, I must have the intention and desire to exercise my power of speech, since—(a) to possess knowledge, and (b) the power of communicating it, without the (c) will, would be wholly nugatory.

Or, take a somewhat different example. An artist is about to produce a picture. Before a line of it can be drawn three wholly distinct, but intimately connected conditions, must be realized. He must possess within his own mind the idea or scene before he can depict it on the canvas. Secondly, he must possess power to express this scene; that is to say, he must have the ability so to guide his brush, and to lay on pigments as to reproduce externally the inward conception of his mind. But, though these two conditions are of the

most absolute necessity, they will not, of themselves, suffice. A third condition is essential before the act can be performed, and the scene or image painted; and that is, that the artist *will* exert his faculties for its production. It is only when knowledge, power, and will, combine in one united effort that any result may be hoped for, or is even possible. This trinity within the soul of man co-operates in every single act that man consciously performs. In fact, destroy knowledge, and power and will remain at a standstill; destroy power, and knowledge and will become useless; destroy will, and power and knowledge must for ever remain inoperative.

All three are indispensable, and no more than these three are requisite to produce the particular effect, whatever that effect may be. Thus: though power, knowledge, and will, are all distinct, yet they unite so as to produce one indivisible act.

In this manner, faintly and feebly, yet very truly, we may trace the image of the Adorable Trinity in every action which we consciously perform. As every creative act is the work of the Three Divine Persons; as every *opus ad extra* is *per ipsum*—*i. e.*, by the power of the Father; *cum ipso*—*i. e.*, through the Wisdom of the Son; and *in ipso*—*i. e.*, in virtue of the Will of the Holy Spirit: so every human act is the work of the three faculties of the one human soul: so that every human achievement is produced by means of the *power* of man, through the *knowledge* of man, and in virtue of the *deliberate will* of man.

In His infinite goodness, God has destined us to be eternally happy with Him amid the untold and unimaginable splendours of heaven. He is our Father, and we are His children; and, as even an earthly parent loves to see his own character and likeness reflected in his offspring, so does God wish to see some trace of His own infinite and ineffable beauty reflected in us.

God has Himself laid the foundations of this resemblance in the very moment of creation. It only remains for us now to fill in the picture; and (in so far as human frailty will permit) to increase and intensify the likeness by the practice of virtue and perfection. “Be ye perfect,” says our Divine

Master. "as your heavenly Father is perfect." We must, consequently, seek, according to the measure of our weakness, to clothe ourselves with the virtues and perfections of the Deity, and to realize all that our position in creation imposes upon us.

There is no honour so great ; no dignity, no privilege, no benefit so exalted, as that of being, by adoption, the children of God, and by grace, participators even of the Divine nature. What a thrill of joy and gratitude should pass through our heart of hearts when we call to mind that we are not, like the plants and trees, mere growing things ; nor, like the birds and beasts of the forest, mere sensitive and living organisms ; but the rational and conscious sons of God.

What an exquisite delight to know and to feel, with all the certainty of Divine faith, that beneath this perishable vesture of vile clay—this earthly garment of flesh and blood—there dwells an immortal and impassable soul, made to the very image and likeness of the eternal, uncreated, and infinite Beauty ! All else passes. That—whether for our greater glory, or for our greater ignominy—remains. The body will grow decrepid and decay. Time will plough deep furrows in the face. The eyes will become dim and sightless ; and the footsteps faltering and slow. The hair will turn white as winter's frost ; and at last the house of clay will totter and crumble to pieces, and mingle with the dust. But, as a granite rock in the midst of some mighty river rests unmoved and immovable when all around is rushing and whirling by, so the soul remains when all else disappears. Nations, like the leaves, have their time to fall. People vanish, and races become extinct. The earth itself shall be burnt up by fire, and the starry lamps now glowing in the midnight sky shall be put out ; but the soul knows no decay, no dissolution, no death.

"The stars shall fade away ; the sun himself  
Grow dim with age, and nature sink in years ;  
But thou shalt flourish in immortal youth,  
Unhurt amidst the war of elements,  
The wreck of matter, and the crash of worlds.

To what conclusion does this lead us? Well, if we are made for eternity, let us live for eternity, and work for eternity, and not waste our energies, and spend our strength, on the trumpery things of time. No one, balancing the relative claims of time and of eternity, and realizing, however faintly, the contrast between the two terms, would or could give himself up to the frivolities, petty ambitions, and empty honours of a tottering and fast-decaying world.

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

## THE IRISH DIFFICULTY ; SHALL AND WILL.

### II.—INDIRECT STATEMENT.

**B**Y an indirect statement, I mean a statement purporting to give a report or account of what some one said, felt, knew, thought, believed, hoped, feared, understood, and so forth. The use of SHALL and WILL, in such a statement, involves many points of great difficulty, and has never yet, so far as I know, been adequately discussed. I shall consider first the case in which the indirect statement is made in the First Person, and then the case in which it is made in the Second or Third Person.

It has been already explained that SHOULD and WOULD, when used as auxiliaries, follow the same rules as SHALL and WILL. Hence, to avoid needless complexity in the enunciation of rules, I will speak, in future, only of SHALL and WILL; and I will ask the reader to bear in mind that the rules for SHALL include SHOULD, and the rules for WILL include WOULD. He can easily determine for himself which tense is to be employed in each particular case, as it comes before him. The examples and extracts, however, will be so chosen as to illustrate the use of SHOULD and WOULD, as well as the use of SHALL and WILL.

§ 1. —FIRST PERSON.

When the indirect statement is in the First Person, then SHALL and WILL are to be used as they would be used if the same thing were expressed, by direct statement, in the First Person.<sup>1</sup> For example : I promised I *would* never desert you ; I was afraid I *should* not see you again ; The doctor is confident I *shall* get better if I take the medicine ; He says I *shall* be arrested if I remain in the country ; He assured me that I *should* always find in him a steadfast friend ; He was sure that I *should* not succeed ; You think I *shall* not be able to pay my debts, but you are mistaken ; You told me I *should* be drowned if I went beyond my depth ; You thought I *should* not have the courage to meet him.

The application of this rule is obvious enough. In the direct statement, we would say : I *shall* be drowned, not I *will* be drowned ; I *shall* be arrested, not I *will* be arrested ; I *shall* get better, not I *will* get better ; and so, in the indirect statement, we must use *shall* or *should* in these cases, and say : You told me I *should* be drowned ; He says I *shall* be arrested ; The doctor is confident I *shall* get better. In like manner, if I wish to make a promise, I must say, in direct statement, I *will* never desert you ; and hence, according to the rule, in the indirect statement, I must say, I promised I *would* never desert you. It may be observed, too, that where the use of SHALL or WILL is optional in the direct statement, it is also optional in the indirect statement. For instance, I may write to my friend, I *shall* come up to town next week, or I *will* come up to town next week. And so, in reporting this statement, I may say, I told you I *should* come up to town ; or, I told you I *would* come up to town. Subjoined are a few extracts to illustrate the rule :—

She informed me she expected Miss Pole and Mrs. Forrester, and she hoped I *should* not feel myself too tired [fact independent of will of the subject] to join the party.

MRS. GASKELL.

<sup>1</sup> See Sir Edmund Head, *Shall and Will*, 2nd edition, pp. 28, 29.

She told me how much pleasure I *should* confer if I could spend a week or two with her.

MRS. GASKELL.

O dear, O dear ! Why wasn't I a man myself ? Both my brothers are for the Church ; but, as for me, I know I *should* have made a famous little soldier.

THACKERAY.

When Miss Pole heard of this, she nodded her head in great satisfaction. She had been sure we *should* hear of something happening in Cranford that night ; and we had heard.

MRS. GASKELL.

It is not necessary for me to say precisely how far I *would* go [intention].

MACAULAY.

Miss Matty and I quietly decided we *would* have [determination] a previous engagement at home.

MRS. GASKELL.

Hetty and I agreed that we *would* be very careful [intention] for the future, how we allowed ourselves to enjoy a tragedy.

THACKERAY.

I comforted Martha by telling her I *would* remain [promise] till she was about again.

MRS. GASKELL.

Cary consulted me on the proper bookseller to offer a lady's manuscript novel to. I said I *would* write [intention] to you.

CHARLES LAMB.

I little thought that I *should* ever come to be sister-in-law to a ladyship.

MRS. GASKELL.

My dearest Peter, you did not think we *should* be so sorry [fact independent of will of the subject] as we are, I know, or you would never have gone away.

MRS. GASKELL.

I know I ain't as cunning as you are ; but don't put all the blame on me, and say I *should* have been locked up. You would have been, if I had been, any way.

CHARLES DICKENS.

The following passages, taken from the daily newspapers, will illustrate the Irish usage in this matter, and may with advantage be compared with those given above. It will be seen that WILL or WOULD is used in every case, while the English idiom would require SHALL or SHOULD.

I feel confident I *will* be found innocent of the charge.

This is the last time that I *will* have the honour of speaking to you in this place.

I entered into this contest knowing I *would* be beaten.

I know I *will* not get the support of the newspapers.

I have now placed before you the difficulties we *will* have to face.

A monthly periodical had to be produced, and we knew what we *would* get if it was not ready.

They kept back their letter, for fear I *would* get a peep at it.

There is one particular application of this rule, on which it is important to lay especial stress. If the principal clause is in the First Person, and expresses hope or fear, doubt or uncertainty, then *shall* must be used, and never *will*, in the indirect statement. As, for instance, I think I *shall* go to town; I hope I *shall* see you again; I am afraid I *shall* be arrested; I do not know if I *shall* enter for the race. It is plain that the speaker does not mean to convey that he is in doubt, in hope, or in fear, about the present state of his own will, but rather that he is in doubt, in hope, or in fear, about the future event. Therefore, he ought not to say, I hope I *will*, but I hope I *shall*; not, I am afraid I *will*, but I am afraid I *shall*; not, I think I *will*, but I think I *shall*. It is important to direct special attention to this principle, because there is hardly any particular in which the English idiom is more frequently transgressed by speakers who are not English born and bred.

The following examples, taken from English authors, will show, I think, that the rule laid down truly represents the English idiom on this point:—

I do not know that I *shall* ever venture myself again into one of your churches.

CHARLES LAMB.

I do not know when I *shall* be in town, but in a week or two, at farthest, when I will come as far as you if I can.

CHARLES LAMB.

I think I *shall* venture out to-morrow.

CHARLES LAMB.

I am afraid I *shall* sicken you with acrostics, but this last was written to order.

CHARLES LAMB.

I think I *shall* go to my grave without finding, or expecting to find, such another companion.

CHARLES LAMB.

I hope that I *shall*, through life, never have less recollection, nor a fainter impression, of what has happened than I have now.

CHARLES LAMB.

I really don't think I *shall* go.

MRS. GASKELL.

I am sure I don't know how we *should* have paid our bill at the Rising Sun, but for the money he sent.

MRS. GASKELL.

"I do not think I *shall* be at the place to-morrow," muttered Endymion.

BEACONSFIELD.

I have been looking at the golden helm. . . . It is really so beautiful that I think I *shall* usurp it.

BEACONSFIELD.

I think I *shall* be best able to bring out what I have to say on the subject by examining the statements which they make in defence of their view of it.

NEWMAN.

The honourable member does not evidently receive that suggestion with great enthusiasm; but I hope I *shall* be able to convince him that it is a perfectly reasonable one.

THE TIMES.

With these passages we may compare the following, taken from Irish sources, in which, as usual, WILL OR WOULD is used where the English writers would have used SHALL OR SHOULD :—

We all hoped we *would* have a fine harvest, at last.

We expect that we *will* be able to carry this scheme without reference to Parliament.

I felt so faint that I thought I *would* fall off the car.

I think we *will* defeat him in his efforts.

When I fell into difficulties, I did not acquaint my relations, as I was hoping against hope that I *would* be able to retrieve my fortunes.

I do not think I *would* read it quite in that way; but it does not matter.

I do not think we *would* be justified in taking up your Lordship's time in opposing this motion.

I hope that I *will* meet many such, till I overcome my difficulties, and find myself able to assist my poor father and mother.

§ 2.—SECOND AND THIRD PERSONS.

*General Rule.*

When the Indirect Statement is in the Second or Third Person, then *WILL* may be used as the auxiliary for the future, and *WOULD* for the conditional, unless there is some special reason for using *SHALL* or *SHOULD*. For example : I am afraid you *will* be drowned if you go out of your depth ; You think you *will* be able to pay your debts ; He hopes you *will* get the post you are looking for ; I am sure he *will* feel this loss severely ; You hardly expected he *would* recover from this illness ; He said he *would* come if he was invited. Subjoined are a few passages from well-known English writers :—

I told you that you *would* see the greatest monarch, and the finest gentleman, in the world.

THACKERAY.

I think one day you *will* say that I have done my duty.

THACKERAY.

I for one will never believe that you *would* throw your brother off in distress.

THACKERAY.

George always said you *would* have made a better soldier than he.

THACKERAY.

"I scarce thought you *would* try," the young man said.

THACKERAY.

So infatuated was she about the young fellow, that I believe she *would* have taken him.

THACKERAY.

She had capital methods. I am sure she *would* have trained a servant in a week to make a better fire than this ; and Fanny has been with me four months.

MRS. GASKELL.

I could have told my Lady Glammire she *would* be glad enough of our society before a fortnight was over.

MRS. GASKELL.

We often wished, when we heard of Queen Adelaide or the Duke of Wellington being ill, that they *would* send for Mr. Hoggins.

MRS. GASKELL.

These examples are sufficient to illustrate the general

rule, which is familiar to everyone in its daily application. But the exceptional cases, in which some special reason requires the use of *SHALL* or *SHOULD*, are very numerous, and involve some of the most difficult and subtile points connected with the modern English idiom. I have endeavoured to gather them together under certain heads, according to the principles by which they are governed. But while I purpose to state, as clearly as I can, the principle which, in my opinion, rules each class of exceptions, I attach far more importance to the collection of extracts by which the principle is illustrated. The principle may or may not be accurately stated; but the extracts bring out, in a tangible form, the actual usage of standard English writers.

### *First Class of Exceptions.*

When the event described in the indirect statement is determined by the subject of the principal clause, and the speaker wishes to represent it as so determined, then he should use that auxiliary which the subject of the principal clause would himself use with respect to that event. For instance: I insisted that he *should* be sent to school; We pledge ourselves that our future actions *shall* be in accordance with your wishes; Your father gave orders that you *should* be punished; He promised that you *should* be rewarded; The king declared that blood *should* flow, if they refused to lay down their arms; You told him he *should* never want a friend, so long as you lived; I guarantee that the money *shall* be paid within six weeks.

In these examples, it will be observed that the indirect statement represents a promise, threat, or determination, proceeding from the person who is the subject of the principal cause. It is, therefore, an event determined by that person; and in each case he would himself use the auxiliary *SHALL* in expressing the event by direct statement: He *shall* be sent to school; You *shall* be rewarded; Our future actions *shall* be in accordance with your wishes; Blood *shall* flow; and so forth. Hence, according to the rule, the event ought to be described, in the indirect statement, by *SHALL* or

SHOULD. If the subject of the principal clause would use WILL or WOULD in the direct statement, then we must use WILL or WOULD also in the indirect statement. Thus we ought to say, He promised he *would* come to dinner, You said you *would* never desert me ; because the person making the promise would say, I *will* come to dinner, I *will* never desert you.

It may be useful to observe also, that, so far as this rule is concerned, the subject of the principal clause may be in the First, Second, or Third Person ; the rule applies equally in all three cases. We have only to consider what auxiliary such person would use, if speaking for himself ; and then take that auxiliary for our guide, varying the tense according to circumstances.

The rule may be illustrated by the following passages :—

I give you my word the ten thousand livres *shall* be paid to any agent you may appoint in France or in Quebec.

THACKERAY.

But what's the consequence ; what's the ungrateful behaviour of these rebels, sir ? Why, the husband sends back word that the medicine won't suit his wife's complaint, and so she *shan't* take it—says she *shan't* take it, sir ! Good, strong, wholesome medicine, as was given with great success to two Irish labourers and a coalheaver, only a week before, and he sends back word that she *shan't* take it, sir !

CHARLES DICKENS.

Museau swore that the letter *should* go, and no other [determination] ; that if I hesitated, he *would* [threat] fling me out of the fort, or hand me over to the tender mercies of his ruffian Indian allies.

THACKERAY.

As for Lyddy, he was determined she *should* have as pleasant a life as possible.

THACKERAY.

He bade me tell the ladies that they *should* hear from him 'promise'.

THACKERAY.

The King, thus deserted by his ally and by his Chancellor, yielded, cancelled the Declaration, and solemnly promised that it *should* never be drawn into a precedent.

MACAULAY.

It was said that old soldiers of the Commonwealth, who, to their own astonishment and that of the public, had been made Aldermen, gave the agents of the Court very distinctly to understand that blood *should* flow [threat] before Popery and arbitrary power were established in England.

MACAULAY.

At length James positively commanded them to answer the question. He did not expressly engage that their confession *should* not be used against them.

MACAULAY.

### *Second Class of Exceptions.*

When the indirect statement is in the Third Person, and the principal clause is also in the Third Person, we are free to use *SHALL* and *WILL*, in the indirect statement, as they would be used by the subject of the principal clause speaking for himself. This principle is of far-reaching influence, and accounts for the use of *SHALL* and *SHOULD* in a large number of cases, where the general rule, already laid down, would allow us to use *WILL* and *WOULD*. Here are a few examples: He was afraid he *should* be drowned if he went out of his depth; He said he *should* be uneasy until he heard of his brother's safe arrival; He felt that he *should* never recover from that illness; He flattered himself that he *should* be able to win the prize; He says in his letter that he *shall* be glad to meet my views; He thinks he *shall* be more happy if he keeps out of politics.

The subject of the leading clause, in these examples, would say, if speaking for himself, I am afraid I *shall* be drowned, I feel I *shall* not recover, I *shall* be uneasy, I *shall* be happy; and so on. Hence, according to the principle now explained, we are at liberty to say, in reporting his feelings and his sayings: He was afraid he *should* be drowned, He said he *should* be uneasy, He felt he *should* not recover, He thinks he *shall* be happy.

This usage, which seems to be only permissive and not binding, imparts to the style a certain animation and dramatic force; and accordingly we find it very generally adopted by those writers whose style is most eminently dramatic. With Macaulay it is so common as to become, practically, a general rule. The idea seems to be that the

writer or speaker throws himself into the position of the person who is the subject of the principal clause, and thus feels himself compelled, as it were, to use the same form of expression which that person would have used, if speaking in his own behalf.

I am inclined to think that the practice is more readily adopted in the case of *SHOULD* than in the case of *SHALL*. Thus, it seems quite natural to say, He thought he *should* be able to pay his debts : but a little stiff to say, He thinks he *shall* be able to pay his debts. The reader will find, however, in the following large collection of extracts, a sufficient number of examples, from the highest authorities, to justify both forms of expression :—

They were, therefore, confident that they *should* be able to fill all the municipal offices in the kingdom with staunch friends.

MACAULAY.

Also, who had flattered himself that he *should* be able to bring over a great body of his disciples to the royal side, found himself on a sudden an object of contempt and abhorrence to those who had lately revered him as their spiritual guide.

MACAULAY.

Oliver secretly resolved, if he found the Dodger incorrigible, as he more than half suspected he *should*, to decline the honour of his further acquaintance.

CHARLES DICKENS.

The Jew grinned ; and making a low obeisance to Oliver, took him by the hand, and hoped he *should* have the honour of his intimate acquaintance.

CHARLES DICKENS.

He recollected with what awe and transport he had at first come to the University, as to some sacred shrine ; and how from time to time hopes had come over him that some day or other he *should* have gained a title to residence on one of its ancient foundations.

NEWMAN.

Pope pleased himself with being important and formidable ; till at last he began to think he *should* be more safe if he were less busy.

JOHNSON.

He shook our hands, and said he *should* never forget our kindness, never.

THACKERAY.

The Lord Lieutenant, whom no insult could drive to resign the pomp and emoluments of his place, declared that he *should* submit cheerfully to the royal pleasure, and approve himself in all things a faithful and obedient subject.

MACAULAY.

Farmer Gurnett, who lives close by Fairoaks, riding by at this minute, and touching his hat to Pen, the latter stopped him, and sent a message to his mother to say that he had met with an old school-fellow, and *should* dine in Chatteris.

THACKERAY.

My Lord Castlewood said at breakfast that he *should* wait on you this very day, Mr. Warrington.

THACKERAY.

A great saint, St. Philip Neri, said that, if he had a dozen really detached men, he *should* be able to convert the world.

NEWMAN.

Oliver considered a little while, and at last said, he *should* think it a much better thing to be a bookseller.

CHARLES DICKENS.

Clarendon then, in the most abject terms, declared that he *would* not attempt [intention] to justify himself; that he acquiesced in the royal judgment, be it what it might; that he prostrated himself to the dust; that he implored pardon; that of all penitents he was the most sincere; that he *should* think it glorious to die in his Sovereign's cause, but found it impossible to live under his Sovereign's displeasure.

MACAULAY.

He told us yesterday that our harsh policy might, perhaps, goad the unthinking populace of Ireland into insurrection; and he added that, if there should be an insurrection, he *should*, while execrating us as the authors of all the mischief, be found in our ranks, and *should* be ready to support us in everything that might be necessary for the restoration of order.

MACAULAY.

It is plain, therefore, that a total separation between the two islands might, in the natural course of things, be the effect of the arrangement recommended by the honourable and learned gentleman, who solemnly declares that he *should* consider such a separation as the greatest of calamities.

MACAULAY.

Rose retired for the night, assuring them that she felt certain she *should* rise in the morning quite well.

CHARLES DICKENS.

No Puritan divine, however moderate his opinions, however guarded his conduct, could feel any confidence that he *should* not be torn from his family and flung into a dungeon.

MACAULAY.

Tenison's exhortations were in a milder tone than those of the bishops. But he, like them, thought that he *should* not be justified in administering the Eucharist to one whose penitence was of so unsatisfactory a nature.

MACAULAY.

On his going abroad she [Byron's mother] had conceived a sort of superstitious fancy that she *should* never see him again ; and when he returned, safe and well, and wrote to inform her that he *should* soon see her at Newstead, she said to her waiting-woman, " If I should be dead before Byron comes down, what a strange thing it would be !"—and so, in fact, it happened.

MOORE.

They assure the oppressor that if he will only relax a little of his severity they *shall* be quite content ; and perhaps, at the time, they believe that they *shall* be content.

MACAULAY.

Another letter from the illustrious John Murray, returning to the charge, saying that he sees I can do, without much trouble, the very thing he wishes, and that he *shall* have great satisfaction in giving me five hundred guineas for the task ; the very sum he shrunk from some months since.

MOORE.

With this great principle, I say, clearly impressed upon his mind, he walks into the chapel, knowing well he *shall* find some juggling there.

NEWMAN.

He, too, having been in the third heaven, counts that he *shall* never come down from it, that he *shall* walk ever as on the battlements of heaven ; or at any rate does not expect that henceforth he *shall* be liable to everyday vulgar temptations which he sees to be besetting so many around him.

ARCHBISHOP TRENCH.

He had chosen a shawl of about thirty shillings value ; and his face looked broadly happy, under the anticipation, no doubt, of the pleasant surprise he *should* give to some Molly or Jenny at home.

MRS. GASKELL.

Deborah said she *should* like to marry an archdeacon, and write his charges.

MRS. GASKELL.

Mr. Holbrook bade us good-bye, with many a hope that he *should* soon see Miss Matty again.

MRS. GASKELL.

Miss Matty said that she did not think that she *should* dare to be always warning young people against matrimony, as Miss Pole did continually.

MRS. GASKELL.

Miss Matty, who was trembling very much, said we owed it to society to apprehend the robbers, and that she *should* certainly do her best to lay hold of them, and lock them up in the garret till morning.

MRS. GASKELL.

Mrs. Jamieson said she *should* not feel comfortable unless she sat up and watched.

MRS. GASKELL.

Miss Jenkyns said she *should* accompany Miss Jessie to the funeral.

MRS. GASKELL.

As we were getting into the fly to return, I heard Mr. Holbrook say he *should* call on the ladies soon, and inquire how they got home.

MRS. GASKELL.

I remember my father rather thought he *should* be asked to print this last set [of sermons] ; but the parish had, perhaps, had enough of them with hearing.

MRS. GASKELL.

She hoped that she *should* pay every farthing that she could be said to owe, for her father's sake, who had been so respected at Cranford.

MRS. GASKELL.

Miss Matty sat down and cried very heartily, and accounted for it by saying that the thought of Martha being married so soon gave her quite a shock, and that she *should* never forgive herself if she thought she was hurrying the poor creature.

MRS. GASKELL.

Mrs. Jamieson said she was certain he *would* excuse her if she gave her poor dumb Carlo his tea first.

MRS. GASKELL.

The following passages may be regarded as coming under the same general principle as those already quoted, if we look to the sense of the leading clause, rather than to its grammatical construction. For example, the phrases, He was told, He was given to understand, It was intimated to him, are equivalent to, They told him, They gave him

to understand, They intimated to him. With this explanation, the application of the principle is at once apparent.

Charles was sometimes allured by the hope of a subsidy, and sometimes frightened by being told [they told him] that, if he convoked the Houses, the secret articles of the treaty of Dover *should* be published [threat].

MACAULAY.

Bunyan was told [they told him] that, if he *would* give up preaching, he *should* be instantly liberated [promise]. He was warned that, if he persisted in disobeying the law, he *would* be liable to banishment [fact], and that, if he were found in England after a certain time, his neck *would* be stretched [fact].

MACAULAY.

They were prosecuted, and were given to understand that no mercy *should* be shown to them [threat] unless they *would* ransom themselves by surrendering their charter.

MACAULAY.

It had been intimated to him by the whole body of attorneys who employed him that, if he declined this brief, he *should* never receive another [threat].

MACAULAY.

The inductive method leads the clown to the conclusion, that if he sows barley, he *shall* not reap wheat [the clown comes to the conclusion that . . . he *shall* not reap wheat].

MACAULAY.

The collection of extracts now before the reader seems to me amply sufficient to establish the general principle, that when the indirect statement is in the Third Person, and the leading clause of the sentence is also in the Third Person, we are at liberty to use *SHALL* and *WILL*, in the indirect statement, as they would be used by the subject of the leading clause, speaking for himself. But it may be suggested, and not unnaturally, in the presence of such an array of passages, all pointing in the same direction, that this practice, is perhaps, not only allowable, but obligatory. It seems to me, therefore, desirable, in support of the view I am putting forward, that the practice illustrated by these examples is not absolutely compulsory, to subjoin a few extracts from unexceptionable English writers, which exhibit the opposite usage. I should say, however, that I do not wish to speak

dogmatically on this point, which seems to me not very clearly settled, either by the teaching of grammarians, or by the practice of English writers ; and I should be glad to hear the views of any of my readers who may have given attention to the subject.

Buckle believed in a future state, because it was intolerable to him to think that he *would* never meet his mother again.

FROUDE.

On such a subject the Bishop of Oxford knew that he *would* have a willing listener in the Prince.

SIR THEODORE MARTIN.

He knew that, according to the system pursued in France, where almost all promotion is given to the noblesse, he never *would* advance in rank.

THACKERAY.

Mrs. Bulstrode drove into the town to pay some visits, conjecturing that if anything were known to have gone wrong in Mr. Bulstrode's affairs, she *would* see or hear some sign of it.

GEORGE ELIOTT.

There is a universal scramble ; everyone gets what he can, and seems to think he *would* be almost justified in appropriating the whole to himself.

SYDNEY SMITH.

The constable nodded profoundly. He said, if that wasn't low, he *would* be glad to know what was.

CHARLES DICKENS.

It was promised that the possibilities of oppression and spoliation *would* be kept within bounds.

THE TIMES.

It is hardly necessary to comment on these passages : they are directly at variance with the practice illustrated by the previous extracts. Buckle, speaking for himself would have said, " It is intolerable to think that I *shall* never meet my mother again." The Bishop of Oxford would have said, " I know I *shall* have a willing listener in the Prince." Mrs. Bulstrode, if thinking aloud, would have expressed her conjectures in some such form ; as, " Surely if anything is wrong I *shall* see some sign of it ; " and so of the rest. Hence we should have expected, in accordance with the idiom suggested by the previous extracts, to find *SHOULD* and not *WOULD* in the Indirect Statement. The inference I would

draw, then, from the examples before us, is that this idiom, though largely prevailing amongst the best writers, is not compulsory, and may be departed from without error.

The principle we are considering has been hitherto illustrated only by examples in which the sayings, thoughts, and feelings, of some third person, are reported in the oblique clause of a sentence. But it may be applied also to the principal clause of a sentence, when it is apparent, from the context, that the writer is speaking, not in his own name, but in the name of one of the characters, whom he has introduced to his readers. Thus, for example, we read in Lord Macaulay's essay on Addison:—

Tickell declared that he *should* not go on with the *Iliad*. That enterprise he *should* leave to powers, which he admitted to be superior to his own.

MACAULAY.

Here, *SHOULD* is used in the oblique clause of the first sentence, in accordance with the rule already established. But, in the next sentence, *SHOULD* is used in the principal clause, because the reader is supposed to understand that the writer is speaking now in the name of Tickell, who was the subject of the preceding sentence. The second sentence is in fact an indirect statement, though in form it has the appearance of a direct statement. A similar explanation may be applied to the passages which follow, many of which are also taken from Lord Macaulay, with whom this form of narrative is very common.

They were peers of Parliament, they said. They were advised by the best lawyers in Westminster Hall that no peer could be required to enter into a recognizance in a case of libel; and they *should* not think themselves justified in relinquishing the privilege of their order.

MACAULAY.

In the preface, Mr. Sadler excuses himself on the plea of haste. Two-thirds of his book [*The Law of Population*], he tells us, were written in a few months. If any terms have escaped him which can be construed into personal disrespect, he *shall* deeply regret that he had not more time to revise them.

MACAULAY.

In his perplexity he promised everything to everybody. He *would* stand by France : he *would* break with France : he *would* never meet another Parliament : he *would* order writs for Parliament to be issued without delay. He assured the Duke of York, that Halifax *should* be dismissed from office, and Halifax, that the Duke *should* be sent to Scotland.

MACAULAY.

The plan was excellent ; but the king would not hear of it. Dull, obstinate, unforgiving, and, at the same time, half mad, he positively refused to admit Fox into his service. Anybody else, even men who had gone as far as Fox, in what his Majesty considered as Jacobinism, Shéridan, Grey, Erskine, *should* be graciously received [promise] ; but Fox never.

MACAULAY.

The devotion which had been so signally shown to the House of Stuart, which had been proof against defeats, confiscations, and proscriptions, which perfidy, oppression, ingratitude, could not weary out, was now transferred entire to the House of Brunswick. If George the Third *would* but accept the homage of the Cavaliers and High Churchmen, he *should* be to them [promise] all that Charles the First and Charles the Second had been.

MACAULAY.

Here verily was the mouth speaking great things, but there was more behind, which but for the atrocious sentiments he had already admitted into his mouth, he really *should* not have the courage [event independent of speaker's will], the endurance to utter.

NEWMAN.

Major Jenkyns wrote to propose that he and his wife should spend a night at Cranford, on his way to Scotland—at the inn, if it did not suit Miss Matilda to receive them into her house ; in which case, they *should* hope [future state of feelings] to be with her as much as possible during the day.

MRS. GASKELL.

A further extension of the same idiom is to be found in the practice of reporters, when they report a speech in the Third Person. From a cursory glance over the reports of speeches in English newspapers, it will be seen that the reporter, though writing in the Third Person, habitually uses SHALL and WILL as they were used by the orator speaking in the First Person. In fact, the whole report is treated as an indirect statement depending on some such phrase as

this, found in the first line, Mr. So-and-So rose and said. Of course the reporter, as a rule, changes *SHALL* into *SHOULD* and *WILL* into *WOULD*, as he is reporting in the past tense. Here are a few examples, which I have picked out of a volume of Hansard, taken up at random.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Gladstone said he would rather have the question in writing, before he gave an answer. . . . He *should* not like to give a decided answer to a hypothetical question, before ascertaining what would be the real law of the case.

Pp. 876, 87.

Mr. Bentinck said he rose to move that the Bill be read again upon this day six months. . . . As he objected to the principle of the Bill, he *should* persevere with his motion.

Pp. 1951-53.

Mr. Goschen said, he felt confident that honourable members would see the propriety of the Government stating their views with regard to the Bill. . . . If the Amendment were pressed to a division, he *should* feel bound to vote against the Bill.

Pp. 1969-71.

Mr. Hunt said, he fully anticipated that the right honourable gentleman, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, would endeavour to reconcile the difference of the tax, on the ground that 4s. 6d. was a small amount. . . . He *should* take the sense of the Committee on the point.

P. 794.

Mr. Lavard said, he rose to move for leave to bring in a Bill. . . . He regretted that he was unable to accede to the appeal of the honourable Member opposite, that he *should* not bring on this subject at that late hour of the evening ; but as he *should* have no other opportunity of doing so before the Recess, it was a matter of urgent necessity that he *should* proceed with his Motion.

Pp. 588, 589.

Lord Stanley said, that he *should* not have troubled the House if it had not been for the circumstance that he was Chairman of the Royal Commission which sat upon the question of the administration of the Patent Law, some years ago ; and he thought, therefore, that it might be expected from him that he *should* state what was the result which that inquiry had made upon his mind. . . . If called on to say Aye or No to the Motion, he *should* certainly give his vote in favour of it ; but as this was a matter of great delicacy, and which required very careful handling, he *should* be content to leave the question in the hands of the Government.

Pp. 904-908.

<sup>1</sup> Third series, vol. 120, May 3—June 16, 1869.

The Solicitor-General rose to give, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, a most distinct and uncompromising opposition to the resolution which had just been moved. . . . The controversy in which they were engaged might last for many years, and for his own part, he *should* take care that from beginning to end no words *should* be spoken by him which *would* embitter the struggle.

THE TIMES.

### *Third Class of Exceptions.*

We have seen, when dealing with direct statement, that SHALL is always used in the enactment of laws. From this we are naturally prepared to find that, in the indirect statement, SHALL or SHOULD is used in describing the object, aim, or effect of laws. For example, It is a maxim of English law that every man *shall* be held to be innocent until he is proved to be guilty.

This principle is extended to the case in which we are speaking, not strictly of laws, but of the orders, instructions, or arrangements of some one placed in authority. Thus we say, He gave directions that his servants *should* go on before, and have the castle ready for his reception.

It is further extended to cases where we speak not of laws or orders, but of some decision arrived at, some object aimed at, some plan to be carried out, or of means taken to secure an end: as, The committee have decided that no one *shall* be admitted without a ticket: The Government hope to devise some means by which the benefits of this grant *shall* be extended to all classes.

It is important to fix this principle in the mind, and to impress its use upon the ear: because, in the cases which come under it, the use of SHALL and SHOULD is not merely permissive, but seems to be of strict obligation. I therefore append some extracts from English writers and speakers.

It is the law of our nature that such fits of excitement *shall* always be followed by remissions.

MACAULAY.

It is the universal law that whatever pursuit, whatever doctrine, becomes fashionable, *shall* lose a portion of that dignity which it had possessed while it was confined to a small but earnest minority, and was loved for its own sake alone.

MACAULAY.

He next gave the royal assent to a law enacting that the Presbyterian divines who had been pastors of parishes in the days of the Covenant, and had after the Restoration been ejected for refusing to acknowledge episcopal authority, *should* be restored.

MACAULAY.

It was expressly provided that every Society of Merchants which had been instituted for the purpose of carrying on any trade *should* retain all legal privileges.

MACAULAY.

The Legislature might enact that Ferguson or Mugleton *should* live in the palace at Lambeth, *should* sit on the throne of Augustin, *should* be called Your Grace, and *should* walk in processions before the Premier Duke; but, in spite of the Legislature, Sancroft would, while Sancroft lived, be the only true Archbishop of Canterbury; and the person who *should* presume to usurp the archiepiscopal functions would be a schismatic.

MACAULAY.

The Bill provides that, under certain conditions, there *shall* be a considerable proportion of schools in Ireland freed from school pence.

SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT.

The Prince has given instructions that medical bulletins *shall* be issued twice a day.

THE TIMES.

It is now settled that Mr. Chamberlain *shall* lead the Liberal Unionist party in the House of Commons.

THE STANDARD.

It has been arranged that the Parliamentary Point-to-Point Steeplechase *shall* take place on Saturday, April 9, near Warwick.

THE TIMES.

It was decided that Nancy *should* repair to the Jew's, next evening, when the night had set in. . . It was also solemnly arranged that poor Oliver *should*, for the purposes of the contemplated expedition, be unreservedly consigned to the care and custody of Mr. William Sykes; and further, that the said Sykes *should* deal with him as he thought fit; and *should* not be held responsible by the Jew for any mischance that might befall the boy.

CHARLES DICKENS.

But it is all very well to decide who *shall* and who *shall* not, in turn, be a dweller in this favoured spot.

MRS. THACKERAY RITCHIE.

So they established the rule that all poor people *should* have the alternative of being starved by a gradual process in the house, or by a quick one out of it.

CHARLES DICKENS.

To afford him an early opportunity for the execution of this design, it was arranged that he *should* call at the hotel at eight o'clock that evening, and that in the meantime Mrs. Maylie should be cautiously informed of all that had occurred.

CHARLES DICKENS.

If we once say [lay down the principle] that merit, however eminent, *shall* be a title to the crown, we disturb the very foundations of our polity.

MACAULAY.

Mrs. Jamieson was very much at the mercy of her old servants. If they chose [settled among themselves] that she *should* give a party, they reminded her of the necessity of so doing ; if not, she let it alone.

MRS. GASKELL.

For the narrative historian it is not enough [to provide] that his statements *shall* be accurate and intelligible.

FREEMAN.

It will be my duty to propose to the House that the sum for the current year *shall* be handed over to the Teachers' Pension Fund, in order to improve its position.

SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT.

It is the desire of the supporters of the charter, to have in London a local University, which *shall* give its students all those academical advantages which already exist in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Glasgow.

LETTER IN THE TIMES.

We are going into the country, and my aunt intends that you *shall* accompany us.

CHARLES DICKENS.

Harry was sorry that a plan Madam Esmond had hinted at, in her letters, was not feasible—viz., that an application *should* be made to the Master of the Temple, who *should* be informed that Mr. George Warrington was a gentleman of most noble birth, and of great property in America, and ought only to sit with the very best company in the Hall.

THACKERAY.

She bore up, however, like a brave woman, and, resolving that nothing, on her part at least, *should* be wanting, she appeared shortly before eleven o'clock, in full Sunday costume, with her bonnet, and her books of devotion.

MALLOCK.

I make this stipulation, that I shall examine this boy in your presence, and that if, from what he says, we judge that he is a real and thorough bad one, he *shall* be left to his fate.

CHARLES DICKENS.

In consideration of the arduous duties which Mr. Hamilton will have to perform, we have taken care that his emoluments *shall* not be less than those he at present enjoys.

SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT.

If we can devise some means by which the benefits of education *shall* be extended to the whole of the children of Ireland, we shall confer a great benefit upon Ireland itself.

SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT.

It may be well, now that we have reached the end of this complicated question, to take a brief review of the results at which we have arrived. The copious examples I have brought forward, drawn from standard English writers, may be taken to represent the modern English use of *SHALL* and *WILL*, in the indirect statement. If will be for the careful student to consider the significance of these examples, and to seek out for himself the general principles by which they are governed. But in the meantime, I thought I should best consult the interests of the general reader, by setting down, as I went along, the rules which, as it seemed to me, might be derived from the evidence before us. And these rules I will now briefly sum up.

*Rule I.* If the indirect statement is in the First Person, the proper auxiliary to use is that which would be used by the subject of the indirect statement, speaking for himself.

*Rule II.* If the indirect statement is in the Second or Third Person, then, as a general rule, *WILL* may be employed for the future, and *WOULD* for the conditional, unless there is some special reason for using *SHALL* or *SHOULD*. Such a special reason, however, arises in a large number of cases, which may be reduced to three heads.

First, if the event described by indirect statement is determined by the subject of the principal clause, and if the present speaker wishes to represent it as so determined, then he should employ that auxiliary which would be employed by the subject of the principal clause, speaking for himself. This principle often leads to the use of *SHALL* and *SHOULD*, in the indirect statement, where the general rule, just laid down, would allow the use of *WILL* or *WOULD*.

Secondly, when the indirect statement is in the Third Person, and the principal clause is also in the Third Person, the speaker is at liberty to use the auxiliary which would be used by the subject of the principal clause, if he were speaking in his own person. It will be observed that this rule is not obligatory, and may be departed from without error; nevertheless it is followed very generally by the best English writers, especially by those who aim at expressing themselves in a lively and dramatic style.

Lastly, when the indirect statement expresses the aim or effect of a law, the orders or instructions of persons in authority, the decision, arrangements, agreements, plan or purpose, of private individuals, *SHALL* or *SHOULD* is the proper auxiliary to employ. It is important to note that this rule is not, like the former, merely permissive, but should be strictly observed.

In my next paper, I will deal with the use of *SHALL* and *SHOULD*, in the oblique clause of a sentence, to express a contingent or uncertain event.

G. M.

---

### OUR MARTYRS.—III.

HAVING set down in the two preceding papers relating to our martyrs the mode of procedure followed in the preliminary inquiry which takes place in the Episcopal Court, I will now give some account of the historical sources from which we derive a knowledge of our martyrs, of the place and the manner of their martyrdom. That will be done best, perhaps, by giving a short notice of each of the books from which that information can be had, most of them being very rare and not easily accessible to the ordinary reader. Let me say, in passing, that in this respect the case of our Irish martyrs is at a great disadvantage when compared with that of their English brethren. Most of these went through some form of trial. They were

arraigned before judges and a jury, as we see in the case of our two countrymen the Primates Creagh and Plunket: the trial of the latter has come down to us *verbatim*. There was not even the remotest semblance of what would now be called a trial of any one of our martyrs. For instance, in the case of Brother Dominic Collins, S.J., we find he was taken from Cork to Limerick to be tried there. Two months after the judge came for the clearing of the jail. Bruodin tells the manner of the trial. He was brought before the judge, and examined. He confessed openly that he was a Catholic and a religious of the Society of Jesus, and that he returned to his native country to instruct the people. "Do you wish," said the President, "to abjure the Popish religion and become a Protestant?" "I would rather endure a thousand deaths," was the reply. When he had uttered these words, he was declared guilty of high treason, sentenced to death, and executed very soon after. Hence Roth, speaking of his martyrdom, says he was condemned without any sort of trial, "*absque judicii forma*." In the case of Cornelius O'Deveny, there seems to have been somewhat more the semblance of a trial; but from the conduct of the judge throughout it is easy to see that the trial, such as it was, was the merest mockery. In most instances the martyr was executed by martial law, which the Duke of Wellington, speaking of its administration even in more constitutional times, used to say was no law at all, but the will of the general. When some legal difficulty arose about transferring the trial of Dermot O'Hurley to England, the knot was cut by Wallop, who had him executed, *martis et armorum jure*—i. e., by martial law—and neither Wallop nor those who carried out his wicked purpose were anything the worse of it. Again, the English martyrs have the good fortune to have had a faithful biographer, who gathered up with great industry and care all that was known of them, and with such exactness that recent researches among the State papers and in private collections, far from weakening the authority of his book, have but strengthened it. I allude to the Right Rev. Dr. Challoner's *Memoirs of Missionary Priests in England*, first published in 1741, and frequently reprinted

since. The book has been found so accurate that it has been accepted as an authentic record of the sufferings of those who died for the faith in England. His latest editor says: "His book concerns England only, and he therefore makes no mention of a host of glorious martyrs who, it should be remembered, suffered in Ireland under the same government." Unhappily, we have nothing of the kind, or, at best, only a later and very imperfect record, compiled some years ago by the late Myles O'Reilly from the books mentioned by him in the introduction to his work. Hence he who would know something of this portion—surely not the least important—of Irish Church history, needs to search in many a tome, and often he will consider himself lucky if he finds, as the reward of his labour, anything more than passing mention of someone who died for the faith in Ireland during the time of persecution.

To come to the books that contain some details of the sufferings of our martyrs, I will give a short account of the more important of them, taking them in the order of time when they were printed.

The first is a little book in 18mo, of two hundred folios, printed at Ingolstadt in 1583. It bears the title, *De Martyrio Fratrum Ordinis Minorum Divi Francisci*. The author is Frater Thomas Bouchier, a Franciscan and an Englishman, as the title-page tells us. The fourth part, beginning at folio 137, bears the title, *De Martyrio Duorum Hybernorum Patrum*, and gives a detailed account of the martyrdom of Cornelius O'Deveny, Bishop of Mayo, and his companion, Con O'Ruark, O.S.F., who were put to death at Kilmallock, in 1578, by order of Drury, then President of Munster. Father Holing, S.J., tells in his *Magna Supplicia* of the signal punishment inflicted on Drury by the Almighty for his cruelties. The authority of this book in reference to the English martyrs was admitted, if I don't mistake, to be very great. The author seems to have lived in Ireland for some time, for he says he was intimately acquainted with the Earl and Countess of Desmond; she it was that gave information to the Mayor of Limerick of the coming of the Bishop to this country, probably without any evil intention.

But be that as it may, the result was that he was seized, handed over to Drury, and put to death. The details which he gives of the death of the two martyrs, we need hardly add, correspond in every particular with those given by other writers.

The second is the fine folio volume of Father Francis Gonzaga, O.S.F., which bears the title, *De Origine Seraphicæ Religionis . . . admirabilique ejus propagatione*. It was published in Rome in 1587, and was dedicated to Pope Sixtus V., who had been a religious of that Order. The heading of one portion of his work is "De Provincia Hiberniæ." He begins by speaking of the destruction of the convents of his Order in Scotland and England, and goes on to say that of the many which existed formerly in Ireland only a few were surviving. He found it difficult to get information from a country so far off; but what he gives has been very carefully examined into, so that no suspicion of falsehood can attach to anything set down in his writings. The Fathers "who have obtained the palm of martyrdom at the hands of the fierce heretics," and of whom he gives a brief sketch, are O'Hely and O'Ruark, mentioned above; Brother Phelim O'Hara, who was put to death with great cruelty at Moyne, near Ballina, county Mayo, in 1578; and Father Tadhg Daly, of the convent of Roscrea, who was hanged at Limerick, January 1st, 1576. A fine copy of this book is in the possession of the Franciscan Fathers, Cork, who kindly lent it to me to make from it the extracts which I needed.

The third is a book almost as rare as Bouchier's. It is a small 4to, of twenty-five pages, printed at Antwerp in 1592. It bears the title, *Theatrum Crudelitatum Haereticorum Nostri Temporis*. The most important part of it is the beautiful plates illustrating the text. These are headed-- "The cruelty of the schismatics in England;" "The horrible crimes perpetrated by the Huguenots in France;" "The dreadful sorts of cruelty practised by the Gueux in Belgium;" in fine, we come to "The persecutions practised by the Protestant Calvinists in Ireland." In this plate we see Dermot O'Hurley, Archbishop of Cashel, who was martyred

in Dublin in 1584, undergoing the sufferings that ended in his death. In one corner of the plate he is seated on a bench, his legs held fast in stocks, his feet in the tin boots, and the fire is lighted under them, just as Roth and O'Sullivan say. The halberdiers are standing round, and their commander by his gestures directs what should be done. On the left side O'Hurley is represented as hanging from a cross-beam; and, to show how truthful the print is in every detail, the wythe or gad with which he was hanged, what O'Sullivan calls *restis viminea*, the twig rope, is given with the branches and leaves on it. In the upper part of the middle of the print two persons, one of them a bishop, as we see by his mitre, and the other a monk, for he wears a cowl, are hanging from another cross-beam. These the text on the opposite page tells us are Patrick O'Hely and Con O'Ruark, already mentioned. On the same page there is a short biography of O'Hurley, and another of O'Hely. Six Latin hexameters under the print tell how Ireland, though separated by the sea from England, is persecuted in the same way by the wicked. The author's name is not given on the title-page, but it will be found at the heading of the preface. It is Richard Verstegan. Dodd, in his *Church History*, gives the following account of him :—

“He was of Dutch extraction, and born in London. He was sent to the University of Oxford, but on account of certain oaths not agreeable to him by reason of his religion, he went abroad, and settled at Antwerp. The work mentioned above created him many enemies among those of the new creed, and through his fears on this account he left Antwerp, and went to Paris. There he was complained of by the English Ambassador for scandalously exposing Queen Elizabeth in his book of pictures. Upon this complaint he was thrown into prison by order of the French King. After a while he was set free, and he returned to Antwerp. While there he was very useful in communicating Catholic intelligence from England to the members of the Society of Jesus in Flanders and Rome.”

I may add that I purchased this book at the sale of the late Dr. Madden's library.

Another work, bearing the title of *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicorum in Anglia*, in a supplement, gives the two

short biographies from the *Theatrum* of O'Hurley and O'Hely word for word. In an introduction to this extract the writer says:—"Having finished the second part of this *Concertatio*, in which the conflicts of the martyrs and confessors in England are described, some others have come into our hands, well worthy of seeing the light with those already mentioned: for this reason we have taken care to have them put in print, that they might be joined on to the histories of the other martyrs." These words show what the writer thought of the Irish who died for the faith in his time. The work was published at Treves, in 1583, anonymously: but it was well known the author was John Gibbons, S.J. It was reprinted by Aquapontanus (Dr. Bridgewater) in 1588. There is a modern reprint of this work in the Library of the Franciscan Fathers, Merchants'-quay, Dublin.

I must reserve to the next issue an account of the works of Roth, O'Sullivan, Bruodin, and other Irish writers who have written on this subject.

D. MURPHY, S.J.

---

## Liturgical Questions.

---

### QUESTIONS TOUCHING THE RUBRICS OF THE MASS AND THE PURIFICATION OF THE CHALICE AND CIBORIUM.

"REV. DEAR SIR,—1. On occasions of collections—say for the Holy Father—is it lawful for the officiating priest to leave the altar immediately after purifying the chalice, and before he reads the Communion of the Mass, go through the congregation and take up the collection, return and finish the Mass?

"2. In rural districts, on occasion of stations either in private houses or small country chapels, a priest usually fetches with him a ciborium or large pyx, to make sure that the consecrated particles shall not fall short. I assume that, at the close of the station, the ciborium, or large pyx, is exhausted, or nearly so. The priest has room for the remaining particles in his smaller pyx,

and he finds it very convenient to carry back the empty ciborium in his small bag. In order to do so, will it suffice to purify the ciborium by removing the particles and all the small fragments which meet the eye, by means of his fingers, from the ciborium, or large pyx, into the small pyx? Or, supposing he use a little water, and have no sacrarium, will it do to sop a purificator in it, and thus be enabled to carry home the ciborium, or large pyx, in the manner indicated above?

"3. A priest goes to an outer chapel on Sunday, or festival, to celebrate his *first* mass. He has forgotten the little bottle in which he usually carries the ablution for consumption at his *second* mass, in a distant church. The circumstances are such that he cannot leave the chalice unpurified, nor can he leave the ablution in church where he celebrates his first mass—at least, the priest does not fancy so doing. He pours some wine into the chalice, effects its purification, and gives this ablution to one of the servers, who has been to Holy Communion, to drink. Can such a thing be done licitly?

"A few short notes on the above in early number of I. E. RECORD will oblige,

"A RURAL CLERGYMAN.

"*February, 1892.*"

1. The first of our esteemed correspondent's questions contains two distinct questions:—(a) Is it lawful to interrupt the mass after the communion for the purpose of taking up a collection? (b) Granting that this interruption is lawful, may the celebrant leave the altar, and go among the people to receive their offerings?

(a) To interrupt the mass for a notable time without cause, even before the canon, or after the communion, is commonly held to be a grievous sin.<sup>1</sup> Given a sufficient cause, however, mass may be interrupted at any part without sin. One cause mentioned by all writers as being sufficient to justify the interruption of the mass, is a sermon or instruction to the congregation. Doubtless, too, in places where the custom exists with the knowledge of the bishops, the interruption on account of the sermon may be prolonged

<sup>1</sup> "Colligitur, secundo si, interruptio absque causa sit modica eam fore peccatum veniale: si notabilis, eam fore peccatum mortale," Quarti, pars. 2, tit. 3, sect. 3, D. 1.

while the offerings of the faithful towards some charitable object are collecting. But the rubrics of the missal,<sup>1</sup> imply that the sermon should take place after the Gospel. And commentators generally mention this part of the mass as that at which it is lawful to interrupt the mass on account of the sermon. But where the parochial mass is a low mass, as in most rural parishes in these countries, a custom has grown up of deferring the sermon until after the communion. This custom, it may be presumed, has the sanction of the bishops, and may, therefore, be regarded as legitimate.<sup>2</sup> We may conclude, then, that it is also lawful to interrupt the mass, or rather to continue the interruption of the mass, after the communion, while a collection, such as that mentioned by our correspondent, is being made.

(b) It is very much to be regretted that, in many places, it should be customary for the celebrant of the parochial mass, on Sundays and feasts of obligation, to go among the people himself to take up their offerings, whether for the support of the clergy or for some other pious purpose. To leave the altar without a grave cause, Quarti mentions among the notable interruptions which constitute a grievous irreverence.<sup>3</sup> Custom palliates this irreverence, but can never remove it altogether, since itself can never become legitimate. The words of the second Plenary Council of Baltimore on this point are weighty and instructive:—

“Sacerdotes quamdiu missam legunt, vel canunt nunquam ab altari discedant, nisi quando id praecepit Rubrica, aut ad concionem adstantibus habendam. . . . Fertur vero, quod non sine, maximo animi dolore accepimus, nonnullos aliquibus in locis esse Sacerdotes, qui ipsa intra missarum solennia, ab altari recedant, aedemque sacram circueant, a singulis fidelibus eleemosynam petentes. Quem turpissimum abusum Ecclesiae Sacrisque ejus ritibus injuriam, quique Catholicorum ruborem et indignationem, A catholicorum vero irrisorem et contemptum provocat, reprobamus et prorsus extirpandum decernimus. Qua in re singulorum Episcoporum conscientia oneratur.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pars. 2, tit. 6, n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> “Concio infra missam habetur post Evangelium. . . . At ex causa rationabili cum licentia Ordinarii etiam post communionem haberi potest.” Wapellhorst, n. 307, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Quarti, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Tit. vi., n. 364.

In America, then, the celebrant is strictly forbidden to leave the altar during mass, unless for the purposes mentioned; but especially and emphatically is he forbidden to go among the faithful to receive their offerings. The motives of this prohibition exist every place as well as in America. Hence, there is everywhere at least the same intrinsic deformity in the practice, the same material irreverence.

2. The second question would seem to present no difficulty. We are of opinion that the first of the expedients suggested is lawful. It is not only possible, but it is comparatively easy to purify a ciborium with the fingers alone, without the use of either wine or water. More especially is this true when the ciborium is small, and the consecrated particles have been in it but for a short time. In this case, the use of any liquid is superfluous if the priest uses even as much diligence in removing the fragments with his finger, as he does in purifying the paten. But should he find it impossible to satisfy himself with this method of purification, then he may use a little water, as our correspondent suggests. What then, he asks, is in this case to be done with the purification?

The method of disposing of it, suggested by our correspondent, is novel, and at first sight appears a little startling; and, as we have been unable to find it discussed anywhere, we should prefer to say nothing, either for or against it. This much, however, may be said in favour of it, that the Congregation of Rites, in the decree of 1857, regarding the celebration of two masses in the same day in different places, suggests a similar method of disposing of the purification of the chalice after the first mass.<sup>1</sup> There is a great difference, no doubt, between the purification of the chalice spoken of here by the congregation, and the purification of the ciborium mentioned by our correspondent. The former is nothing but water without any admixture of the sacred species—the species of wine having been destroyed by the comparatively large quantity of water. Not so, however, with the latter.

<sup>1</sup> “ . . . aqua e calice dimissa, vel gossipio vel stupa absorpta comburatur, vel in sacrario si sit, exsiccanda relinquatur.”

Water does not change—at least immediately—the species of bread. Hence, if any consecrated fragments remain in the ciborium when the water is poured in, they will be transferred to the purificator in our correspondent's method, and will there remain until the moisture has corrupted the species of bread. Such an irreverence should, of course, be avoided as far as possible. But if the priest removes with his finger before using the water, all fragments that are visible, there will not be much greater danger of this irreverence than there is when the ciborium is purified in the ordinary way, and merely wiped with a purificator. However, as we have said, we prefer here neither to approve nor to condemn.

But why does our correspondent not make here the suggestion which he makes in the next question, namely, that the purification of the ciborium, in the circumstances, might be given to some one of those who had just communicated? The water in which a priest has purified his fingers after celebrating a first mass, or after giving communion, is just as likely to contain consecrated fragments as that used for purifying the ciborium. Yet it is generally admitted that the former may be given to one who has communicated, or even to one who is fasting and in the state of grace, though he may not have communicated on that morning.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Quarti<sup>2</sup> admits that consecrated fragments, such as remain in a ciborium, or may be found on the corporal after mass, can be given to lay persons along with the ablution, which it was formerly the custom to administer even to lay persons after communion. The method we now advocate would seem to come under this practice, declared lawful by such an authority as Quarti. Finally, the ritual<sup>3</sup> itself orders the priest who has given communion to a sick person to give him to drink the water in which he purifies

<sup>1</sup> "Ablutio digitorum primae missae reservatur et in alia missa cum ablutione sumitur, et sumitur ab alio qui est jejunus." De Herdt. *Prax. Liturg.*, tom. 1, n. 285.

<sup>2</sup> "Licetum est dare laicis communicantibus post sumpcionem Hostiolae etiam fragmenta quae remanserunt: licet, inquam, in prima sola ablutione." Pars. 2, tit. 10, sect. 2, D. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *De Communione Infr.*, sect. 23.

his fingers; and commentators<sup>1</sup> teach that, when the priest has brought only one Host to the house of the sick person, he may purify his pyx, using water if necessary, and administer the purification, both of his fingers and of the pyx, to the sick person. This case would seem perfectly analogous to the one mentioned by our correspondent; which consequently may, in our opinion, be similarly dealt with.

3. We feel obliged to answer our correspondent's third question in the negative. It is the common opinion of theologians that even a single drop of the consecrated species retains its consecration though mixed with any quantity of wine—at least, when the larger quantity of wine belongs to the same species.<sup>2</sup> This being so, it follows that when the chalice is purified merely with wine, the drops of the Precious Blood, remaining in the chalice, though mixed with the wine, retain their consecration. Hence, though it could not be said of the resulting mixture that it *is* the Precious Blood, still it could be said that it *contains* the Precious Blood. And this would be sufficient to render it unlawful to administer such a mixture to a lay person, as being one to whom, in the Latin Church, communion under both kinds is most strictly forbidden.

Notwithstanding this *a priori* reason, the method here suggested by our correspondent was at one time practised by a great many; <sup>3</sup> *idque*, to quote the words of De Lugo,<sup>4</sup> *iis videbatur religiose fieri et ad majorem eucharistiae cultum et reverentiam conducere*. But this distinguished theologian condemns<sup>5</sup> the practice chiefly for the reason we have given, and is quoted approvingly by Benedict XIV.<sup>6</sup>

Here again we may be permitted to propose an alternative method of overcoming the difficulty we are now discussing. It will, we believe, be found quite as convenient as the

<sup>1</sup> See O'Kane, n. 837.

<sup>2</sup> "Communior est opinio vel unicam guttam vini consecrati permixtam cum qualibet magna quantitate vini, saltem ejusdem speciei non amittere consecrationem." Tonellius, apud Schober, page 104.

<sup>3</sup> See Benedict XIV., D. SS. Missae Sacrifice, l. 2, c. 22, n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Resp. Moral., l. 1, D. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*

method suggested by our correspondent, and certainly less objectionable; but whether it be altogether unobjectionable, we leave to the judgment of our readers. Our correspondent suggests wine, and wine alone, as the liquid with which the chalice should be purified. And it is only to the use of wine that the reasoning of De Tugo at all implies. True, the rubrics of the missal<sup>1</sup> order the use of wine alone for the first ablution of the chalice, and it would seem to be the general opinion of commentators that this rubric imposes a grave obligation.<sup>2</sup> But in the circumstances in which alone our correspondent's difficulty could arise, not only is the use of wine for purifying the chalice not obligatory, but we question whether it be even allowable. The Instruction of the Congregation of Rites, of September 12, 1857, to which we have already referred, orders water to be used for purifying the chalice.<sup>3</sup> First, then, we conclude that water, and not wine, is to be used for purifying the chalice of the first mass, when a priest celebrates two masses on the same day in different places. Secondly, as this purification may be absorbed by cotton or tow and burned, or may be thrown into the sacrarium,<sup>4</sup> we may conclude that it may also be given to a person who has communicated on that morning, and is still fasting; but not, we should say, directly from the chalice, but from some other clean vessel. This method would certainly seem to be allowable, at least in those circumstances which render the adoption of any of the methods mentioned by the Congregation either impossible or very difficult.

D. O'LOAN.

<sup>1</sup> Pars. 2, tit. 10, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Benedict XIV., *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> "Postmodum sacerdos in ipsum calicem tantum saltem aquae fundet, quantum prius vini posuerat."

<sup>4</sup> S.R.C. *Instructio*, Sept. 12, 1857.

## Correspondence.

---

### THE " BENEDICTIO IN ARTICULO MORTIS."

Since writing the hurried note in reply to " *Sacerdos Dublinensis*" which was published in the last issue of the I. E. RECORD, I have given considerable attention to the subject of the " *Benedictio in articulo mortis*," and the conclusion at which I have arrived after much reading and reflection is, that the invocation of the Sacred Name is an essential condition in all cases in which the dying person is able to make it with lips or heart, whether this condition be mentioned in the briefs sent to bishops or be not mentioned. This conclusion I hope to establish so clearly and so firmly that every one of my readers will be compelled to accept it.

There are two classes of arguments by which I intend to establish this conclusion, *intrinsic* and *extrinsic*. The former are derived from the oft-quoted decree of the Congregation of Indulgence, issued in 1775; the latter from the authority of theologians and liturgists.

In order to place the intrinsic arguments on an impregnable basis, and thus prevent the possibility of future cavil, I shall show that the decree in question refers to the Papal blessing in the hour of death, spoken of by Benedict XIV. in the Bull *Pia Mater*, and not to any indulgence granted by Clement XIV., or by any previous or subsequent Pontiff. It would be quite unnecessary to establish this point if all those who, for the past few weeks,<sup>1</sup> have been writing on this subject, had taken the trouble of reading the question addressed to the Congregation, on which the decree is founded. But many of them—in fact, I might say all—knowing, as every priest, ought to know, that a plenary indulgence may be gained in the hour of death

<sup>1</sup> See *Catholic Times* of 11th and 18th March.

by those who die without the assistance of a priest, provided they be at least contrite, and invoke the Sacred Name with their heart, if not with their lips—knowing this, they at once concluded that the decree quoted by me referred only to this indulgence, and that through inadvertence first, and obstinacy afterwards, I twisted it to suit my purpose. And all this without having, apparently, read the decree, though it was given in full in these pages! Nay more, with calm confidence in their own intuition, they have expressed their conviction that the authors whom I quoted in support of my opinion, spoke of the indulgence of Clement XIV., and not of that attached to the Papal blessing, although in the same sentence they stated that they “did not rejoice in the authors mentioned!”<sup>1</sup>

The words of the question addressed to the Congregation of Indulgences, of themselves, make it clear as light that there is reference to the Papal blessing, and to nothing else. This is made still clearer when the question is read in connection with those which precede and follow it. Nine questions in all were on this occasion addressed to the Congregation by the Vicar-General of Vannes, in Bretagne, of which the last five referred respectively to some point connected with the Papal blessing in the hour of death. The seventh is that about which we are at present concerned. And to show the connection between the questions, and thus convince the most sceptical of the reference in the seventh, I subjoin the two which precede, and the one which follows it:—

“5°. Benedictio in articulo mortis cum applicatione indulgentiæ plenariæ potestne, si sit periculum in mora, concedi tum valide, tum licite his, qui citato culpabiliter non fuerunt ab inepto morbo Sacramentis refocti vel Pœnitentiæ, vel Eucharistiæ, vel Extremæ Unctionis, vel nullo horum, subitoque vergunt ad interitum?

“Affirmative ad formam Bullæ Benedicti XIV.

“6°. Benedictio supradicta potestne bis aut amplius in eodem morbo, qui insperato protrahitur, impertiri, etiamsi non convalescerit ægrotus? Si possit iterari hæc benedictio, quodnam requiritur intervallum inter ejus largitiones?

<sup>1</sup> See *Catholic Times*.

“ Semel in eodem statu morbi.

“ 7<sup>m</sup>. Invocatio saltem mentalis SS. Nominis Jesu, de qua fit mentio in Brevibus ad Episcopos de hac benedictione missis, praescribitur, quamdiu aegrotus suae mentis est compos, ut conditio sine qua non, ad indulgentiam yi istius benedictionis lucrandam?

“ Affirmative.

“ 8<sup>m</sup>. Episcopus ad supradictam benedictionem impertiendam delegatus cum facultate sub-delegandi: *Primo*: debetne per paucos sub-delegare sacerdotes, ut majus sit benedictionis istius et indulgentiae huic adnexae desiderium, simul et major utrique concilietur reverentia? *Secundo*: potestne omnes suae dioecesis sub-delegare confessarios, ne etiam una, si fieri possit, ex suis oibus tanta privetur gratia? *Tertio*: potestne sub-delegare omnes directe et speciatim parochos sive plurimos sacerdotes in dignitate constitutos, et indirecte et confuse omnes Confessarios hisce verbis: *Dilecto nobis, etc.*?

“ Affirmative ad primam partem; Negative ad secundam; Affirmative ad tertiam partem quoad parochos speciatim ruri degentes.”

It is impossible for any intelligent person to read over this series of questions without being convinced that in the seventh, as in all the others, there is reference to the Papal blessing in the hour of death, and to nothing else. The word *benedictio*, which is twice used in the seventh question, of itself is sufficient to prove that there cannot be question of the indulgence of Clement XIV. For that indulgence is intended for those cases in which there is no priest present with the dying person to impart a blessing of any kind. Moreover, the words *Benedictio in articulo mortis cum applicatione indulgentiae plenariae*, which occur in the fifth question, restrict the “blessing” spoken of in that question to the Papal blessing, which Benedict XIV. empowered bishops to impart. The reply of the Congregation to this same question shows that this was the sense in which the question was understood. *Affirmative ad formam Bullae Benedicti XIV.* The eighth question supplies no less conclusive proof of the meaning of the word *benedictio* as occurring therein. The only blessing in the hour of death with a plenary indulgence attached to it which the Church recognises—certainly the only one which bishops can sub-delegate their priests to impart—is the one first made

general by Benedict XIV., and since known as the "Papal or Apostolic blessing in the hour of death." There is, then, unquestionably reference to this blessing in the fifth and eighth questions, and the rules of grammar demand that the same meaning be given to the word *benedictio* throughout. Therefore also in the seventh question is there reference to the Papal blessing in the hour of death; and, therefore, in some circumstances, at least, is the invocation of the Sacred Name an essential condition for gaining the indulgence attached to this blessing. I now proceed to show that it is an essential condition in all circumstances.

If the words *de qua fit mentio in Brevibus ad Episcopos de hac benedictione missis* were omitted from the seventh question, it would be readily conceded, I think, that the invocation of the Sacred Name would be an essential condition everywhere, quite independent of the tenor of this or that particular brief. For the question would then simply be: "Is the invocation of the Sacred Name prescribed as an essential condition for gaining the indulgence of the Papal blessing in the hour of death?" And if the Congregation of Indulgences, which has power to make new conditions, and change existing ones, replied in the affirmative to this question, there would be no room for controversy or doubt. And I contend that the presence or absence of these words makes not the slightest change in the signification of the question. They constitute merely an explanatory clause, and might be enclosed in parentheses. They were inserted by the questioner merely to indicate the source and reason of his doubt; just as if he had said: "I find the invocation of the Sacred Name mentioned in the briefs given to bishops about this Papal blessing. Am I to understand that this invocation is an essential condition for gaining the indulgence?" "Yes," answers the Congregation. If I proposed to a learned grammarian a question like this: "Is the sentence 'How came he dead?' which occurs in poetry correct?" and if he replied affirmatively, I and everyone else would take his meaning to be, not that the sentence is correct merely in poetry, but that it is absolutely correct, without reference to the kind of composition in

which it might be found. In this question, the clause "which occurs in poetry," merely points out where I met the sentence, and by no means conveys that I meant to restrict my inquiry as to whether the sentence is correct in poetry alone. In fact, if I omit the clause altogether, the remaining words of the question "Is this sentence, 'How came he dead' correct?" express my meaning perfectly. Now this question is an exact parallel to the question addressed to the Congregation of Indulgences, which we are now discussing. And just as the relative and merely explanatory clause may be omitted from the former without causing any difference of meaning, so may the relative and merely explanatory clause be omitted from the latter, the meaning still remaining precisely the same. And we have already seen that if this clause were omitted there could be no question that the invocation of the Sacred Name would be an essential condition in all places. Since, then, this clause has no influence on the meaning of the question, my conclusion is established, and the affirmative reply of the Congregation to this seventh question constitutes the invocation of the Sacred Name an essential condition *ubique terrarum*, independently of special briefs issued by other Congregations which make no mention of this condition.

In confirmation of this interpretation of the decrees in question, two points may be referred to. The first is, that the reply of the Congregation, the simple *Affirmative*, shows quite clearly that, so far as the Congregation was concerned the condition was intended to be general, and not restricted to those dioceses in whose bishop's briefs it was mentioned. The second point is, that it would be passing strange if the Congregation made a certain condition essential for gaining this indulgence in one place, and not essential in another. Consistency and uniformity in a matter of such practical moment should, one would think, be consulted for by a Roman Congregation to whose sole care all such questions are committed.

So much for the general question. We come now to examine the faculties granted to Irish bishops regarding this blessing and plenary indulgence. These faculties, so far as

the general delegation is concerned, are contained in the *Formula VI., Art. 16*, and are as follows:—

“Concedendi Indulgentiam plenariam primo conversis ab hæresi; atque etiam fidelibus quibuscunque in articulo mortis, saltem contritis, si confiteri non poterunt.”

There is, of course, no mention of the invocation of the Sacred Name in this paragraph; but we are not, therefore, to conclude, as has just been shown, that it is not an essential condition. The 17th Article of *Formula I.*, which is granted to the bishops of America, is precisely the same, word for word, as the above 16th Article of the *Formula VI.*, and Fr. Konings, who wrote a commentary on the faculties granted by this *Formula* to the American bishops under this Article, writes:—

“Indulgentia in articulo mortis intelligitur absolutio generalis ad normam const. Bened. XIV., *Pia Mater*, 5 Apr. 1717. De hoc vide *Compen.* nn. 1799, 1800.”

The reference given here by Father Konings is to his well-known and highly-prized work on moral theology. Turning to this work, we find under the numbers referred to a full treatment of the question regarding the Apostolic benediction in the hour of death, and we find that this distinguished author, writing in America, and chiefly for America, and professedly explaining the faculties granted to American bishops—faculties precisely the same in every respect as those granted to our bishops—lays down as an essential condition for gaining the indulgence attached to this blessing, the invocation of the Sacred Name. I reproduce as much of his text as will enable those who do not happen to have his work at hand to understand that I am not trying to deceive them:—

“1799. De Indulgentia Benedictionis Apostolicæ seu absolute generali in articulo mortis.

“Quæst. 2. Quænam requirantur ex parte sacerdotis ad hanc Indulgentiam impertiendam?

“1800. Quæst. 3. Quænam requirantur ex parte infirmi ad hanc Indulgentiam lucrandam?

“Resp. 1. Gravis infirmitas. . .

“2. Intentio non quidem actualis aut virtualis, sed interpretativa. . .

“3. Ut infirmus sit confessus ac S. Communione refectus, aut quatenus id facere nequiverit, contritus.

“4. *Ut nomen Jesu ore si potuerit; sin minus corde invocet.*

“5. Ut ipsam mortem aequo ac libenti animo de manu Domini suscipiat.”<sup>1</sup>

Another and quite independent authority, also from America, and for America, is Wapellhorst. Here are his words on this subject:—

“1. Sacerdos, ‘habens facultatem, ingrediendo cubiculum dicat: *Pax huic domui,*’ &c. Superpelliceum et stolam violaceam induit, ‘ac deinde aegrotum, cubiculum et circumstantes adspersgat aqua benedicta, dicendo Antiphonam: *Adsperges me,*’ &c.

“2. Quod si aegrotus voluerit confiteri, audiat illum et absolvat. Si confessionem non petat, excitet illum ad eliciendum actum contritionis.

“3. Condiciones hujus indulgentiae lucrandae: (a) intentio saltem habitualis; (b) actus contritionis et charitatis si pro conditione infirmi possibilis sit; (c) *invocatio nominis Jesu saltem mentalis*; (d) infirmus admoneatur ut morbi,’ &c.”<sup>2</sup>

I have now established conclusively and satisfactorily two points regarding the decree of 1775, which have been vehemently denied. The great majority of those who have written privately or publicly on this controversy have simply denied that this decree has any reference to the blessing in the hour of death. Others, however, who had prepared themselves for the controversy by reading the decree, and thus convincing themselves that it referred to this blessing, and could not be made to refer to anything else, nevertheless denied that the condition mentioned in it is general, and contended that it is restricted to the dioceses of those bishops in whose briefs regarding this blessing the said invocation is mentioned. Both these negations I have disposed of, I contend, conclusively and satisfactorily. But as I wish to completely silence criticism, and prevent the possibility of reply—for I am weary of the subject—I shall quote the words, and not merely the names, of a

<sup>1</sup> Koning's *Theologia Moralis*, nn. 1799, 1800.

<sup>2</sup> Wapellhorst, *Comp. Litur.*, n. 294.

number of the modern theologians of repute whose works I have at hand, and who lay down the invocation of the Sacred Name as an essential condition, without giving even a hint that it is essential in some places, and not essential in others. And as I have already done in citing Konings and Wapellhorst, so do I with regard to these others also; that is, I give as much of the text of each author as suffices to show that he is really treating of this blessing in the hour of death, and not of any other blessing or indulgence whatsoever.

“ Sic benedictio Apostolica cum indulgentia plenaria (de qua Benedictus XIV. in Const. *Pia Mater* 5 Apr. 1747), quae datur fidelibus extremo morbo laborantibus, effectum suum sortitur, non cum benedictio accipitur, sed in exitu vitae.

“ Hinc 1. Nequit ipsa iterari in eadem infirmitate, etc.  
2. Eadem valet, etsi cum infirmus benedicetur, etc.

“ Opus autem injunctum pro lucranda hac Indulgentia est acceptatio aequo animo mortis de manu Domini *et invocatio nominis Jesu* idque ore, si fieri potest: decr. 20 Sept. 1773. (Antonii, Ballerini, *Opus Theologicum Morale*. Edit. Dominicus Palmieri. vol. v., Tract 10, sect. 5, n. 38. Prati, 1892.)

“ 1. Facultatem moribundis benedictionem Apostolicam dandi cum plenaria indulgentia quam plurimis sacerdotibus, aut Ordinariis cum potestate eam suis sacerdotibus sub-delegandi S.S. Pontifices jam a longo tempore concesserunt.

“ 2. Haec indulgentia sic intelligitur, etc.

“ 3. Formula autem benedictionis omnino ad valorem indulgentiae requiritur, etc.

“ 1. Condiciones ad lucrandam hanc indulgentiam in rigore non sunt Confessio et S. Communio: quamquam necessariam est (a) ea Sacramenta, si fieri potuit, antea esse suscepta; si vero id impossibile est, sufficit, ut moribundus sit vere contritus seu in statu gratiae; imo Bened. XIV. in Constit. *Pia Mater* ‘videtur pro conditione injungere *conatum* eliciendi *actus* ferventissimae caritatis et contritionis, si pro statu moribundi possibile sit. (b) Certo essentialis conditio est, ut nomen *Jesu pie invocetur*, idque etiam ore, si possibile est, alioquin saltem corde. (Lehmkuhl, vol. ii., n. 564, ed. 6<sup>ta</sup>, Friburgi, 1890.)

“ I. Danda est benedictio apostolica cum indulgentia plenaria cunctis, qui non sunt excommunicati, impenitentes, etc.

“ II. Ad hanc indulgentiam infirmis applicandum, quaedam condiciones requiruntur ex parte sacerdotis, et quaedam ex parte ipsius infirmi.

“(a) Ex parte *sacerdotis* requiritur : 1, ut facultate eam impertiendi sit praeditus, etc. (b) Ex parte *infirmi* requiritur : 1. gravis infirmitas. . . . Requiritur. 2, ut infirmus sit Confessus ac sacra communione reffectus, vel, quatenus id facere nequiverit, saltem contritus, *et nomen Jesu, ore si potuerit*, sin minus corde devote invocaverit : decr. S. C. i. 20 Sept. 1775. Et quidem invocatio nominis Jesu, saltem mentalis, quamdiu aegrotus suae mentis est compos, tamquam conditio *sine qua non* ad indulgentiam lucranda exigitur, ex eodem decr. (Ninzatti, *Theologia Moralis*. Tom. 2, n. 1477, editio 4<sup>ta</sup> Taurini, 1887.)

“*Conditiones requisitae ad indulgentiam consequendam.* Requiritur : 1. Ut Sacerdos facultate instructus formulam adhibeat a Benedicto XIV. praescriptam, sub poena nullitatis indulgentiae. Haec formula reperitur in Rituali Rom. *loc. cit.* Ita Bened. XIV. et S. C. Indulg., 5 Febr. 1841, ad 8, 22 Mart. 1879. 2. Ut infirmus sit ‘Confessus ac Sacra Communione reffectus, vel, quatenus id facere nequiveret, saltem contritus, *et nomen Jesu ore, si potuerit*, sin minus corde devote invocaverit.’ Ita Brevia Pontificia ad Episcopos. Haec nominis Jesu invocatio, dum aegrotus suae mentis est compos, est conditio *sine qua non*. Ita S. C. 23 Sept. 1775, ad 7.” (Aertnys, *Theologia Moralis*, tom. 2, l. 7, n. 208 Tornaci, 1887.)

“Pour recevoir avec la bénédiction apostolique l’Indulgence plénière à l’article de la mort, le mourant doit s’il le peut, se confesser et communier. Si cela n’est pas possible il doit au moins avoir ou exciter dans son cœur sentiments de contrition parfaite puisque l’état de grâce est absolument indispensable à qui veut gagner une Indulgence quelconque. . . . En dehors de cette première condition. . . . Il en est deux autres. 1. Le mourant doit invoquer au moins de cœur, s’il ne le peut de bouche, *le saint nom de Jesu*. La réponse à la question suivante déclare cette condition essentielle : *Invocatio saltem mentalis S. S. Nominis Jesu, de qua fit mentio in Brevibus ad Episcopos de hac benedictione missis praescribitur, quamdiu aegrotus suae mentis est compos ut conditio sine qua non ad Indulgentiam vi istius benedictionis lucranda, Affirmative.* Cette réponse donnée par la S. Congrégation des Indulgences le 23 Septembre 1775, a été approuvée par le Pape. (Beringer, S. J. late Consultor of the Congregation of Indulgences. Tom. 1, 2<sup>e</sup> par. 3<sup>e</sup> sect., § 27, n. 14. Paris, 1890. The decree of the above Congregation approving of this work has these words: ‘*S Congregatio praesens opus approbavit et authenticum recognovit.*’”)

In addition to these authorities I shall refer my readers only to two others, Gury and Schneider,<sup>2</sup> whose words I do

<sup>1</sup> *Comp. Theologiae Moralis*, n. 1088, iii. ed. 5<sup>ta</sup> in Germania, Ratisbonae, 1874.

<sup>2</sup> *Manuale Sacerdotum*, Part ii, 330, 6, ed. 11<sup>ma</sup>. Coloniae, 1887.

not quote, because I take for granted that their works are in every priest's library. It will be seen that I do not exhaust my list of authorities either. Several others whom I have elsewhere cited I do not mention here, not because their words are doubtfully in my favour, but merely because being less well known than those I have quoted, their testimony would not have so much weight with the ordinary reader. It is hardly necessary to point out again that not one of these authors, while holding that the invocation of the Sacred Name is an essential condition for gaining this indulgence, gives even the most remote hint, that its essential or non-essential character depends on the peculiar wording of a brief sent to a bishop.

It will be said that the authors quoted are all recent. That is quite true. But how many theologians of name published works between 1775, the date of the decree of the Congregation of Indulgences, and the time of Gury? Very few, if any at all. And certainly not one of those who have written since 1775 has ventured to deny that the invocation of the Sacred Name is an essential condition, either in the whole Church, or in particular countries. And if a clear, explicit and unmistakable decree of the Congregation of Indulgences—a decree approved of by the Pope himself, and published among the authentic decrees of the Congregation—if such a decree, together with the *unanimous* teaching of theologians, be not sufficient to constitute an essential condition for gaining an indulgence, the sooner we reject authority—and I might add, and common sense—and adopt the Lutheran principle of private judgment, all the better.

In reply to the objection that the invocation is not mentioned in the Ritual, I say, in the first place, that this objection cannot be urged by those who admit this invocation to be an essential condition in any country, province or diocese, though they deny that it is a general condition. For the Roman Ritual, as well as the other liturgical books, is intended for all countries. Hence the mere fact that all mention of this condition is omitted from these books is not a proof that it is not an essential condition. In the

second place, I beg to point out that the Ritual is intended to direct the priest how to perform the ceremony, and takes for granted what he knows *aliunde* what is required for the validity of his acts, both on his own part and on the part of the subject of his ministrations. Popes and Bishops and Congregations in granting faculties, whether ordinary or extraordinary, to priests, never think of giving minute instructions regarding all the conditions necessary for the valid exercise of these faculties. *Noverit ex probatis auctoribus quae sint canonica impedimenta Matrimonii contrahendi* is the instruction which the Ritual gives the priest on this important point on which depends the validity of both the contract and the Sacrament. And *noverit ex probatis auctoribus* is precisely the instruction he would receive from the Ritual regarding the conditions necessary for gaining the indulgence in the hour of death, of which there is question here. But the "approved authors" teach, as we have seen, that the invocation of the Sacred Name is an essential condition for gaining this indulgence, and their teaching is supported by nothing less than an explicit decree of the Congregation of Indulgences issued by the Pope himself. If, then, anyone is still in doubt about this condition, I cannot afford him any further assistance, as I cannot possibly bring forward arguments stronger than these.

With regard to the faculties granted by Propaganda to priests, copies of which have been kindly sent me by unknown friends, the same is to be said as has just been said about the Ritual. These faculties do not propose, more than does the Ritual, to make mention of all the conditions necessary for the valid exercise of them. The same Congregation grants faculties to priests to bless beads and scapulars, and enrol in Confraternities approved of by the Holy See. Yet if a priest relies for guidance as to the exercise of these faculties on the instructions which accompany them, it would be utterly impossible for him, were he as wise as Solomon, to exercise them validly, unless by the merest accident.

D. O'LOAN.

## THE MATTER AND FORM OF THE SACRAMENTS.

"VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Your contributor, Rev. T. B. Scannell, in his article on 'The Matter and Form of the Sacraments,' in the February number of the I. F. RECORD, makes the following assertions:—

"The mere perusal of the instruction on the sacraments [contained in Eugene IV.'s Florentine Decree] will convince anyone that the Pope had *no intention* of issuing a *dogmatic definition* on the subject, but rather of giving an account of the common teaching and practice of the Western Church.'<sup>1</sup>

"Again:—

"Let anyone compare the doctrine of the later Council Trent with the instruction read at Florence, and he will be convinced that this portion of the *Decretum pro Armenis* was *no dogmatic definition*.'<sup>2</sup>

"Now, I have grave doubts whether these assertions are perfectly orthodox; and I should like to ask the Rev. Fr. Scannell to be good enough to refer me to any theologian, ancient or modern, of recognised authority in the Church, who admits them, or supports them.

"It seems to me to be taken for granted by all our great theologians that the Council of Florence was one of the General Councils of the Church between the years 1439 and 1445. It will be enough to refer to two writers of eminence—both still living, see, therefore, Cardinal Mazella, *De Verâ Religione et Ecclesia* page 325, ed. Rome, 1880; and P. Brugères of S. Sulpice, *De Ecclesia*, page 137, note; and Appendix viii., page 384, Paris, 1878.

"Moreover, the Vatican Council distinctly recognises the Council of Florence as Ecumenical. Here are its words, taken from ch. iii.:—'*Innovamus Œcumenici Concilii Florentini definitionem qua credendum ab omnibus Xti fidelibus ut, &c. . .*'

"Now, the Decree of the Council of Florence, referred to in the above extracts from Fr. Scannell's article, is taken from the Bulla 'Exultate Deo,' Eug. IV., s. 4. From its preamble I quote the following passage:—

"Multis itaque adhibitis disputationibus, colloctionibus tractatibus . . . expedire judicavimus . . . ut sub quodam brev compendio orthodoxae fidei veritatem, quem super premissis Romana profitetur Ecclesia, per hoc decretum, sacro hoc

<sup>1</sup>Page 123.

<sup>2</sup>Page 124.

*approbante Florentino Concilio, ipsis oratoribus ad hoc etiam consentientibus traderemus.'*

"And the Bull ends as follows:—

"*'Datum Florentiae in publica sessione Synodali solemniter in Ecclesia majori celebrata, Anno Domini millessimo quadragentissimo trigessimono (mark the date, 1439) decimo Kalendas Decembris, Pontificatus nostri anno nono.'*

"Again, in the Bulla '*'Cantate Domino,'* Eug. IV., concordia Jacobitarum cum S. R. E., sec. 23, occurs the following passage:—*'Amplectitur etiam, et veneratur et suscipit omnes alias universales synodos auctoritate R. Pontificis legitime congregatas, ac celebratas et confirmatas, et praesertim hanc sanctam Florentinam, in qua . . . multa circa utramque unionem (Graecorum et Armenorum) saluberrimae definitiones editae sunt, prout ut in decretis desuper promulgatis plenius continetur.'*

"I feel it most difficult, in the face of language like this from an Œcumenical Council, to see how it can be safely alleged that the Decree referred to contains 'no dogmatic definition.'

"I am aware that some few (exclusively, I think) Gallican divines have put forth statements resembling those made by Fr. Scannell. Tournely makes allusion to them as follows:—

"*'Aliqui dicunt hoc decretum [sc. Eug. IV.] non habere auctoritatem totius concilii . . . adeoque nulla lege adstringi volunt theologos ut subscribant iis omnibus quae in ea Instructione continentur, praesertim vero quae sacramentorum aliquorum materiam, et formam spectant.'*

"Now, what reply does this celebrated Gallican theologian make to those who maintain this thesis? He says:—*'Verum, ut Arcudius, lib. 6 de sac. ordinis, observat, hanc responsionem tutam non esse ac haeresim sapere.'* He adds:—*'Deinde etsi dicta Instructio solius esset S. Pontificis nonne vim et auctoritatem obtinere debet apud omnes Catholicos, praesertim cum totius Ecclesiae consensu accedente firmata est ac probata.'*<sup>2</sup>

"What would Tournely, if writing now, after the Vatican Council, say, when such consent of the Church is not necessary with regard to *ex Cathedra* pronouncements?

"To give a quotation from the Ultramontane school, as represented by the Jesuits, I turn to the well-known '*Wirceburgenses.*' The author of *The Tract on Orders* in that work speaks thus on the subject:—

"*'Witasse cum quibusdam theologis praesertim Gallis, dicunt*

<sup>1</sup> Tournely, *De Sac. Ordinis*, Art. ii., q. 3<sup>a</sup>, Conclusio 1<sup>a</sup>.

hoc decretum non esse factum ipso approbante Concilio, sed postquam Graeci discesserant, ab Eug. IV. Papa, non ut definiente, sed solum ut opinionem suam proferente'—or, as Fr. Scannell would say, 'giving an account of the common teaching and practice of the Western Church.' Observe the reply:—'*Verum haec responsio aperte falsa est, et sustineri non potest.*'<sup>1</sup>

"I refer Fr. Scannell also to the learned Augustinian Berti (*De Theolog. Disciplin.*, lib. xxxii., cap. iv., appendix), who refutes the Gallicans Habert, L'Herminier, and Witasse, quoted by him as holding this unorthodox and temerarious (as he considers it to be) view of the Decree in question.

"Natalis Alexander is truly a great historian and theologian and he perhaps may be quoted in favour of Fr. Scannell's view. But it must be remembered that he is to be read with great caution; that there are many blots in his works; that he too was a Gallican; and, lastly, that the very work in which the favourable passage about the Council of Florence occurs was placed on the Index by Innoc. XI. in 1684.

"Lastly, Fr. Scannell refers us to Denzinger's *Enchirid.*, and I do not deny that his comment gives Fr. Scannell a slight foothold; but, even if Denzinger's remarks bear the interpretation he puts on them, I should like to know what authority Denzinger has for making them?

"We are all aware, of course, of the celebrated scholastic controversy among theologians on the matter and form of the Sacrament of Orders. This controversy, so far as I know, remains in precisely the same position as it did in the days of Tournely and Benedict XIV. See *De Synod. Dioc.*, lib. viii., cap. x. See also Franzelin, *De Sacc. in genere*, pp. 41, 45, Roman edition. 1868. In this controversy, both sides have to deal with the Decree of Florence; but, with the exceptions mentioned above, none of the great theologians, I think, dispute the dogmatic character of that Decree. The question with them, it seems to me, is solely to ascertain the meaning of the words of the Decree, just as in innumerable cases theologians have, so to say, to dig out the precise meaning of the Tridentine Decrees; and to show that

<sup>1</sup> This writer adds:—"Clamens VIII. *Decretum hoc ipsi tribuit Concilio dum Graecos et ipse instruit de Sacramento Poenitentiae dicens: 'Utantur forma absolutionis in Generali Concilio (loquitur de Florentino) praescripta'* scilicet in hoc Decreto, in quo sola haec forma reperitur."

*De Sac. Ord.*, Art. vii., Dico. ii., No. 109, vol. v., page 380. Ed. Lut. Parisiorum, 1854.

oftentimes words, which, at first sight, seem to exclude certain well-received theological opinions, when closely examined leave those opinions totally untouched.

"Apologizing for taking up so much of your valuable space, I am, Very Rev. Sir, yours faithfully,

"PAROCHUS LIMERICENSIS.

"March 8th, 1892."

#### REPLY.

"VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,—‘Parochus Limericensis’ challenges me to refer to any theologian who admits that the portion of the *Decretum pro Armenis*, dealing with the matter and form of the sacraments, is no dogmatic definition, but a practical instruction. I have already mentioned Denzinger. For brevity’s sake I will here quote only two more—both Jesuits and Professors of Dogma at the Roman College.

“‘Licet videatur heic Eugenius doctrinam tradere in materia fidei, tamen fieri potest quod in hac parte decreti in qua agit de sacramentis velit quoad aliqua tradere Armenis ea quae ad ritus spectant sacramentorum a Romana Ecclesia probatos et in universa latina Ecclesia usurpatos; nam (a) praeter materiam fidei et de ritibus se locuturum dixit ab initio; (b) ut verbis cl. Perrone utamur (De Ordine, n. 126), ‘nisi velimus in absurda incidere, admitti debet responsio Bellarmini aliorumque qui dicunt scopum Summi Pontificis fuisse inducendi Armenos ad uniformitatem cum Ecclesia Romana in collatione Ordinum, ideoque hanc solam recensuisse quam Armeni non adhibebant.’ . . . Liquet intentionem Eugenii non eam fuisse ut doctrinam fidei proponeret circa materiam et formam essentialem Sacramenti Ordinis. . . . Non ita accepta est doctrina Eugenii ut eo in decreto proponeretur quid circa materiam et formam ordinationis sit credendum.’<sup>1</sup>

“‘Nonnisi instructionem practicam tradebat Armenis. ut in omnibus se conformarent ritibus servatis apud Latinos.’<sup>2</sup>

“I am amused at my worthy critic’s covert allusions to ‘Gallicanism’ and ‘heresy.’ He mixes up three very different questions :—(1) Was the Council of Florence an Ecumenical Council? (2) Was Eugenius infallible? (3) Is a certain portion of the *Decretum pro Armenis* a dogmatic definition? I hold, just as firmly as he does, that the Council was ecumenical, and that Eugenius was infallible. But not all the proceedings of an Ecumenical Council, nor all the decrees of a Pope, are infallible.

<sup>1</sup> Palmieri, *De Ecclesia*, page 105.

<sup>2</sup> De Augustinis, *De Sacram.* lib. iv., page 106.

‘Dubium oriri posse de quibusdam documentis Pontificum, utrum contineant locutionem ex cathedra et *definitionem* doctrinae, non negamus : sed hoc idem accidit quandoque etiam circa documenta Conciliorum, cujus rei exemplum habemus in diversis sententiis, quae fuerunt et inter aliquos adhuc sunt de Instructione pro Armenis edita in Concilio Florentino, utrum quae ibi docentur nominatim de materia et forma sacramentorum, sint definitiones dogmaticae, an solum instructiones in praxi observandae.’<sup>1</sup>

“Gallican theologians denied the infallibility of the decree, either because they denied that the Council was œcumenical, or because they looked upon the decree as issued by Eugenius alone. A writer who holds that the Council was œcumenical, and that Eugenius was infallible, but who denies that Eugenius intended the decree to be a dogmatic definition, does not deserve to be called a Gallican and a heretic.—Yours faithfully,

“T. B. SCANNELL.”

[We regret that we are obliged, owing to the amount of correspondence published this month, to hold over interesting letters on “The Catechism,” “The Blessing of the Font,” and other topics.—ED. I. E. R.]

## Document.

### IMPORTANT MATRIMONIAL DECREE.

“ILLIS IN LOCIS IN QUIBUS CONJUGIA CLANDESTINA PRO VALIDIS HABENTUR, COPULA CARNALES SPONSALIBUS SUPERVENIENS NON AMPLIUS EX JURIS PRÆSCRIPTIÖNE CONJUGALIS CONTRACTUS CENSEATUR, NEC PRO LEGITIMO MATRIMONIO AGNOSCATUR SEU DECLARETUR.”

### LEO PP. XIII.

#### AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM.

Consensus mutuus, unde matrimonia iusta nascuntur, non verbis dumtaxat sed aliis quoque signis exterioribus patefieri ac declarari potest. Quamobrem Alexander III.,<sup>2</sup> Innocentius III.,<sup>3</sup> et Gregorius IX.,<sup>4</sup> decessores Nostri, merito decreverunt ut carnalis copula, si sponsalia de futuro certa ac valida præcessis-

<sup>1</sup> Franzelin, *De Traditione*, page 120.

<sup>2</sup> Cap. *Veniens*, de Sponsal.

<sup>3</sup> Cap. *Tua nos*, eodem tit.

<sup>4</sup> Cap. *Is qui fidem*, eodem tit.

sent, cum in iudicio tum extra iudicium pro vero coniugio haberetur, nisi impedimentum canonicum obstitisset. Et in hac iuris praesumptione tantum roboris inesse voluerunt, ut firnum ipsa statueret sanciretque ius nec probationem contrariam ullam admitteret. Deinde vero matrimonia clandestina, id est non praesente Parocho et duobus tribusve testibus inita, quum Concilium Tridentinum<sup>1</sup> irrita infectaque esse iussisset, ius illud priscum ut erat necesse, valere, desiit ubicumque promulgata vel moribus usuque recepta Tridentina lex. Quibus autem illa locis non viget, in iis semper Apostolicae Sedis iudicium fuit, canones, quos indicavimus, ratos atque firmos permansisse. Sed aetatum decursu, ex conscientia et cognitione christianorum sensim effluxere. Plures enim Episcopi ex iis regionibus, in quibus matrimonia clandestina contra fas quidem inita, sed tamen valida iudicantur, haud ita pridem rogati quid populus ea de re sentire videretur, plane retulerunt, canonicam de coniugiis praesumptis disciplinam passim exolevisse desuetudine atque oblivione deletam: propterea vix aut ne vix quidem contingere ut copula inter sponso affectu maritali nec fornicario habeatur: eamque non matrimonii legitimi usum sed fornicationis peccatum communi hominum opinione existimari; imo vix persuaderi populo posse, sponsalia de futuro per coniunctionem carnalem in matrimonium transire.

His igitur rebus et causis, de consilio Venerabilium Fratrum Nostrorum S. R. E. Cardinalium in rebus fidei Inquisitorum generalium, supra memoratos canones et alias quascumque iuris canonici ea de re dispositiones, etiam speciali mentione dignas, per hoc Decretum Nostrum abrogamus et abolemus, et pro abolitis et abrogatis, ac si nunquam prodiiissent, haberi volumus.

Simul per has litteras Nostras decernimus ac mandamus ut deinceps illis in locis in quibus coniugia clandestina pro validis habentur, a quibusvis iudicibus ecclesiasticis, in quorum foro causas eiusmodi matrimoniales agitari et iudicari contigerit, copula carnalis sponsalibus superveniens non amplius ex iuris praesumptione conjugalis contractus censeatur, nec pro legitimo matrimonio agnosceatur seu declaretur. Huius tamen auctoritate Decreti induci nolumus necessitatem formae Tridentinae servandae ad matrimonii validitatem ubi illa forma modo non viget.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 15 februarii MDCCCLXXXII, Pontificatus Nostri anno decimo quarto.

LEO PP. XIII.

<sup>1</sup> Sess. XXIV, Cap. 1 de Reform. matrim.

## Notices of Books.

---

MEDITATIONS ON THE LIFE OF OUR LORD FOR EVERY DAY OF THE YEAR. By the late Rev. J. Nouet, S.J. 2 vols. Translated from the French, and edited by the late Very Rev. Michael O'Sullivan, C.M., and Vicar-General of the Diocese of Cork. Sixth edition. Browne and Nolan.

THESE meditations take us through the life of Christ from the announcement of His incarnation to His ascension into heaven. They are founded upon His words as well as upon His example and must, therefore, afford ample matter for reflection to the Christian. They follow the order of the ecclesiastical year, and in this way suit the subject to the times. There are some fifty additional meditations for the festivals of remarkable saints which are certainly very much in place. It will be seen, then, that the plan of the book is almost the same as that adopted in the *New Meditations for Every Day of the Year*, written by a father of the same society, whose name is not prefixed to his admirable work.

The translator has expressed a hope that the book under review may be used with advantage either by religious or seculars. No doubt it may; but both, we think, will easily find more suitable meditation books. The meditations contained in it are not strong enough for seculars, or pointed enough for religious. Religious will find more congenial meditations in the book above mentioned, which is designed chiefly for their use, and certainly seculars will find more striking meditations in St. Liguori's popular books. Those two volumes contain practically no meditations on the Last Things, which are always suitable both for religious and seculars. The matter, which is excellent in itself, is not even presented under an interesting aspect, nor always in a graceful dress, and the book contains occasional statements which, in our opinion, are rather gratuitous. For example, in vol. i., page 184, it is implied that our Lord, at the last supper, not only washed, but kissed the apostles' feet also. It would interest one to be told the authority for the later statement. Again, we think the first point of a short meditation on

the "Mission of the Angel Gabriel to Nazareth" might contain something less fanciful than the following :—

"1st Point.—Consider the province of Galilee being the nearest to the country of the Gentiles ; it was in this province that Jesus would assume our nature, to teach us that He came for the salvation of all men, without distinction of Jew or Gentile. It was there also that He assembled His disciples before ascending into heaven, to assure us that He went to take possession of it in the name of all, and that no one should be excluded unless through his own fault. O ineffable consolation !"

In much the same strain is the meditation on "Christ leaving His footprints on Mount Olivet." If a book of meditations, like some other classes of books, were to depend for its excellence on literary workmanship, those two volumes would, we think, hardly rank in the first class. They contain such loose statement of doctrine as the following :—"Every good work combines three qualities. It is meritorious, being performed in the state of grace ; satisfactory, through Jesus Christ, for the temporal punishment of sin, because painful to nature ; impetratory, for it supplicates silently through the affection with which it is offered." This would seem to imply, though we are sure it is not meant, that those in mortal sin are incapable of performing good works. They also contain many untastefully constructed sentences. Take, for instance, the following :—"Jesus Christ operates by His power what human strength could not effect, sending His grace by a miracle of mercy to the aid of corrupt nature." (Vol. ii., page 24.) It is due to the author to state that the translation does not pretend to do full justice to the original. In his preface the translator writes :—

"Yet in transposing his meditations into another language, and adapting them to a people of a different temperament, it was found necessary to take considerable liberty with the original. It was deemed expedient not only to select from the great variety which the author presented, but also to modify and abridge, sometimes to curtail or omit, what appeared too exuberant in point of imagination, and not infrequently to supply an expression or sentence calculated to give a more full development, or a more practical tendency to the moral."

This kind of translation could account for some of the defects we have noticed. With those few exceptions, we could find no other faults worth noting. The few drawbacks referred to are not of a character to mar a book the chief end of which

is to supply matter for religious meditation. While candidly saying that we have met some meditations not well constructed, it is only fair also to state that the book contains many beautiful and touching thoughts. We will conclude this notice by quoting a passage which is by no means the best to be found in the book : —

“ Consider, ‘ *They cast upon Him a scarlet cloak*’ (John xix. 2). Behold the most glorious Conqueror, decked in His robe of triumph, walking in the power of His majesty ! The conquerors of this world gain but a point of earth as the fruit of their victory, but Jesus bears away paradise by His valour, and the kingdom of heaven is the object of His conquest. Others are strong in the multitude of their soldiers, but Jesus is victorious by the multitude of His wounds. His arms are silence, humility, prayers, tears ; and the royal purple with which He is vested is His sacred humanity five times dipped in His blood ; first in His circumcision : secondly, in His agony in the garden ; thirdly, at the pillar ; fourthly, in the Pretorium : and lastly, on the cross.” (Vol. i., page 265.)

T. P. G.

THE RELATIONS OF THE CHURCH TO SOCIETY. By Rev. Edmund J. O'Reilly, S.J. Edited by Rev. Matthew Russell, S.J. John Hodges, Agar-street, Charing Cross, London.

IN all ages of the world, it has happened that many of the greatest teachers and reformers have passed away without bequeathing to posterity, under the seal of their own hand, even one fair specimen of the golden treasures unearched or first duly appreciated by their gifted brains. Consciously or unconsciously, they trusted to their pupils and contemporaries for the perpetuation of their teachings and their fame, and showed no solicitude whatever to provide any more reliable or lasting security. Frequently, indeed, their literary or social beneficiaries have shown at once their gratitude and their anxiety to make their fellowmen partake of their advantages, by publishing such fragments of their writings as they were able to collect, adding interesting details, from their own memory, of a personal or explanatory character. How often have we heard regretful wishes expressed by our senior brethren in the priesthood, that some friend of Edmund O'Reilly, John O'Hanlon, &c., should carefully examine their manuscripts, and have printed every scrap of their lectures and essays that had been thoughtfully committed to paper !

Not a few readers of the *I. E. RECORD*, at the present day, had the privilege of listening to Dr. O'Reilly's lectures in theology, before he had terminated his eminently useful and distinguished career of thirteen years as Professor in Maynooth, and joined the Order of St. Ignatius. But it is not these alone that will welcome gladly the appearance of the above splendid collection of his essays. The priests—and their name is legion—who consulted him in their difficulties in after years, while he resided in Stephen's Green or Milltown Park, as well as those who became only indirectly acquainted with his extraordinary attainments and sanctity, will esteem it a fortunate event that Father Matthew Russell, who is so singularly well fitted for the task, has at length opened to them such a storehouse of professional knowledge and practical admonitions.

That brilliant galaxy of theological and general scholars, that merited and gained for Maynooth world-wide respect in Dr. O'Reilly's time, would permit only the very highest talent and culture to shine unobscured. Drs. Russell, Callan, O'Hanlon, Ranehan, Kelly, Whitehead, Murray, Crolly, M'Carthy, Behan, Neville, &c., were men of no ordinary gifts and acquirements; and yet all these great "Masters in Israel" looked unanimously to Dr. O'Reilly as a man of singular prudence, deep research, and unostentatious piety. He did one man's work in co-operating with his colleagues to modernize the groove of theological studies in this country, and to bring theoretical teaching into open sympathy with the practical circumstances and needs of the age:—

" Not clinging to some ancient saw ;  
     Not mastered by some modern term ;  
     Not swift nor slow to change, but firm :  
     And in its season bring the law.

" Meet is it changes should control  
     Our being, lest we rust in ease.  
     We all are changed by still degrees,  
     All but the basis of the soul."

The "Sketch of the Author," prefixed to the work, is replete with interest to all who knew Dr. O'Reilly; and there are few of the older priests in these countries who did *not* know him, at least by reputation. No one understands better than the learned editor the exact particulars of a biography that his readers would delight in scanning, and it would be difficult to conceive him happier than in the present instance.

Of course, it may occur to us that essays written over a quarter of a century ago are of no practical utility at the present day, politics and society having undergone such marked changes. Such a delusion is at once dispelled by a glance at the chapter on "The Clergy and the Law of Elections," for example, where the distinguished writer says:—

"I think that political subjects, elections included, ought to be seldom and sparingly treated of in discourses from the altar or pulpit—in fact, only so far as is more or less *necessary*. Whenever a priest does find it his duty to introduce them, he should remember not only his own sacred character, which he carries with him everywhere, but also the holiness of the place where he stands, and of the functions he is performing as a preacher of God's word. Hence, his language ought to be circumspect, dignified, temperate, free from exaggeration. It ought to be such, too, as would bear to be reported and printed without discredit to himself or scandal to others. I am not alluding now to any rhetorical excellence, but to the perfect propriety of the expressions used."

The vast magnitude, importance, and complexity of most of the subjects dealt with, required all the acumen and grasp of a perfect master of theology like Dr. O'Reilly, while the simple grace and purity of his diction lend an attractive charm to these thoughtful and argumentative essays. Father Russell has conferred, not merely on the numberless admirers of Dr. O'Reilly, but on priests in general, a favour, the extent of which they cannot form any adequate idea of until they have carefully read through the work.

Nothing has been left undone by either printer or publisher to present the public with the "Essays" in a covering and type suited to their immense intrinsic value.

E. M.

GOD THE TEACHER OF MANKIND: OR POPULAR CATHOLIC THEOLOGY. HOLY SACRIFICE OF THE MASS. By Michael Muller, C.S.S.R.

CARDINAL MANNING remarks somewhere that it is a pity to meet so many good men not better. The same may be said of books. Father Muller has written a good book, but he has not, we think, accomplished the task of writing a book which could be regarded as a good "Popular Catholic Theology." Such an exposition of theology is, indeed, one of the pressing wants of the day

and Father Muller deserves all praise for his well-directed zeal and labour. A number of scientific men band themselves together, and write a series of primers, in which they bring all the charm of literary style to the popular exposition of scientific truths. Are the children of this world wiser than the children of light? Why have we not the same done for Catholic theology? If we suppose a committee of our eminent divines formed for this purpose, we think they could not be satisfied with the book under review. They would, we think, require short chapters, lucid exposition, clear statement of Catholic doctrine, plain reasoning, forcible language, and logical order. Some of Father Muller's chapters are entirely too long, not because they are always exhaustive, but sometimes, at least, because they go beyond their tether. Chapter IV., for instance, is headed, "A wonderful means of awakening faith in the Real Presence." This wonderful means, we are told, is the institution of the Feast of Corpus Christi; but only two pages, at most, of the chapter treat of this festival, while the remaining ten pages are devoted to a discussion of the common stock objections to the Real Presence. The book professes itself to be "apologetical, dogmatical, moral, liturgical, pastoral, and ascetical;" and it is, but without much regard for scientific treatment. Nor do we think his exposition to be always lucid and popular. Take, for instance, the following explanation of the mode of Christ's presence in the Eucharist:—"Now, Christ is not present in this Sacrament, according to His natural way of existence; that is, as bodies naturally exist, but in a manner proper to the character of His exalted and glorified body. His presence, then, is real and substantial, but sacramental and ineffable, not exposed to the external senses, nor obnoxious to corporal contingencies." This might do very well for the class-hall, but we think it would require a little drawing out in detail to come up to the idea of popular theology. The language is simple enough; often eloquent; but, in our opinion, does not reach the level of graceful or vigorous English. We are criticizing the work as a popular treatise on a portion of theology. If the author did not make this claim for his book, we should deal with it in quite a different spirit. It is a suitable book for pious reading. Some chapters are even fascinating; for instance, the one in which the author tells the story of Imelda. The matter is excellent, and the reasoning, where it occurs, is cogent. We think, therefore, that the book would be, notwithstanding its defects, a useful addition to every Catholic library.

T. P. G.

# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

MAY, 1892.

## LEO XIII. AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.<sup>1</sup>

THE grossest fallacy of the many gross fallacies rampant on the social problem nowadays, is to omit from the question the element of human frailty. Each individual's experience tells him that the corruption inherent in the flesh leads, almost inevitably, where grace is not the guide and stay, to the injury or ruin of the wisest institutions. And yet men are found to argue at every turn that nothing is wanting in these critical times to save society from threatening evils but a new bit of State machinery, another piece of State sticking-plaster. But emplastra head not cancers. Sin, not systems, must be abolished, if you would revolutionize humanity and bring in the new era. We shall never succeed in wholly banishing abuse.

Here, for example, is a man who addresses to the head of Christ's Church *An Open Letter on the Condition of Labour*, to the intent that his Holiness "may know the truth, and be freed by the truth" (page 161); "*the truth*" being, we are informed, that private property in hand is robbery (page 69 and *passim*) and murder (page 38, &c.), and that the State was intended by God as the sole landlord.<sup>2</sup> Behold

<sup>1</sup> *The Condition of Labour: An Open Letter to Leo XIII.* By Henry George. New York, September 11th, 1891.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. George does not deny the right of private *possession* (i.e., of the use by individuals of land), but only private ownership. To make the State sole owner of land, is, if I mistake not, to make the State sole landlord. J. S. Mill—the first of the single tax men—distinctly says: "Those

the truth, proclaims Mr. Henry George, which will save and free you, Holy Father, and the world—State landlordism.

To the readers of *Progress and Poverty*, this new encyclical of Henry George will convey nothing fresh either in matter or method. The style and substance are the same as ever; only, it is a little more easy to see the scaffolding and foundations of the author's theory in this attempted answer to the Pope than it was in his former brilliantly fallacious works. The path of the author's argument is, *as usual*, along the old "*high priori*" road; and, *as usual*, he makes mighty stages towards the goal of his conclusion by means of assertion and assumption. Every other paragraph is a triumphant flourish of glittering eloquence, full of the most conclusive rhetorical appeals! "Is it not clear?" is the favourite formula, by which the intelligence of the reader is vanquished and enthralled—a formula which seems to do duty, all in one, for the advancement of ascertained data, for deduction, for argument, and for conclusion.

But what exactly is this new gospel of salvation and freedom which is thus preached in print from New York *urbi et orbi*? It is the gospel of the single tax, a gospel that contains the approbation and inception of "the grandest and mightiest of crusades" (page 160). Henry George looked round about on our modern civilization, and saw "the darkness in light, the weakness in strength, the poverty amid wealth, the seething discontent foreboding civil strife, that characterize our civilization of to-day" (page 24); and, "when he realized the squalid misery of a great city"—that is, of the latest and most characteristic product of industrial development—"it appalled and tormented him, and would not let him rest for thinking of what caused it, and how it could be cured." His faith in human immortality vanished before the idea that nature wastes men by constantly bringing them into being where there is no room for them; and he found it "impossible to reconcile the idea of an intelligent

countries are fortunate, or would be fortunate, if decently governed, in which, as in a great part of the East, the land has not been allowed to become the permanent property of individuals, and the State is *sole landlord*."

and beneficent Creator with the belief that the wretchedness and degradation, which are the lot of such a large proportion of human kind, result from His enactments." No! it cannot be that Divine Providence intended progress to bring poverty! Surely the wisdom of God never meant "the tramp to come with the locomotive, and alms-houses and prisons to be as surely the marks of material progress as are costly dwellings, rich warehouses, and magnificent churches!" Thus the inquiry into the cause of "poverty through and by means of progress," which Mr. George undertook, was an inquiry of most vital concern to himself personally; and, it is a matter for earnest congratulation that his searchings have been the means of justifying the ways of God to men, before the tribunal of Mr. George's own mind, at least, and of restoring to him the hope and faith which are above every price. Still, men must beware of dictating the course of God's providence merely to satisfy their own subjective questionings; and we are, therefore, forced to be ungracious enough to throw a possible doubt on a peace so sorely won, and so sincerely offered to others, by denying alike the *possibility*, the *necessity*, and the *justice* of the single tax.

The secret cause of "this paradoxical effect of increase of poverty with increase of civilization" was discovered to be the private ownership of land. "It is this that is driving men from the old countries to the new countries, only to bring there the same curses. It is this that causes our material advance not merely to fail to improve the condition of the mere worker, but to make the condition of large classes positively worse" (page 24). "The real difference between the rich and poor (*i.e.*, under existing institutions) is the difference between those who hold the toll-gates and those who pay toll; between tribute receivers and tribute yielders" (page 126); and this difference has invariably its origin in force and fraud; invariably involves violation of the moral law, and is really a division into those who get the profits of robbery and those who are robbed; those who hold in exclusive possession what God made for all and those who are deprived of His bounty."

The remedy has been found to be the appropriation by the State, for the purposes of public revenue, the confiscation, without compensation, "of the value of land irrespective of improvements"—that is, the assumption by the community of "the value that attaches to land by reason of increasing population and social progress." All existing taxes on the processes and products of industry by which, throughout the civilized world, public revenues are at present collected--which essentially "violate the moral law," taking by force what belongs to the individual alone, corrupting governments, shackling commerce, fining industry and thrift" (page 14)—all this "unchristian system of raising public revenues" (*ibid.*) must be abolished, and give place to "a *single tax* on the value of land, irrespective of improvements" (page 15). This method of the single tax is the only system consistent with morality and in accordance with nature. Adopt it, we are saved, and more than saved; reject it, and we are for ever lost. "There is one way, and only one way, in which in our civilization working people may be secured a share in the land of their country"—*i. e.*, may be guaranteed "the first and most important of all human rights, the equal right to the material substratum or basis of life" (page 130)—"and that is the way we propose—the taking of the profits of land-ownership for the community" (page 115). Do this, says Henry George, to each and every community, do this, and you shall live; for thus, not only will all your need of revenues be met, but you will secure a fund wherefrom to relieve the widow, the orphan, and the aged worn-out worker that are within your gates. Until we adopt this marvellous system there can be no hope of bettering existing conditions; nay, every advance in social and industrial development but finds in the lowest depths a lower deep; and, "even He, the Almighty . . . could do nothing to prevent poverty and starvation while property in land continues." What force there is in a favourite theory—in a fixed idea, which can make even a sincerely religious man—as Mr. George seems unquestionably to be—attempt to limit the illimitable, and set bounds to the power and wisdom of God! (page 101).

That God has intended the State to obtain the revenues it needs by the taxation of "land values," continues the writer, "is shown by the same *order* and *degree* of evidence that shows that God has intended the milk of the mother to be intended for the nourishment of the babe" (page 19). He then endeavours to show that increasing density of population and increasing elaboration of industry proceed *puri pectus* with increasing value in land and increasing need of revenue. "The connection is *invariable*. . . . See how, with the growth of such cities as Rome, Paris, London, New York, Melbourne, the only thing that steadily increases in value is land. Is it not clear that here is a natural law—that is to say, a tendency willed by the Creator? Can it mean anything else than that He who ordained the State, with its needs, has, in the values which attach to land, provided the means to meet those needs?" (page 20). The reasoning and illustration here are curious and somewhat perplexing. Mr. George's argument proceeds on the assumption that two things which vary as the same third thing vary as one another. Land values vary as increase of population and development of industry; but increase of population and development of industry also vary as the needs of revenue; therefore land values vary as the needs of revenue. Hence Mr. George's object is seen to be to equate land values and the fiscal necessities of the State. His argument is strangely like a famous bit of psychological reasoning, which runs somewhat to this effect: "My volitional power during the day varies as the state of my bodily disposition; the state of my bodily disposition varies as my breakfast and digestion; therefore my volitional power during the day varies as my breakfast and digestion." But one might answer, 'To say nothing of the incompleteness of your data, you assume that your volitional power varies always and in the same identical proportion as your bodily disposition; and again, that your bodily disposition varies always and in the same identical proportion as your breakfast. You should have proved the invariability and identity of connection in the first two cases before you asserted it in the third. "Is it not clear"—as Mr. George

would say—that there is a loose link somewhere? and “is it not clear” that the economist’s reasoning may be met precisely in the same way as the psychologist’s? Let it be observed, however, that after all the connection asserted to exist between land values and social progress *plus* industry in the one case, and between this last quantity and the State’s need of revenue in the second case, is only a “tendency!” Why, then, are we told that “the connection is invariable”? And how Mr. George connects all this “evidence” with the babe and the mother’s milk, is a veritable puzzle. Whatever the physiologist may have to say about the increase or decrease of the mother’s milk with the increase of the babe, it is quite certain that, unlike the State’s need of revenue, which increases as the State increases, the babe’s need of the mother’s milk actually decreases with the increase of the infant. How, then, can there be “the same order and degree of evidence in the two cases”—unless, indeed, Mr. George has in mind some Utopian child, some striking phenomenon of the coming era, of which the world in general has so far as little knowledge as it has of an “invariable connection” which is only a “tendency,” and as little experience as it has of the justice or benefits of State landlordism.

Such is the style of argument by which Mr. George attempts to show that the “benevolent intentions of the Creator” require the ownership of land to pass to the State, and the citizens to become tenants-at-will of the community. Verily the balance of the Georgian judgment needs such an amount of readjustment and precision that it seems necessary after this to pronounce it absolutely worthless wherewith to weigh the Vatican.

Before proceeding any further it may be well to notice at once that the merit of originality in the proposal before us cannot be attributed to Mr. George. Neither the scheme itself nor the alleged ground for its introduction come from the author of *Progress and Poverty*. In a speech delivered on December 17th, 1845, Mr. Cobden drew attention to the abuse and injustice to the general community which had been caused and still existed in consequence of the

relinquishment of the right of the State to *participate* in the increase of the rental value of the lands of the kingdom. He pointed out how a legislature of country gentlemen, for the benefit of landlords and at the expense of the people at large, had fixed the rate of the land tax at four shillings in the pound on the valuation of 1692. "The land," he said, "had gone on increasing tenfold in many parts of Scotland, and fivefold in many parts of England, while the land tax had remained the same as it was one hundred and fifty years ago." This complaint of Cobden forms the chief argument, indeed the very corner-stone, of the single-taxmen's system. They make abuse a plea for disuse. The plan itself for the assumption by the State of the ownership of land was formulated by J. S. Mill, about 1870, and embodied in the programme of the Land-tenure Reform Association, of which he became president. This proposal of the Association for the nationalization of land, though discussed and seriously examined by economists and publicists, failed to provoke any violent agitation. The element of popular excitement was introduced into the question by the appearance, in 1879, of *Progress and Poverty*, which, by the brilliancy of its literary qualities and the earnestness of its purpose, soon won for Mr. George a great reputation in Great Britain and the United States, and secured to him a large and enthusiastic following. His practical proposals differ from those of Mill only in the single respect of *compensation*. Mill contemplated the full compensation of the existing owners of the land according to the value of their several properties at the time when the scheme should come into force. Mr. George will have none of your compensation, which is nothing short of "paltering with right and wrong;" "a juggling with justice and injustice;" merely "an impudent plea for the continuance of the same injustice in another form;" the giving to landowners in the shape of interest of what they before got as rent (pp. 79 and 80). "Compensation for what?" he asks with triumphant indignation. "For giving up what has been unjustly taken?" And in this rhetorical flourish we have the only attempted justification of what would be robbery, and often

cruel robbery. The man of broad acres and the humbler dweller in his own little nook of earth, the inheritor of vast ancestral estates and the man who, for his children's sake, has invested his hard earnings in his bit of land, after a life of toil and struggle, would alike be despoiled without redress.<sup>1</sup>

And here a few questions of leading importance suggest themselves before we proceed to examine the various assertions and assumptions on which Mr. George has built his house of "hay and stubble." First of all, what about "*unearned losses*" in the value of land, resulting from the very same causes which are assigned for "*unearned*" gains? If Divine Providence has ordained that the community should take the "unearned increment," *i. e.*, "the value attaching to land by reason of progress and increasing population, it is surely only consistent with justice that the State should stand the stress of unearned *decrement*. If your reasoning is correct, either Divine Providence or the single tax is gone astray in large regions of the habitable earth. For, when urged with this difficulty as to *decrement*, you say that you do not mean to tax "all land, nor even all land in use, but only land above the poorest" (page 75). But this is —(1) to shirk the difficulty; (2) to abandon your whole position as to the Divine origin of the single tax system. *You shirk the difficulty*, because when told by the sufferer from depreciating land values that, in all decency and fairness, the State landlord ought to bear the tenants' unearned losses, since the unearned gains are to go to the landlord's pocket when there are any, you merely answer, "Oh! we'll not exact the single tax in your case." "You are a good honest slave," said the Roman master in the poet's satire, "and so you shall not receive the lash." You must face this dilemma, however, wriggle as you will; either the Georgian scheme is unjust, or it is to be realized only on condition of supporting a large army of State pensioners, who have claims on the community on account of falling

<sup>1</sup> And yet Mr. George can say:— "In a civilization beginning to pulse with steam and electricity, where the sun paints pictures, and the phonograph stores speech, *it will not do to be merely as just as were our fathers!*"

values. Then, where is Divine Providence, which you believe in only because it has provided for society by means of the "invariable connection" between land values and need for revenue? where is Divine Providence in those countries and districts where land only just pays for cultivation? Your "unearned increment" in large districts—aye, whole counties—even of England, the classic land of progress and increasing population, would be simply a minus quantity. For in communities the most flourishing the phenomenon of falling values is seen side by side with that of rising values, and in many countries, as is shown by innumerable examples, land has already reached its maximum value. All over England, Ireland, and Scotland agricultural rents have been steadily falling for ten years or more, and land is at as low a figure in the market as it has reached for generations. It is true, "the increase of the rental derived from *urban* land is unquestionably in modern times immense," says Mr. L. L. Price; but not even all *urban* land gives us this increase, for the shifting of the centres and lines of trade and industry plays havoc with urban land values. "In old countries like England," adds the same writer, "the increment has in many instances become a *decrement*;" and he goes on to remark that "it might not be impossible to collect a mass of evidence to show the existence and *magnitude* of unearned increments attaching to other forms of wealth."

This introduces a second initial question for Mr. George to answer. Why stop at the "unearned" increment of *land*? Why not invade the *war-house*, and subtract for the use of the community the unearned increment due to the increasing value of tide and time, of wind and wave? The fluctuating character of such "increment" in other property does not excuse the unjust inconsistency of singling out land for spoliation. There is the same essential reason for confiscation in the one case as in the other, the alleged palliative of the injustice being sufficient to necessitate only a modification in the mode and measure of confiscation.

The "unearned increment" in other property may fluctuate more, and yet be greater in its sum, as would seem

to be indicated by the character of the mighty men of dollars, who have swelled to greatness during the past half century. As a rule they have not been large landed proprietors, but millowners, merchants, and manufacturers.<sup>1</sup> Your term "single tax" is, therefore, to most men a ludicrous euphemistic misnomer, which hides the practical infamy of the proposal even from you its author! To break into my house in the king's or community's name—it matters not which, for both are synonymous with violence and oppression when the moorings of private rights are slackened or sundered—to break into my house, and claim part of my possessions in payment of the "unearned increment" in the value of my buildings (apart from their site), due to social progress and increase of population, may be styled a mode of taxation—to cloak a bad deed with a good name; but honest men will, for all that, call it a piece of tyranny and robbery.

Mr. George does well to say (page 75) that "the single tax is in reality not a tax at all, but merely a return to the State for the use of a valuable privilege." In plain words, your single tax means ultimately indiscriminate spoliation of the individual in order to enrich the Treasury; for, if you make a man pay the State for one "bounty of God," why not for all? And though you may be generous enough to exempt land improvements, &c., from the general scheme of appropriation, it is by no means certain that "some new apostle of a regenerated humanity" may not soon become a candidate for the mayoralty of New York, on the issue of confiscating land improvements, &c.

Another puzzling problem in singletaxation may be stated thus: "Why, with your principles do you wish to confine land to the ownership of any particular state or community? In your own words, "men are the *equal* creatures of God's

<sup>1</sup> Lavelèye, also a single taxman, supplies the reason for this (*Contemporary Review*, November, 1882):—"The value of capital engaged in industrial enterprise exceeds that of land itself, and its power of accumulation is far greater than that of ground rents." Hence industrial capital must have a greater "unearned increment." Why not confiscate it, then, before land?

bounty ; " therefore " they are equally entitled to live their lives and satisfy their needs ; " therefore " they are equally entitled to the use of land " (page 3). Your logic is not of the best ; but waive that. Why, when men are equally entitled to the land, should England monopolize " the black diamond mines," which give sinews of steel to her empire, and make her the greatest manufacturing and merchant nation in the world ? Why are the vine-growing lands held for ever in the hands of a few nations ? Let Ireland have her turn at the coal-fields, and England have a taste of the bogland, and let the Icelanders have a change of climate to try their hands at the cultivation of the vine. " God made the land," you say, " as free as ocean, sun, and air for all to use equally." Well, then, let the fairest lands of Ireland no longer be in the hands of Meath ; cast them forth into the midst as the bone of contention, with a *qui potest capere, capiat*. For force decides where rights are equal. Do you not see that your argument proves too much ; and therefore proves nothing.

And why, again, do you make men pay for the use of the free bounty of the Creator ? " For a man"—your own language, mark, and your own principles—" for a man who, out of the proceeds of his labour, is obliged to pay another man [or the State ?] for the use of ocean, or air, or sunshine, or soil, all of which are to men involved in the single term land, is in this deprived of his rightful property, and thus robbed !" (page 5). It is of no use for you to disclaim communism—your principles compel you to it. " We do not propose," you say, " to assert equal rights to land—letting anyone use any part of it at any time" (page 9). But you have already done so ; and, in any case, you cannot escape from the force of your own argument. You have started down the switchback, and must go forward to the end or be dashed to pieces on the way. Your own reasoning against the Pope, on page 113, shows that you will allow no difference between land and other property, where it is a question of State aid for peasant proprietors ; you must not be surprised, then, if we refuse to concede any difference when it is a question of confiscation. Aid in one kind of

property means consistently aid in another, you argue ; and so we argue that confiscation of one kind leads logically and inevitably to confiscation of another.

Thus, Mr. George's scheme, in its strict logical development, would finally reduce us to nomads fighting for encampment and pasturage, or to poverty-stricken wandering husbandmen ; and, at best, in its merciful but inconsistent form, it would make us mere bond-slaves of the State.

Then there is a final difficulty, which you must get shunted off the main line before you can run your social express direct—as you intend—to paradise-on-earth. How are you going to discriminate between land values and improvements ? Have you considered sufficiently that most important element of tenant right—the question of “unexhausted improvements,” which made Mill rob his scheme of its justification and its force, by admitting that the State, in enforcing its rights, *should leave a wide margin for miscalculations* ? And what safeguards do you suggest against the great injustice that may be done in the appraisement of the capital values of estates ? To whom are you going to entrust the delicate business of valuation ? Can you give any estimate of the number of valuers, surveyors, &c., to be kept constantly at work, together with any calculations as to the various improper fractions of the whole collected revenue their various corps will be guaranteed to consume ? Of course, you tell us there will be no official jobbery, no trickery, no corruption, no insecurity of possession, resulting from the State management of all landed property ; neither would there be armies of State rent-fixers and State rent-gatherers. But we need some stronger assurance of this than your own bald assertion. For how can the single tax “give far greater security for the fruits of labour than the present system, and far greater permanence of possession,” when, at each revolution of the industrial wheel, the State valuers may claim “unearned increment” ?

Do what you will, you cannot separate things inseparable. Land—speaking now of *cultivation*—is not land, in the sense of being a “storehouse for satisfying human needs”—land, I say, is not land until it is improved ; and,

therefore, to attempt a separation between land values and improvements, is to try to divorce the thing from itself. "For the soil which is tilled and cultivated with toil and skill utterly changes its condition; it was wild before, it is now fruitful; it was barren, and now it brings forth in abundance" (Encyc.). Consequently, the labour and capital originally spent on that land, now enter into its very constitution, as Leo XIII. admirably shows, "and they become so truly part of itself as to be in great measure indistinguishable and inseparable from it." "The land is not of man's creation," you cry, echoing the words of Mill; "and for a person to appropriate to himself a mere gift of nature, which belonged to all others until he took possession of it, is *prima facie* an injustice to all the rest" (Mill, *Dissert.* iv., 289; cf. *Optic Letter*, &c., page 78, and 7 and *passim*). "But what is of man's creation?" asks Mr. Rae.<sup>1</sup> "He finds his materials already created, and he merely appropriates them, and adapts them to his own uses by labour, exactly as he does with the soil that in his hands become fruitful fields. Land is as much a creation of man as anything else is, and everything is as much a gift of God as land."

To pass now to a few of your grounding assertions and assumptions, which space will allow me to do little more than enumerate. Here is the first: "Pauperism accompanies progress, because rent swallows up the whole gain." These two statements form the corner-stone of your building. If, therefore, one or other is shown to be unsound, your whole fabric is shown to be veritably a castle in the air; *a fortiori*, if both crumble to dust before the unimpeachable testimony of facts, open to everybody's observation, or disclosed by industrial statistics. "Pauperism accompanies progress!" Why do you deal so extensively in ambiguous terms? By "*accompanying*" you mean "is caused by," as the title and tenor of your works show; and you simply don obscurely to hide the propitious "paradox"—you yourself call it such—that pauperism comes through progress. "We

<sup>1</sup> *Contemporary Socialism*, page 194: "God made the sea, and man the dry land," says a proverb of the Dutch, who have made their own land as much as Mr. George has made his book. *Ibid.*

have to deal here with a simple question of fact :—is poverty really becoming greater, extensively and intensively, in advanced countries? Taking England as a crucial case, Mr. Giffen<sup>1</sup> shows that, while the purchasing power of the sovereign is as great now as it was then, money wages have increased from 30 to 100 per cent., to say nothing of the abridgment of the hours of labour, which have been reduced by some 20 per cent. Sir James Caird<sup>2</sup> says:—"The labourer's earning power in procuring the staff of life cost him five days' work to pay for a bushel of wheat in 1770, four days in 1840, and two and a-half days in 1870." Only thirty years ago animal food was a luxury unknown to probably two-thirds of the population for six days out of seven; "now, nearly all of them eat it in meat, or cheese, or butter, once a-day." Thus, the general standard of comfort among the people has been rising; and, at the same time, the proportion of the population unable to attain it—though the evidence for this is not so exact or convincing as might be—has been on the decrease rather than on the increase. It is calculated that there are at the present time in England and Wales 1,600,000 paupers, while in 1688 there were 900,000; or, in other words, with five times the population, we have less than twice the pauperism! A miserable prospect truly, where so much wealth abounds and is squandered, to have a million and a-half destitute! Still, the fact shows the groundlessness of Mr. George's *sisyphism*, which makes out the working class to be stricken with the curse of Sisyphus, ever encouraged by industrial development, and always doomed to have their expectations dashed with disappointment;<sup>3</sup> and it supplies a strong corrective, if not absolute refutation, of the pessimistic idea: "Poverty the consequence of progress." Look, too, at Norway, a country where there is no rent, and where there are no great cities—but where, for all that, there are more poor than in England—and their numbers are increasing!

<sup>1</sup> Presidential Address to Statistical Society, Nov. 20th, 1883, quoted by Rae.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Walker, *Polit. Econ.*, page 426.

<sup>3</sup> See Introduction to *Progress and Poverty*, and *Open Letter*, &c., page 101 and *passim*.

Hence "the law which associated poverty with progress, and increases want with advancing wealth"—the problem which made him at first lose his faith in Divine Providence, and which he set himself to solve in order to rediscover for himself and humanity the long-lost "benevolent intentions of the Creator;" all turns out to be false to fact and false to reason. And thus Mr. George lost his faith by one illusion, and found it by another; he lost it by the paradoxical notion that progress creates poverty, and he found it by the happy invention of singletaxism. Read his own virtual retraction of the law which he imagined and blazoned forth on the title-page of his first eloquent tirade against private property in land, in Book iii., ch. vi., page 154 of *Progress and Poverty*, and compare it with the statement of "the problem" in the introduction to that book and throughout the *Open Letter*. He never meant, it seems, that poverty is the consequence of progress, but only that "while there is no real diminution of the necessities and comforts of the labourer"—since "labourers will get as large a quantity as before"—"the relative fall of wages is noticeable only in the increased value of land, and the greater comforts and the more lavish expenditure of the rent-receiving classes." The poverty of the toilers is, then, constituted in its essence by the wealth of the landlord; and the poor are not poorer, but only *seem* so, because some among the rich have become richer. This is the familiar reasoning of Socialists, of which Father Steccanella remarks that it is an argument with feet, but no head.

But here is a new issue. "Rent swallows up the whole gain." "Neither human nor Divine wisdom," says Mr. George (page 101), "can devise any means by which the evils of our present condition may be avoided." Because "even were God to infuse new vigour into the sunlight, new virtue into the air, new fertility into the soil; were He to reveal new substances, new adjustments, new powers; were He to send down from the heavens, &c., food,

<sup>1</sup> "Il dire: tu sei ricco; dunque io sono povero, è un'ragionare coi piedi e non col capo." *Del Comunismo* (page 202), a book that deserves to attend on the Encyclical, and supplement Father Liberatore's *Principii*.

clothing, all the things that satisfy man's material desires—so far from benefiting man, would not this increase and extension of His bounty prove but a curse, permitting the privileged class more riotously to roll in wealth, and bringing the disinherited class to more widespread starvation or pauperism ? ”

We have another plain question of fact to deal with. Does rent absorb a larger proportion of the gross produce of the country, and are wages a correspondingly smaller proportion ? There is not the smallest pretence of fact for Mr. George's assertion. “Rent is a much smaller proportion of the gross produce than it was,” says Mr. Rae;<sup>1</sup> “and wages are not only in their aggregate a larger proportion of the aggregate produce of the country, but in their average a larger proportion of the *per capita* production.” No random assumptions here ! “The gross annual produce of the United Kingdom is reckoned at present at twelve hundred millions sterling, and the rent at less than seventy millions ; *i. e.*, about one-seventeenth of the whole. . . . Two hundred years ago the annual produce of England and Wales was forty-three millions, and the rent of land ten millions—little less than one-fourth. . . . Rent has risen nearly two hundred per cent. in the last one hundred years, but it does not take one whit a larger share of the gross produce of the land than it took then.”

Here are another set of assumptions which need no long refutation. Giving us no strict definition of land, you assume that it is some compound of ocean, air, sunshine, and soil (page 5) ; and by aid of this sly stepping-stone you easily skip on to another assumption, that the productivity of land is illimitable. Thus you assume that there is no difference between the law of returns in agriculture and that of returns in commerce and manufactures. Land is, moreover, entirely *urban*, if we are to trust your *Open Letter* ; for nowhere is there made the slightest distinction between rural and town land. And, again, it appears that the very essence of private property in land is to have vast tracts in

<sup>1</sup> *Contemporary Socialism*, page 451.

possession. Private property in land, you say (page 60), corrupted the civilization of Rome and ruined her empire. By this you mean, it turns out, that "latifundia subverted Italy." But to assert that the *coloni*—the soldier peasant proprietors of conquering Rome—not only did not spread and cement her influence and her rule, but "corrupted and ruined her empire," is surely to dream history. Until you tell us *precisely* what you mean by land, we cannot assent to your scheme.

Further, you assume that the revenue realized by the single tax system would not only cover all taxation, but provide a means of support for the widow and the orphan and the aged worker. The gross agricultural rental of the United Kingdom is seventy millions. Would this sum, deducting only rent for buildings and allowance for improvements, suffice to meet *local taxation alone* (some sixty millions)? Were the widow and the orphan and the aged poor to be made the recipients of nothing but the residual bounty of singletaxism, it is to be feared they would fare but meanly.

Your historical assertions and appeals to the Bible in support of your theories are as solid as the rest of their foundations. Let us take the Bible, and see if private property in land is condemned as the chiefest of all social criminals—as Mr. George represents it to be—or if it is not only recognised but approved. In Genesis, ch. xxiii., we have set forth minutely the transaction between Moses and one Ephron for the purchase of a field; and from the study of the circumstances of this sale we may learn much. In chapter xlvii. we read that the Egyptians offered for sale to Joseph all their property, and we are told how Joseph effected the purchase. "*Emit igitur Joseph omnem terram Egypti, vendentibus singulis possessiones suas.*" Here, plainly, is *compensation* at all events. Private property in land is, therefore, recognised in Genesis, and existed from before the times of Abraham and Joseph. You appeal to the Mosaic code to prove to Leo XIII. that the text of Deuteronomy, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's field," is not to be taken as sanctioning private property in land,

but only the right of possession, *i.e.*, of use and improvement. Moses "expressly denied unqualified ownership, and with the declaration, 'that the land shall not be sold for ever, because it is mine,' his code provided for its reversion every fiftieth year" (page 65). Yes; but reversion to whom? To the State, as you *equivocally* imply? No; but *to the original owner*. The Mosaic law enacted—(1) that all land was to be the property of God, on the principle that "the earth is the Lord's, and the plenitude thereof," and its holders were to be deemed His tenants; (2) that all *sold* land was to return *to its original owners* in the year of the Jubilee, and the price of the sale was to be calculated on the basis of a fifty years' tenancy, and redemption on equitable terms was to be allowed at all times (Lev. xxv. 27). To quote Moses is, therefore, to cut your own throat; for the Jewish system was the principle of private property in land raised to its highest power. So sacred was the original title of ownership considered, that the inviolability of succession to landed property was secured by Divine enactment. The ancestral right shall never be alienated either by State or individual, and not even the transfer of the temporary enjoyment of inherited land shall be permitted without equitable compensation to the rightful owner.<sup>1</sup>

Enough, however, to show that Mr. George's scheme savours rather too strongly of "the potent medicines of the charlatan" to be trusted in the present precarious state of society. Our times and their disorders need calm, level-headed doctors; but heat and eloquence prescribe feverish potions!

From the *Open Letter* we turn with a sigh of relief to the Encyclical which provoked it. Let us turn to the Pope. From his lips we shall hear the truth taught by the Son of God, which alone can free men from the slavery of error. He is that master of justice given by God to the world, for whom the prophet Joel bids the sons of the Lord rejoice.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Father Steccanella, as above (page 218), and Dr. Smith's *Commentaries on the Law of Moses*. The latter's remarks on peasant proprietorship are worth attention in this connection.

“Et filii Sion exultate et lætamini in Deo vestro: quia dedit vobis doctorem justitiæ.” . . . The sons of the world will laugh at our invitation. But thus it is: either accept the principles of Leo XIII., which set their face determinedly in the direction of the multiplication and facilitation of private ownerships, and against any scheme of confiscation, or bear on in our breast the gnawing cancer till it grow to the desolation of communism.<sup>1</sup>

A. HINSLEY, B.A.

---

### THE HOLY ROBE AT TRÈVES.

AMONG the events of last year, there is one that stands out from the rest as something of deeper import and of more rare occurrence. For the third time in this century, that treasure of Trèves, the seamless robe of our Lord, has been taken from its resting-place and exposed to the veneration of throngs of devout pilgrims. Those who remember the great exposition of 1844, or had heard of it from others, had long been hoping that the century would not be allowed to end without seeing the relic once more exposed. These hopes have at length been fulfilled, and thousands of the younger generation have had an opportunity of satisfying their devotion by going on the pilgrimage; or, at least, following it in spirit. And now that the exposition has come and gone, it may be well for us to look back upon it for a while, that we may lose nothing of the lessons and the consolation it has for us. Naturally enough, the pilgrimage has attracted a good deal of attention. Men of all sorts and conditions, devout Catholics, enemies of religion, carping Protestant critics, careless and indifferent worldlings, have all had their say about it; and, as in 1844, though happily not in the same degree, the relic and the pilgrims who flocked to honour it have been made the object of gibes and sneers. It is no wonder that the bitter

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stecauella, page 604.

foes of the Christian faith should thus assail the Catholic pilgrims; but it is, surely, strange that many who claim the name of Christian should be found to join in the attack. For what is, after all, the real meaning of the Trèves pilgrimage? What is it that makes it a cheering sight to all who have the interest of religion at heart? It is a question well worth asking; for the pilgrimage itself—apart from the history and authenticity of the sacred relic which was its object—is a momentous fact, with a value of its own. An outsider who is sufficiently clear-sighted to see the importance of the movement, and the inadequacy of the supposed causes to which its critics would fain ascribe it, may well be bewildered, and ask what is the true explanation. But a Catholic can, surely, have no difficulty in finding a satisfactory answer. The homage which the pilgrims thus pay to the holy robe is simply due to an outburst of faith in Him who once wore it. Those who came in throngs to see the holy relic and kneel before it, were not brought there by idle curiosity or vain superstition. Was it a mere garment, a “handful of wool,” that gathered them from afar? No, it was He who being lifted up draws all things to Himself.

There could be no greater abuse of language than the charge of superstition, which unthinking objectors so lightly fling at the Trèves pilgrims. How can that be a superstition which has a deep meaning and a firm foundation? And such a reasonable homage is that paid to the holy robe. It has a sure basis and an intelligible meaning, for it is the natural outcome and expression of a deep and living faith in the Mystery of the Incarnation. We may say this, indeed, of all that is done in the Catholic Church. All her sacraments and sacred ordinances, ceremonies and pious practices, of whatever kind, are grouped around the one great mystery which is the sun and centre of all, giving reality and life and meaning to what else would be worthless. It has been well said by Dr. Herzog, in his account of the Calvinist doctrine on the Holy Eucharist, that if once the words of institution are taken in the literal sense, the whole Catholic teaching and practice—Transubstan-

tiation, the Mass, the adoration of the Host—will naturally follow.<sup>1</sup>

In like manner, we may say of another great text, "*Et verbum caro factum est*:" that if this is taken literally, and really held with a living faith, the whole circle of Catholic doctrines and rites and practices seems only the natural outcome and expression of that one stupendous truth. It is even so. The eternal Son of God has in very deed become man to save us; and, therefore, there is a full atonement and real justification and adoption of sons. He has truly taken our flesh, and not in semblance only; and, therefore, lowly material elements are hallowed by His touch, and spiritual graces, like to Him who gives them, come to us clothed in the outward raiment of sacramental signs. And for the same reason also is the Church a visible body, and the inward life-giving presence of the Holy Spirit is fitly made known through outward tokens and instruments, as St. Gregory of Nazianzen says of His coming at Pentecost: "Ἐπρεπε γὰρ Ὑίου σωματικῶς ἡμῖν ὁμιλήσαντος, καὶ αὐτὸ φανῆναι σωματικῶς.

The great theologian of our own century has told us, in one of his finest pages, how the Church may be considered as the Saviour Himself living and working in all ages. His voice is heard in all her teaching, and the touch of His hand is felt in every sacrament. Ever present in His Church, He is thus coming down the track of time, gathering disciples to Himself, and perpetuating the work He began long ago.<sup>2</sup> And as all other dogmas are thus bound up with the doctrine of the divine Incarnation, so the various heresies which

<sup>1</sup>The words of this eminent Protestant writer are well worth quoting here:—"Dr. Luther und die ihm anhängenden Theologen sahen wohl ein, dass die Festhaltung des rein buchstäblichen Sinnes schnurstracks zu der Katholischen Lehre führe. In der That steckt in der buchstäblichen Erklärung die ganze Katholische Theorie und Praxis in Beziehung auf das Sacrament des Altars, nicht bloss die Wandlung der Elemente, die Anbetung der Hostie, die Kelchenziehung, sondern auch das versöhnende Opfer der Messe welches gemäss dem strengen Wortsinne des Textes, während des Abendmals dargebracht wurde." *Encyclopädie für Protest. Theologie* s. v. *Abendmal*.

<sup>2</sup>See the whole passage in Mohler's *Symbolik*, section 34: "Die Kirche ist," &c.

deny any one of these must tend to weaken and eventually destroy belief in that doctrine also. Such has been, in many instances, the outcome of that heretical movement which began by assailing the authority of the Church and her teaching on the subject of justification and the sacraments, and the honour which is rightly given to the saints. As Cardinal Newman says, in his *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*:—"If we take a survey, at least, of Europe, we shall find that it is not those religious communions which are characterized by devotion towards the Blessed Virgin that have ceased to adore her eternal Son, but those very bodies (when allowed by the law) which have renounced devotion to her. The regard for His glory, which was professed in that keen jealousy of her exaltation, has not been supported by the event. They who were accused of worshipping a creature in His stead, still worship Him; their accusers, who hoped to worship Him so purely, they wherever obstacles to the development of their principles have been removed, have ceased to worship Him altogether."<sup>1</sup> And, on the other hand, where the heretical principle has not been allowed full play, and the dogma of the Incarnation has been held fast in spite of all, belief in those other doctrines that are so closely bound up with it is often found to spring up afresh. It is, of course, true that the observance of sacramental rites may still linger on where faith in the great mystery has been lost, or may even be revived on lower grounds; and the result is an empty formalism that is useless, or worse.

Now, this public exposition of what claims to be a garment once worn by our divine Lord Himself, may well serve as a test of the faith and devotion of those who profess His name and service. If we do really hold that He is the very God, who has come in the flesh to save His sinful creatures, how should we be affected at the sight of something which had thus been hallowed by His touch? How ought we to treat it? There is no need, surely, that any command should be laid upon us, nor is there any room for subtle and elaborate argument. It is a question that the

heart can readily answer. We all know how men prize the relics of the great and good, and how fondly we cling to anything that speaks to us of one who is loved and seen no more. How then should we reverence and cherish and honour His robe? If faith in Him is not a cold abstraction, but real and deep and living, what wonder is it that the mere sight of such a relic should bring throngs of pilgrims from afar, and feed the kindling flame of love?

We may, perhaps, be told that this reverence for a mere garment is a piece of sentiment unworthy of lofty and spiritual minds. But we need only refer such critics to the great dogmatic teacher who stood forth in the fourth century as the champion of our Lord's divinity. At the close of his life of St. Anthony, St. Athanasius tells how the saint's disciples took his worn clothes and kept them as a great treasure, for to look upon them is like looking at the saint himself.<sup>1</sup> And if the relics of the servant were thus cherished as a priceless heritage, and thus affected those who saw them, how much more should a garment of the Master Himself be held in honour, and bring His image to the minds of all that see it!

And if the exposition may thus be taken as a touchstone, to test the faith of our people, we have, surely, good reason to be thankful at the result of the experiment. It is, indeed, a cheering sight to see this great outburst of a lively faith in our divine Lord, coming in this age of unbelief, when the heretical movement has reached its climax in the teaching of the critical and mythical schools.

This value of the pilgrimage, as an evidence of the faith that is still with us, does not by any means depend on the genuineness of the relic itself. If the pilgrims, whether rightly or wrongly, regard it as the seamless robe of our Lord, then the homage which they pay to it is, in any case, an unmistakable token of their faith in Him. Thus, the exposition of 1891, like that of 1844, will retain much of its importance whatever may be the result of a critical

<sup>1</sup> Λαζίου δὲ ἕκαστος τὴν μελωτὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀντωνίου, καὶ τὸ τετραγυμνὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἱμάτιον, ὥς τι μέγα χρῆμα φιλάττει, καὶ γὰρ καὶ βλέπων αὐτὰ τις ὡς Ἀντωνίου ἐστὶ θεωρῶν.—St. Athanasius, *Vita St. Antonii*, *prope finem*.

examination of the relic and the evidence adducible in support of its authenticity. At the same time, we may well find in these two great pilgrimages a fresh reason for accepting the traditional or other evidence which may be forthcoming. To say the least, it is hardly probable that a spurious relic would be made the occasion of such a genuine outburst of faith, and the instrument of so many spiritual graces.

It is true, indeed, that the documentary and traditional evidence may rightly be tried on its own merits. And, assuredly, the champions who have come forward to defend the authenticity of the relic have shown no disposition to shrink from this consideration. Not to speak of more recent notices and essays in Catholic periodicals, on the continent and nearer home, there is a goodly array of important works on the subject. As we have already mentioned, the pilgrims of 1844 were assailed by Protestant and unbelieving writers with a bitterness which has happily found no echo in the Press of our own day. And if the fervour of faithful Catholics was kindled afresh, many of the worldly and half-hearted were led to show themselves in their true colours, joining in the attack of the enemies, and drifting away from the Church in the sect of so-called "German Catholics." The assailants made every effort to throw discredit on the relic, and ridicule on the devout pilgrims. These attacks led to some remarkable writings on the other side, setting forth the history of the holy robe, and defending its genuineness with ability and success. Fresh light has been thrown on more than one point since 1844, and the work of the Catholic champions of that date has been to a great extent superseded by the later volumes of Father Beissel, S.J., and Dr. Willems. These writers were able to make use of the labours of their forerunners, filling up what was wanting in their treatment of the subject. At the same time, there is much in the earlier works that has a permanent value, and may still be read with advantage. Such, for instance, is the powerful critique in which the Catholic philosopher, Franz J. Clemens—known as the opponent of Günther—replied to the objections of Gildemeister

and Sybel. A more positive and historical work is that of J. Marx, who tells the story of the relic in a manner that makes his book full of interest, even to students of more recent writings. The above volumes are among the most useful to readers in search of a good account of the holy robe, and some answer to the chief objections brought against its authenticity. But from the standpoint of literature and philosophy, another work of this period must, surely, be allowed to take the foremost place.

The controversy of 1844 drew from the veteran Joseph von Görres, his last work of importance. His treatment of the matter is thoroughly characteristic, and shows that his mind was still in full vigour, and his hand had lost nothing of its cunning. While the book is eminently original, there is much in it that recalls some of the other works of that many-sided writer. The opponents are assailed with an energy worthy of the pen that made the *Rhenish Mercury* a power in Europe;<sup>1</sup> while the careful treatment of the old legendary poem of the "grey robe" becomes the author who gave us *Christliche Mystik*, and told the history of the Myths of Asia. This last is, probably, the most valuable portion of the book. Instead of following those shallow critics who disdain to use what is legendary and poetical, Görres sees the substratum of truth which underlies the fairy fabric of national poetry. And, like all his writings, this little book is full of deep thoughts and pregnant sayings that go far beyond the subject which serves to call them forth. In saying this, we do not mean to identify ourselves with all that is put forward in his mystic interpretation of the old German saga. It is likely enough that there may be something overstrained and fanciful in this portion of the work; and, perhaps, not a few of its readers would be glad to have the explanation itself interpreted. Whatever may be thought of the old legend itself, it furnishes one argument that will commend itself to the most sceptical and unpoetical. This is seen at once, when we compare the popular legend with

<sup>1</sup> It was Napoleon himself who said that Görres' organ was the *fifth power in the ranks of his enemies*.

the ecclesiastical tradition. The one is full of sheer impossibilities ; while the other bears every mark of credibility. By no manner of means could the tradition take its origin from the legend. The latter, on the other hand, may well be a fancy version of the true story reflected in the fervid imagination of popular bards, and blended, in the usual fashion, with other and earlier legends. A close examination of the relic shows us that there is an outer covering wrought with strange figures, partly hiding, and at the same time preserving, the holy robe within. Even so does the fancy raiment of the poem enshrine within it the simple truth that the seamless robe was brought from the far East to the Rhenish city.

It is not our purpose here to go over the history of the holy robe, or to follow the course of the controversy on the subject of its authenticity. Those who wish to make a full study of the matter may be referred to the volumes of Willems, Beissel, and Marx, or to some recent English works brought out on the occasion of the late pilgrimage.<sup>1</sup> We may content ourselves here with a few words on the general character of the evidence, and the motives which lead us to accept it as satisfactory.

The argument from antecedent probability naturally takes an important part in the discussion. It is indeed what may be called the key of the position. If there are still many who doubt or disbelieve the claim of Trèves to possess this relic of our Lord, this is not so much from the absence of satisfactory evidence, as from a mistaken notion that the whole thing is something altogether improbable and out of the question. How comes it, they ask, that a frail garment should be preserved for so long a time ? and how is this relic from the far East at Trèves, of all places in the world ? If these questions remain unanswered, the inquirer will naturally read the historical evidence with prejudiced eyes. It is, therefore, well to point out that even such frail objects as this can be kept for many centuries, so long as they are not exposed to the air. In any case, the robe at Trèves has

<sup>1</sup> See, among others, C. Willems, *La Sainte Robe*, trad. par F. Raynaud, Trèves ; J. Marx, *Geschichte des hl. Rockes* ; J. J. Görres, *Wallfahrt nach Trier* ; Beissel, *Geschichte des hl. Rockes*, Trier, 1889.

existed for more than eight hundred years; and the far older relics found in Egyptian tombs show that its preservation for nineteen centuries is quite possible. But if the seamless robe of our Lord *could* be preserved, is there not every reason to suppose that it would not be suffered to perish? It is true that in the Gospel we find it in the hands of His enemies, who would not be likely to treat it with reverence, unless we suppose that the soldier to whom it fell by lot was one of those who were converted. But if this was not the case, it is by no means likely that this soldier would have kept the robe at all. He would not need it for himself, being provided with a uniform which he was obliged to wear; and, on the other hand, he could readily obtain a high price for it from one of the disciples or holy women. And if once it fell into the hands of the faithful, it would, surely, be kept with all reverence, and handed down as a priceless heirloom. All this is what we might reasonably expect; and there would really be good ground for wonder, if the relic had been lost. And not only is it thus antecedently probable that the holy robe should have been preserved in some place or other, there is great likelihood that Trèves should be the favoured spot. In the early days of persecution, the relic would naturally remain in the East, in the shelter of some Christian home. When the hour of danger was past, and the Church came forth from her hiding-places, more public honour could be safely given to the memorials of the Passion, and they would naturally be bestowed on the churches of the first cities of the world. It was at this time that the pious empress, St. Helena, made her memorable journey to the East, and recovered the true cross, with its title, and the nails. If the holy robe was then extant, she might very well get possession of this also, and bring it back to be treasured in her own land in the West. Now there is good reason for supposing that Treves was the birthplace of the saint; and, in any case, it is the city where her husband, and her son after him, held his court.

For these reasons, when we find the Church of Trèves in possession of the robe, with a tradition that it was brought thither by St. Helena, we may be inclined to admit the

genuineness of the relic, and the truth of the tradition. We may, indeed, rightly ask whether there are any difficulties in the way ; whether there is such documentary evidence as we have a right to expect ; whether the local tradition of the Church of Trèves can be safely trusted ; and whether there is anything that tends to confirm it in this particular instance. On the first point we need only refer our readers to the works already mentioned above, wherein the various difficulties, such as the existence of other similar relics, are fully and fairly considered. It will be enough to say here that none of them are insurmountable. Passing to the written records, we have *The Life of St. Agritius*, composed in the eleventh century, and still extant in MSS. dating from the twelfth ; and the *Gesta Trevirorum*, which was put together in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and continued in these immediately following. These works bear witness to the existence of the tradition at that time ; and they reproduce, with some variety of form, what purports to be a far earlier document touching the relics brought to Trèves by St. Helena. This is a diploma said to have been granted by St. Sylvester in the fourth century, and restored some two centuries later, in the time of the Bishop Volusian. In the longer form, which is found in the *Gesta*, it makes special mention of the holy robe. The authenticity of this diploma has been disputed ; but it has been ably defended by Willems and other writers, both on internal and external grounds. Besides this, we may add, that Almann, an author of the ninth century, belonging to what was in some sense a rival Church, tells us that St. Helena sent relics to her own country. He does not, however, mention the holy robe by name. We may readily admit that the extant written evidence is somewhat fragmentary, and leaves a considerable gap between the fourth and tenth or eleventh centuries. But when we remember the tide of barbarian invasions which swept over Trèves in the course of that interval, we must allow that the silence is sufficiently explained. A more complete series of documents would be open to suspicion. The trustworthiness of the local tradition of Trèves has been shown in unmistakable fashion by the recent excavations in the cemetery of

St. Mathias, and the opening of St. Paulinus' tomb. In both of these cases, statements of chroniclers in the ninth and tenth centuries received striking confirmation in the facts which were then brought to light.<sup>1</sup> This may well serve to strengthen the authority of the local tradition where it speaks on matters that do not admit of the same test. The story of the relic is obviously very different from assertions that have reference to buildings which may be unearthed and tombs that can be opened; and the same sort of confirmation is not to be looked for here. At the same time, the recent minute examination of the holy robe may be said to have strengthened the evidence in its favour. The existence of the outer covering helps to explain its preservation, and does away with some objections formerly urged against it. And the character of the cover bears witness to the reverence with which the relic was treated at a very early age. The popular legend, to which we have already referred, may be said to furnish additional confirmation of a different kind, both in its witness to the main fact, and in the contrast presented by its method of treating it. It shows us what the ecclesiastical tradition is, and what it is not. A far higher and more important confirmation of the evidence may be found in the two great expositions of the present century, and the many spiritual graces of which they were the occasion. To this we might add the miracles wrought in 1844, many of which were duly recorded in a work by Dr. Hansen of Trèves.

Each of these various witnesses has a weight of its own; but to feel their full force we must blend them all together. When we look at the old tradition of the Church of Trèves, strengthened as it is by late discoveries, by the witness of the ancient chronicles and the popular legend and the weight of antecedent probability, and the sanction lent to all this by the great pilgrimages, and the blessings they have drawn down; we may well be assured that this relic of the "Northern Rome" is in truth the seamless robe of our divine Redeemer.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

<sup>1</sup> See Willems, *La Sainte Robe*, pp. 103-105.

## THE CHURCH AND DIVORCE.—II

CATHERINE OF ARRAGON AND HENRY VIII.

“ **W**ALKING with me,” writes Roper, in his *Life of Sir Thomas More*, “along the Thames’ side at Chelsea, in talking of other things, he said to me :—‘ Now, would to our Lord, son Roper, upon condition that three things were established in Christendom, I were put in a sack, and here presently cast into the Thames.’ ‘ What great things be those, sir,’ quoth I, ‘ that you should thus wish ?’ ‘ In faith, son, they be these,’ quoth he : ‘ the first is, that whereas the most part of Christian princes be at mortal wars, they were all at universal peace. The second, whereas the Church of Christ is, at this present, sore inflicted with many errors and heresies, it were settled in perfect uniformity of religion ; the third, that whereas the matter of the King’s marriage is now come in question, it were to the glory of God and quietness of all parties brought to a good conclusion.’ ”

In this “matter of the King’s marriage” there were three persons directly, personally, and (it may be almost said) vitally interested—Queen Catherine, King Henry, and Cardinal Wolsey. Innocence and justice were typified and personated in the Queen ; passion and unlimited sway in the Tudor King ; ambition, with a leaning for the interests of Mother Church, in the Cardinal. It is no wonder that the drama should lay hold of such subjects, and turn them to its own purpose, as Shakespeare in this very case has done. Even without the magic power of the dramatist, these historical subjects, told in the baldest prose, because of their own innate human interest, stand forward for ever immortal. The greatest prodigy of that age, or perhaps of any age, was the wonderful career of Wolsey. Born not of notable parentage, educated almost by charity, he sprang at one bound, and even while yet a boy, to the foremost place in his college ; so that the spectacle might be seen of grey and venerable men listening with silence and admiration to the lectures of one who was still beardless, and outside the schools

speaking of him in such a way that the learned men of Europe were acquainted with the doctrines and fame of the boy-professor, as he was called. From the schools appointed to the deanery of Lincoln, then the most lucrative position for an untitled priest in the kingdom; next, almoner to the young King, Henry VIII; bishop of Tournay; bishop of Lincoln; and, on the death of Cardinal Bambridge, appointed archbishop of York: such the steps by which Wolsey reached to power. It is usual to link the great minister's name with pomp and worldly display; and it is not unhistoric to do so. Wolsey was a man of great display, but his mind was too shrewd and penetrating not to see the hollowness of such. It was an age in which the highest barons in the land knew nothing, indeed, of literature;<sup>1</sup> the high and the low looked equally to display; and though unfriendly writers or dramatists could possibly draw pictures and read lessons, later on, to his disadvantage, yet in his day it was but the fashion of the time; and Wolsey did nothing less or more than live in his day according to the fashion of his age.

Miss Strickland, in her fascinating *Lives of the Queens of England*, has drawn for us the personal character of Queen Catherine:—

"Catherine was at this period about thirty-four years of age. The difference of years is scarcely perceptible between a pleasing woman of that age and a robust, burly man of twenty-nine. . . . Her portrait, engraved in the first volume of Burnet . . . and which is by Holbein . . . represents her as a very middle-looking lady, of thirty; the face oval, the features regular, the forehead of extraordinary height—phrenologists would say with benevolence greatly developed."

Then follows a lively description of her dress:—

"The routine of Catherine's life was self-denying. Her contemporaries held her in more estimation for her ascetic observances than for her highest practical virtues. She rose in the night to prayers at conventional hours; she dressed herself for the day at five in the morning. Beneath her outward attire she wore the habit of St. Francis of the Third Order. She fasted on

<sup>1</sup>See Father Bridgett's *Life of Blessed Thomas More*, page 167.

Fridays and Saturdays and on the vigil of feast days. She confessed, at least, weekly, and received the Eucharist every Sunday.”<sup>1</sup>

Like Wolsey and pomp, a character for passion and tyranny has been identified with Henry. This is true of part of the King's life; but not of all of it. When Sir Thomas More was first brought in contact with him as Secretary and Privy Councillor, he gives this description of the monarch in a letter to the holy Bishop Fisher, of Rochester, who was afterwards his fellow-prisoner and fellow-martyr—both being imprisoned and beheaded by order of him of whom Sir Thomas now says:—“He is so affable and courteous to all men, that each thinks himself his favourite, even as the citizens' wives imagine that our Lady's picture at the tower smiles at them as they pray before it.”

“Henry VIII., at this period of his life, was a most amiable prince. . . . It is not strange that such a prince, the evil parts of whose character were as yet but little developed, should be attracted strongly by a man like More—a scholar, an orator, an accomplished gentleman—whom he would prize, moreover, as his conquest.”<sup>2</sup>

Further acquaintance, however, and closer intimacy let Sir Thomas More see what kind of man at heart the “merry monarch” was. In Roper's *Life*, it is written:—

“The King, upon holidays, when he had done his own devotions, used to send for him [Sir Thomas More], and sit and converse with him. And because he was of a pleasant disposition, it pleased the King and Queen, after the council had supped, yea, at the time of their supper, to send for him to be merry with them.”

And again:—

“For the pleasure his Grace took in his company, would he suddenly sometimes come to his house at Chelsea, to be merry with him. Whither on a time unlooked for he came to dinner with him: and after dinner, in a fair garden of his, walked with him by the space of an hour, holding his arm about his neck [the

<sup>1</sup> *Catherine of Aragon*, page 105.

<sup>2</sup> Father Bridgett's *Life of More*, page 368.

King being much taller than Sir Thomas]. As soon as his Grace was gone, I, rejoicing thereat, said to Sir Thomas, how happy he was whom the King had so familiarly entertained. 'I thank our Lord, son,' quoth he, 'I find his Grace my very good lord indeed. *Howbeit, son Roper, I may tell thee, I have no cause to be proud thereof, for if my head would win him a castle in France, it should not fail to go.*'"

England was then at war with France. Lingard says of him;—

"Peace abroad and tranquillity at home allowed the young monarch to indulge his natural taste for amusement and pleasure. During two years his court presented an almost uninterrupted succession of balls and revels. The Queen and her ladies were repeatedly summoned to see the King fighting at barriers with the two-handed sword or the axe."

It is just what Father Bridgett has said: "The evil parts of his character were as yet but little developed." We find those evil parts described by a recent able writer in their development state. Dr. Brewer, Editor of the *Calendars and Papers* illustrating the reign of Henry VIII., thus writes:—

"In 1525, the King being then thirty-six years old,<sup>1</sup> was beginning to pay less attention to business. He hated the drudgery of looking over files of despatches, from which the most exciting topic was absent; withdrew himself more and more from the metropolis, and spent his days in hunting. Removed more than ever from the personal influence of Wolsey, Henry was surrounded by favourites, who recommended themselves to his notice by ministering to his pleasures and fostering his love of profusion. . . . In 1525, he had attempted to make a favourite of Sir Thomas More . . . but the pursuits of the court, and the individuals of which its innermost circle were composed, were scarcely such as could command his [Sir Thomas More's] sympathy and approbation. *There was hardly one of them whose character was not seriously tainted with that vice against which the unsullied purity of More's mind rebelled; not one who looked upon the transgression of the marriage vow as deserving reprobation or censure, or, at least, as worse than a jest.*"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It was in 1527, two years afterwards, that we hear the first talk of a divorce. It can hardly be doubted that at this time, 1525, things were going on behind the scenes that made the talk of a divorce necessary in a year or two. It is, indeed, a fact that Henry was immoral and an adulterer at this very time, as we shall see.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction to *Letters and Papers*.

Once more it is the sacredness of marriage that is going to act the touchstone, and to discriminate between the Church that is to stand by the side of Christ and the Church that is not.

“It is unnecessary [writes Father Bridgett] to enter on the much debated questions as to the time when the thought of a divorce first entered Henry’s mind, or the causes that led to it, and whether or not they had any connection in their origin with the person of Anne Boleyn. What seems certain, and now generally admitted is, that, early in the year 1527 everyone knew that a divorce was in agitation, and everyone about the court knew of the King’s passion for Anne. But it does not follow that these two things were connected together in the minds of observers, even of those most intimate with Henry. To them Anne may have appeared but as one of a series [of mistresses];<sup>1</sup> and that she would aspire to marriage and be successful, entered into the thoughts of few.”<sup>2</sup>

While Queen Catherine was in good health she made the palace of the King a happy home. So pleased was the great European scholar, Erasmus, of the glimpse he had of it, that he wrote:—“What household is there among the subjects of their realms that can offer an example of such united wedlock? Where can a wife be found better matched with the best of husbands?” And to Queen Catherine—had he seen the future, it would have been said he did it in mockery—Erasmus dedicated his treatise on *Christian Matrimony*. “The conduct of a man,” writes Miss Strickland, “is almost invariably influenced by the moral qualities of the woman who has his heart in her keeping,” and thus finds a very great contrast between the “saintly Catherine” and those women who had “the guidance of the King in the meridian and decline of his life.”

In 1522, the Queen fell into declining health; and from 1522 to 1527 appeared rarely at court. It was about the year 1522 that Anne Boleyn was appointed maid of honour to Queen Catherine. At the age of fifteen this lady went in

<sup>1</sup> Anne’s own sister being one of these. Each was, of course, cast aside at the whim of the King; and such, it was thought, would be the case too with Anne.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Blessed John Fisher*, page 144.

the train of Mary Tudor to France. She stayed there till her twenty-second year, when, on a disagreement between the Kings of France and England, and also because of family reasons, she returned to England. A description of her personal appearance is given by Saunders:—

“Anne Boleyn was in stature rather tall and slender, with an oval face, black hair, and a complexion inclining to sallow; one of her upper teeth projected a little. She appeared at times to suffer from asthma. On her left hand a sixth finger might be perceived; on her throat there was a protuberance resembling a strawberry. This she carefully covered with an ornamental collar-band, a fashion which was blindly imitated by the rest of the maids of honour. Her face and figure were symmetrical; beauty and sprightliness sat on her lips; in readiness of repartee, sprightliness in the dance, or skill in playing the lute she was unsurpassed.”

Miss Strickland makes out a case for Anne Boleyn, which indeed seems incontrovertible, that she was more sinned against than sinning; that she steadily refused all advances from the monarch, having before her eyes her sister's case; and that her reply was, that his wife she could not be, and that anything else she would not.

“There was a striking resemblance between Anne Boleyn and her sister Mary, the previous object of Henry's attention; but Mary was the fairest, the most delicately featured, the most feminine of the two. In Anne the more powerful charms of genius, wit, and fascination triumphed over every defect, which prevented her from being considered a perfect beauty, and rendered her the leading star of the English court. Yet it was her likeness, perhaps, to her sister, which in the first instance constituted her chief attraction with the King, who soon became secretly enamoured of her, though he concealed the state of his mind.”<sup>1</sup>

This was 1522, when Anne was in her twenty-second or twenty-third year. Certain relations between herself and Percy, son of Northumberland, and the jealousy of the King thereat, drove both from court. She remained at Hever Castle, her father's place, in Kent; and though the King took stolen trips to see her, she shut herself up, and would have none of him. For a year she crossed the English Channel, and remained

<sup>1</sup> Strickland.

in France; but in the year 1527, the very year when the King's "secret matter" turns up, she had re-appeared at the English Court—"his wife she could not be, and nothing else she would."

"Her French education, however, had taught her," writes Miss Strickland, "to regard adulation as a welcome tribute to her charms;" and then, after relating an incident between the King and Sir Thomas Wyatt when at play, she very properly adds:—

"No one who dispassionately reflects on these passages in Anne's conduct can reconcile it with her duty to her royal mistress or those feelings of feminine delicacy which would make a young and beautiful woman tremble at the impropriety of becoming an object of contention between two married men."

"If Anne [continues Miss Strickland] abstained from compliance with the unhallowed solicitations of the King, it must, we fear, be ascribed rather to her caution than to her virtue. . . . Ambition had now entered her head; she saw that the admiration of the sovereign had made her the centre of attraction to all who sought his favour; and she felt the fatal charms of power—not merely the power which beauty, wit, and fascination had given her, but that of political influence."<sup>1</sup>

Now, plainly, the matter was ripe for treatment. To Henry it was evident that he could not, in the eyes of England and Europe, have two wives. For a twelvemonth and more he had "persisted in urging his suit with protestations of the most ardent attachment; but Anne had derived wisdom from the fate of her sister Mary; she, therefore, artfully kept her lover in suspense, and tempered her resistance with so many blandishments, that his hopes, though repeatedly disappointed, were now totally extinguished."<sup>2</sup>

It was a choice between Catherine and Anne, and the King's passion did not leave him long in suspense. But how to get away Catherine, his lawful wife, under some decent pretext, was the difficulty. In this emergency Wolsey was called in, and admitted into just as much of the secret of the King as the King wished. The King kept from him, unquestionably, that it was for the sake of Anne that he wished the divorce. Wolsey entered into the question of

<sup>1</sup> *Anne Boleyn*, page 81.

<sup>2</sup> Lingard.

the divorce with one eye on the King's interests and another on the Roman tiara. The Cardinal had designs on the dignity of sovereign pontiff, and not without some grounds; and he looked upon the question of the divorce and his own action therein as securing him, first, the influence of Henry; and, next, the influence of whatsoever European sovereign he would get the divorced King to form an alliance with. And already in his mind's eye, the worldly Cardinal had fixed upon the French King, whose daughter Renée he had selected as successor for Catherine."<sup>1</sup>

There is not a historian but regards the whole question of the divorce as a trumped-up affair; and, again, there is not a historian capable of forming a judgment on the Catholic question of dispensation between Henry and Catherine, because of affinity in their early days, who does not look upon the dispensation as valid, and the after conjugal life of the King and Queen as licit. The arguments on both sides of the question may be found briefly stated in the Appendix to vol iv., Lingard, page 291.

The blessed Bishop John Fisher, in a letter to Cardinal Wolsey, "after consulting all the mute teachers (as they say), and diligently sorting their opinions," thus concludes his judgment:—"From these premises no scruple or hesitation remains in my mind about the matter. I wish your Eminence long life and happiness."<sup>2</sup>

It was very awkward, no doubt, for Henry to have so bad a case; but we know the adage "when needs must." It was cast about, then, how to bring this anxious and most agonizing scruple of conscience that was worrying the King's peace of mind quietly and tentatively at first before the public. It was given out that the French ambassador, the Bishop of Tarbes, when negotiating certain political matters, had put the curious question whether the King's daughter, the Princess Mary, was legitimate. This unhinged the delicate mind of the King, it was said, and forthwith he laid his uneasy conscience before the holy Mayor and Aldermen of London, his own Privy Council, and several

<sup>1</sup> Lingard.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Blessed John Fisher*, page 151.

peers of the realm. Ghostly spiritual guides, no doubt! Lingard has gone to the trouble of examining into the question of the Bishop of Tarbes mooting the affair, and says what, indeed, from the circumstances might be fairly presumed:—"It is clear to me that the whole story is a fiction."<sup>1</sup>

Were it not for Queen Catherine's sake, and because of the tremendous issues that did hang upon it, one might follow the proceedings of the divorce suit as one might read a curious and somewhat interesting farce. The first step was:—Cardinal Wolsey was to institute proceedings against the King (as it were!), the Cardinal, acting in his position as legate to the Pope, and being supported by Dr. Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury. These proceedings were to take place on May 15, 1527, and the meaning and purpose of them was:—"That as the guardians of public morality, the Cardinal and the Archbishop cited the King to answer why he had lived for eighteen years in incestuous intercourse with his brother's widow."<sup>2</sup> The reader is, of course, aware that this was agreed upon beforehand by the King and the Cardinal. Indeed, if it had not, the Cardinal would have made a pretty mess of it to venture on such a proceeding with "bluff King Hal." Henry personally appeared on his defence, and then appointed a proctor to continue the farce, *while one of his devoted servants, Dr. Wolman, pleaded against him.*<sup>3</sup>

It would not do to declare judgment right off; the Cardinal was too trained a judge in ecclesiastical suits of law to do such a thing; but something had to be done to keep the ball rolling, and so, they determined on a list of questions to be submitted to the doctors and professors of canon law throughout the realm; the questions or difficulties hinged about the Papal power to dispense in such a case of affinity as existed between Henry and Catherine. To the great disappointment and chagrin of the King, the answers came pouring in, affirming the Papal power to dispense in

<sup>1</sup> Appendix, vol. iv., page 291.

<sup>2</sup> Father Bridgett's *Life of Bishop Fisher*, page 150.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

such a case, and the legitimacy therefore of a subsequent marriage.

Henry and Catherine were married in 1509; and it is now in 1527, that is to say, eighteen years afterwards, that he wants to sue for a divorce. We have seen what were the first steps arranged between the Cardinal and the King; or as the Cardinal in one of his letters to Henry expressly says—"as was devised with your Highness in York Place."

The King and Cardinal thought that everything would proceed according to their wishes if they could only win one man to their side. This was the blessed John Fisher, the holy Bishop of Rochester. Wolsey agreed to take him in hand. "The King and Wolsey," says Father Bridgett, "sought, by tricks and lies, to blind the man they most feared;" but they were unable. Bishop Fisher acted all through as the fearless and uncompromising advocate and counsellor of the injured Queen.

Rome came soon to be looked upon as the place where the cause was to be lost or won. The Emperor Charles V. espoused the cause of his aunt, Queen Catherine; and the Emperor had his armies in Italy. This possession of Italy gave an advantage to him in the way of political power over the French King, which the latter did not wish to allow; and he therefore sent his armies into Italy. The English King, through the advice of Wolsey, entered into alliance with the French King; and by the influence of Francis with the Pope hoped to further his suit for the divorce at Rome. It thus stood then: against the divorce—justice, ecclesiastical law, and the armies of Charles; for the divorce—the agents of Henry, bribery, diplomacy, and the power of the English and French kings. What was the Pope to do? we ask the question, not for the answer, but to show the *cruc* the Pope found himself in. If he pronounced for the divorce, Charles, the powerful master of half of Europe, was angered; if against it, the no less powerful sovereigns Henry and Francis. At length, a just and able, but astute and wily canonist, Cardinal Campeggio, was sent to England, with instructions "to proceed with

due reflection and caution, as in this case one imprudent step might throw all Europe into a flame.”<sup>1</sup> In England the cause was watched by Wolsey for Henry, by the Bishop of Rochester for the Queen, by the Bishop of Bayonne for the French Sovereign, and by the Minister Chapuys for the Emperor. The letters of Chapuys, as also those of the Venetian Minister, Ludovico Falier, seem not to have come into the hands of Dr. Lingard, as he never quotes from them. Indeed it is hard to blame him, as it is only in the recent publication of *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* that they have become accessible.<sup>2</sup> These letters give valuable information, as we shall see later on.

On the 28th of May, 1529, the first sitting of the Legatine Court was held. Miss Strickland, following Cavendish, thus describes it:—

“In the great hall of the palace at Blackfriars was prepared a solemn court. The two legates, Wolsey and Campeggio, had each a chair of cloth of gold, placed before a table, covered with rich tapestry. On the right of the court was a canopy, under which was a chair for the King, and on the left a chair for the Queen. The King answered by two proctors; the Queen entered attended by four bishops and a great train of ladies, and making an obeisance to the legates, appealed from them to the court of Rome. She then departed.”

Week after week the court sat; and again, on the 18th June, cited the King and Queen to appear in person.

“When the crier called—‘Henry, King of England, come into court,’ he answered, ‘Here,’ in a loud voice, from under his canopy. ‘Catherine, Queen of England,’ was cited. The Queen was already present; she answered by protesting against the legality of the court, on the grounds that all her judges held

<sup>1</sup> Lingard.

<sup>2</sup> Father Bridgett, in the Preface to his *Life of Blessed John Fisher*, says:—“As regards the official papers of which I have made so large a use in composing this *Life*, it may be mentioned, for those unfamiliar with such matters, that a collection of the principal documents of the reign of Henry VIII. was published by the Government from 1830 to 1852, in eleven volumes. These are commonly quoted as *State Papers of Henry VIII.* They must not be confounded with *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, still in course of publication. . . . Owing to the exceptional importance of that period of history, a great latitude was given to Mr. Brewer, and since his death to Mr. Gairdner, to indicate, abridge, or print in full, whatever documents, MS., &c., would illustrate the public transactions in England in

benefices presented by her opponent.<sup>1</sup> The Cardinals denied the justice of her appeal to Rome on these grounds. Her name was again called. She rose a second time, took no notice of the legates, but crossing herself devoutly, made a circuit of the court, and knelt before the King. 'Sir, I beseech you,' she said, in her broken English, 'for the loves there hath between us, and for the love of God, let me have some right and justice. Take of me some pity and compassion, for I am a poor stranger born out of your dominions. . . . This twenty years have I been your true wife, and by me ye have had divers children, although it hath pleased God to call them out of this world, which has been no fault of mine. . . . The King, your father, was accounted in his day as a second Solomon for wisdom, and my father, Ferdinand, was esteemed one of the wisest kings that ever reigned in Spain. Also, as me seemeth, they had in their days, as learned and judicious counsellors, as are at present in this realm, who then thought our marriage good and lawful. . . . Therefore, most humbly do I require you, for the love of God, to spare me the sentence of this new court, until I be advertised what way my friends in Spain may advise me to take ; and if ye will not extend to me this favour, your pleasure be fulfilled, and to God do I commit my cause.'"<sup>2</sup>

The Queen rose up, with her face bathed in tears : she bowed to the King, and walked out of court. The King, seeing what effect her speech had on the audience listening, began to extol her virtues, and to lament his own fate, since "his conscience should urge the divorce of such a Queen."

"Machiavelli would have turned with disgust from so miserable a liar ;" says the Protestant writer, Mr. Friedmann, in his life of Anne Boleyn. "Henry was a liar to his own conscience. He was a thoroughly immoral man, and he dared not own it to himself."

Father Bridgett here mentions a thing worth meditating on :—

"During the following years, when he was living in open adultery, he interrupted none of his usual communions at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. I mention these things, because

that reign. Among these new sources for the history of our holy martyr none are more important or interesting than the despatches of Eustache Chapuys, the Ambassador of Charles V. at the Court of Henry VIII., from the end of 1529 until after the death of Fisher." (Preface, page xviii.)

<sup>1</sup> Campeggio had been named Bishop of Salisbury. (Lingard, vol. iv., page 248.)

<sup>2</sup> Strickland.

they are passed over by historians as trivial, though, in all probability, they are the turning points in men's lives, and in the history of nations."<sup>1</sup>

On the 23rd July, it was generally expected that the legates would pronounce sentence.

"The King attended in a neighbouring room, from which he could see and hear the proceedings, and his counsel in lofty terms called for the judgment of the court. But Campeggio replied that judgment must be deferred till the whole of the proceedings had been laid before the Pontiff; that he had come there to do justice, and that no consideration should divert him from his duty. He was too old and sickly to seek the favour, or fear the resentment, of any man."<sup>2</sup>

The court was thereupon prorogued till October; but in the meantime the Pope had recalled the powers from his legates on the appeal of the Queen, and had reserved the case to his own hearing. At Rome, Henry knew that he would have much less influence in obtaining a favourable verdict than if the cause were tried in England. His representative at Rome went so far as to threaten the Pope, that "this would be the ruin of the Church, and the loss of England and France."

"Wolsey, forgetting his duty as a bishop and a cardinal of the Roman Church [says Father Bridgett], wrote insolently on the 27th July:—'It shall never be seen that the King's cause shall be ventilated and decided in any place out of the realm; *but that if his Grace should at any time come to Rome, he would do the same with such a main and army royal as should be formidable to the Pope and to all Italy.*'"<sup>3</sup>

Rigidly, indeed, Wolsey's "insolence" is to be condemned; but there are reasons which go far to condone it. No man was busier in reviewing the situation, and no man had better right. If judgment was spoken in favour of the King, Wolsey might yet retain the hold he once had, and which to a large extent he still possessed over the mind of the King; but let it go against the King, and the inflammable mind of the sovereign would be speedily fanned to

<sup>1</sup> *Blessed John Fisher*, page 157.

<sup>3</sup> *State Papers*, vii. 193.

<sup>2</sup> Lingard.

furnace-heat by the arts and simulations of "mistress Anne" and those who desired the minister's fall. To his (Wolsey's) credit it must be said, that his influence was mainly for good over the mind of his sovereign; and that when the minister fell, the monarch also fell, and perhaps even more deplorably.

Henry kept his agents or "orators" still at Rome, and even sent an embassy to the Emperor. Threats and promises, bribes and fears, were dangled before Clement and Charles: the one spoke of justice and equity, come what would; the other answered, "that he was not a merchant, to sell the honour of his aunt: that if the Pope decided against her, he would be silent; but if for her, he would support her cause with all the means at his disposal."<sup>1</sup>

The disappointment in the matter of the divorce decided Wolsey's fall. In July the court was prorogued; in October the Cardinal ceased to be a chancellor: and a writ of *Premunire* issued against him. One sentence from a despatch of the French Ambassador tells how matters at this time stood:—"The Duke of Norfolk is made head of the council; in his absence, the Duke of Suffolk; *above all is Mademoiselle Anne.*" The charge of *Premunire* was issued against Wolsey because he held a court, invested with powers from an authority outside the realm: as if Henry himself had not approved and most likely suggested it. Not alone Wolsey, but all the clergy of the kingdom stood arraigned by order of the King, because they did not protest against it; and even the laity, for permitting and conniving at it. He graciously forgave the laity, because he could not (as is evident) indict a whole nation, mulcted the clergy and condemned the Cardinal. Surely nothing could be truer, than the saying of Mr. Friedmann, "that Machiavelli himself would turn in disgust from so miserable a liar!"

Next year, *i.e.*, 1530, Wolsey was arrested on a charge of high treason, at the instigation of Anne Boleyn and his enemies in the council. He was on his way to London in the November of that year, when he was

<sup>1</sup> Lingard.

summoned before a higher Tribunal, and died heart-broken but contrite.

"At Christmas, 1530 [writes Miss Strickland], the Queen's appeal to Rome was still pending. The divorce excited the greatest interest among all classes in England. . . . The Queen was residing at Greenwich, Whitsuntide, 1531, when the King sent to her that he had obtained the opinions of the universities concerning the divorce. 'God grant my husband a quiet conscience,' replied the Queen; 'but I mean to abide by no decision excepting that of Rome.'"

"The King heard this decision with gloom and fury. He accompanied the Queen to Windsor after the festival of Trinity. On the 14th June he left the royal castle, and sent to the Queen imperious orders to depart from it. 'Go where I may,' was Catherine's reply, 'I am his wife, and for him will I pray.' She immediately retired from Windsor Castle, and never more beheld her husband or child."

All this time Anne was worrying the King with solicitations about the divorce. Her head longed to wear the Queen of England's crown; and a fatal crown it was to her. Henry wished to make her his wife; and, seeing that instead of winning, it was worsted he was in Rome—for the Pope at this time addressed a private letter of exhortation to him to take back his lawful wife, and put away "one Anne" he had about him; and this was followed by a public document declaring the validity of the marriage, and the legitimacy of the offspring. Henry, therefore, seeing that there were no longer any hopes from Rome, and being determined on the doing of the thing, took steps to bring the matter about through the subserviency of Parliament, and the servility of his creatures.

In 1532, because of the epidemic called the sweating sickness, Parliament did not meet. All this time, "the King had been cohabiting with Anne Boleyn in spite of the formal injunction and threatened excommunication of the Pope.<sup>1</sup> In 1533 both Houses of Parliament met; and in spite of a bold opposition by the Bishop of Rochester, an Act was at once passed against appeals to Rome, in cases of wills, *marriages*, tithes, and the like."<sup>2</sup> The holy Bishop of

<sup>1</sup> Father Bridgett's *Blessed John Fisher*, page 224.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

Rochester, seeing that the King was not to be deterred by any spiritual threats, strongly urged the Spanish Ambassador to induce his Sovereign to take up arms in the cause of his aunt the Queen. The reader will find a very able defence of this action of the Bishop—though to an impartial mind it perhaps needs no defence—from the pen of Father Bridgett in his *Life of Bishop Fisher*, pp. 228, 229.

It was, however, after the King had taken the last and final steps in 1533, that the Spanish Ambassador says that Dr. Fisher urged on him these proceedings. The final steps were the secret marriage of the King to Anne Boleyn at St. Paul's, January 25, 1533, in order to render Anne's expected issue legitimate; the other was the appointment of Cranmer to the see of Canterbury. He was consecrated on the 30th March, 1533, and on April 6th Dr. Fisher was made a prisoner, to have him out of the way, lest he might interfere in the question of the divorce. On the 12th April, Cranmer obtained permission from Henry to inquire into the validity of the marriage with Queen Catherine, on the 23rd May, declared it invalid, and on the 28th declared the marriage between Henry and Anne valid.<sup>1</sup> On the 7th September of that year Anne gave birth to the infant princess, Elizabeth. On the 11th July the Pope annulled the proceedings of the Archbishop; and on the 8th of August censure was pronounced against Cranmer as well as against Henry and Anne. With the declaration of the divorce there virtually began a new Church in England. With which was our divine Lord? With the old, or with the new? With Rome, refusing and excommunicating; with More and Fisher, on Tower Hill, giving their life-blood, like the Baptist, for the sacredness of marriage; with the injured and innocent Queen, in her retreat at Bugden, or on her saintly deathbed at Kimbolton Castle;<sup>2</sup> or with that grand and stately ceremony that on the 1st of June, 1533, "the loveliest of all the lovely days in England," filled the

<sup>1</sup> On the 17th of May, just three years afterwards, Cranmer again declared "that the marriage between Henry and Anne was null and void, and had always been so."

<sup>2</sup> Blessed John Fisher was beheaded 22nd June, 1535; blessed Thomas More was beheaded 6th July, 1535; Queen Catherine died 7th January, 1536; Anne Boleyn was beheaded 19th May, 1536.

carpeted nave and aisles of Westminster Cathedral, when the embryo Church, cowering and servile, held up, in the persons of Stokesley and Gardiner (Bishops of London and Winchester), "the lappets of Anne Boleyn's robe;" and, in the person of Cranmer, administered without a shudder the Divine Eucharist to the King's pretended wife on that day of her coronation? "Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, permitted you to put away your wives; *but from the beginning it was not so; and I say to you, whosoever shall put away his wife, and shall marry another, committeth adultery*" (Matt. xix. 8, 9), saith our divine Lord; and these words leave no doubt on which side He was.

R. O'KENNEDY.

## THE IRISH DIFFICULTY; SHALL AND WILL.

### III.—THE USE OF SHALL AND SHOULD TO EXPRESS A CONTINGENT EVENT.

**I**N the subordinate clause of a sentence, SHALL and SHOULD are very commonly used to express a contingent or doubtful event. This happens most frequently, when the subordinate clause is introduced by the relative pronouns *who, which, that*; the adverb *when*, or its equivalent; the conjunctions *till, until, if, whether, that, such as, so long as*; or words implying uncertainty, like *perhaps, it may be*, and so forth. In general, it may be said that SHALL is used if the time of the contingent event is future to the present time, and SHOULD if it is future to a past time, or if it is indefinite. But the reader will have no difficulty in determining which to choose, if he once fully masters the rule; and the rule, as it seems to me, will be more easily impressed upon the mind by the following copious collection of extracts, than by any abstract dissertation.

#### WHO, WHICH, THAT.

They will never again listen to any orator *who shall* have the effrontery to tell them that their wages rise and fall with the price of the loaf.

MACAULAY.

Yes, Sir, to this Bill, and to every Bill *which shall* seem to me likely to promote the real Union of Great Britain and Ireland, I will give my support, regardless of obloquy, regardless of the risk which I may run of losing my seat in Parliament.

MACAULAY.

I am not so violently bent upon my own opinion as to reject any offer proposed by wise men, *which shall* be found equally innocent, cheap, easy, and effectual.

SWIFT.

The task of writing a book on astronomy *which shall* enable a beginner to grasp all the fundamental principles and methods, without entering into elaborate details of mathematics, is by no means a light one.

NATURE.

I conceive that his state of mind is very much like that of one *who should* sit down and write on the sun, moon, and planets, without ever having heard of Newton or Copernicus.

FREEMAN.

A philosophy *which should* enable a man to feel perfectly happy while in agonies of pain would be better than a philosophy that assuages pain.

MACAULAY.

This really seems to us as extravagant as it would have been in Lindley Murray to announce that every body *who should* learn his Grammar would write as good English as Dryden.

MACAULAY.

The same circumstance may make one person laugh *which shall render another very serious*.

CHARLES LAMB.

They commit the very same kind of encroachment on a province not their own, as the political economist *who should* maintain that his science educated him for casuistry or diplomacy.

NEWMAN.

The visit of your cousin has cleared up the mystery in a way more agreeable to myself than I could have ventured to anticipate, from any communication short of that *which should* acquaint me with the entire dispersion of the dejection under which you laboured.

DE QUINCY.

Monks, raising his face from the table, bent forward to listen to *what* [that *which*] the woman *should* say.

CHARLES DICKENS.

We have heard it said that, in some parts of Spain and Portugal, an actor *who should* represent a depraved character finely, instead of calling down the applauses of the audience, is hissed and pelted without mercy.

MACAULAY.

When they awoke from the distressing illusion, they treated the author of it as they would have treated a messenger *who should* have brought them fatal and alarming tidings which turned out to be false.

MACAULAY.

A reader *who should* judge only by internal evidence would have no hesitation in pronouncing that the play was written by some Pittite poetaster at the time of the rejoicings for the recovery of George the Third, in 1789.

MACAULAY.

The Act of Uniformity had laid a mulct of a hundred pounds on every person *who*, not having received episcopal ordination, *should* presume to administer the Eucharist. . . The Conventicle Act had imposed heavy fines on divines *who should* preach in any meeting of separatists.

MACAULAY.

A man might blur ten sides of paper in attempting a defence of this against a critic *who should* be laughter-proof.

CHARLES LAMB.

There might be a revised Liturgy *which should* not exclude extemporaneous prayer.

MACAULAY.

She might have some misgivings about the friends *whom* she *should* meet there.

THACKERAY.

What should we say to a foolish squire, *who should* claim a merit from dressing up his tenantry in red jackets, that never were to be marshalled—never to take the field?

CHARLES LAMB.

I can conceive no system more fatal to the integrity and independence of literary men than one under *which* they *should* be taught to look for their daily bread to the favour of ministers and nobles.

MACAULAY.

When we see men grow old and die at a certain time, one after another, from century to century, we laugh at the elixir that promises to preserve life to a thousand years; and with equal justice may the lexicographer be derided, *who*, being able to produce no example for a nation that has preserved their words and phrases from mutability, *shall* imagine that his dictionary can embalm his language, and secure it from corruption and decay.

JOHNSON.

If Harry the Eighth or Bluebeard were alive now, and wanted a tenth wife, do you suppose he could not get the prettiest girl *that shall be presented this season?*

THACKERAY.

If one must be plain, it is better to be plain all over, than amidst a tolerable residue of features to hang out one *that shall be exceptionable.*

CHARLES LAMB.

I know that the devotion and affection of her nature require no ordinary return, but one *that shall be deep and lasting.*

CHARLES DICKENS.

Oh! blest are the lovers and friends *who shall live*  
The days of thy glory to see.

MOORE.

WHEN, OR ITS EQUIVALENT.

Bacon loved to picture to himself the world as it would be *when* his philosophy *should*, in his own noble phrase, "have enlarged the bounds of human empire."

MACAULAY.

And the Roman Catholic Church may still exist in undiminished vigour *when* some traveller from New Zealand *shall*, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's.

MACAULAY.

What (say the German and Italian, Turk and Greek, *shall be* contented with each other; *when* "the lion and the sheep *shall* abide together," and "the calf and the bear *shall* feed,"—then, it will be argued, will there be a good understanding between two nations [England and Ireland] so contradictory the one of the other.

NEWMAN.

Theodosius concluded with a promise that he would from time to time continue his admonitions, *when she should* have taken upon her the holy veil.

ADDISON.

They had long discussions: and on her refusal to pledge herself to him as his wife *when all should be over*, he had grown angry, and broken off entirely, and gone abroad.

MRS. GASKELL.

I can only say that *when* your father and mother *shall be* able to see me with comfort, I will come to the bereaved house.

CHARLES LAMB

I shall believe that there is some such principle influencing our conduct, *when* more than one-half of the drudgery and coarse servitude of the world *shall* cease to be performed by women.

CHARLES LAMB.

And *when* those who have rivalled the greatness of Athens *shall* have shared her fate ; *when* civilisation and knowledge *shall* have fixed their abode in distant continents ; *when* the sceptre *shall* have passed away from England ; *when*, perhaps, travellers from distant regions *shall* in vain labour to decipher on some mouldering pedestal the name of our proudest chief ; *shall* hear savage hymns chanted to some misshapen idol over the ruined dome of our proudest temple ; and *shall* see a single naked fisherman wash his nets in the river of the ten thousand masts ; —her influence and her glory will still survive—fresh in eternal youth, exempt from mutability and decay, immortal as the intellectual principle from which they derived their origin, and over which they exercise their control.

MACAULAY.

TILL, UNTIL.

It was not very likely that James would live *till* his son *should* be of age to exercise the regal functions.

MACAULAY.

He went and dined nervously at his club, waiting *until* the great moment of his life *should* come.

THACKERAY.

He had been apprehensive that the enemy would avoid a decisive action, and would protract the war *till* the autumnal rains *should* return with pestilence in their train.

MACAULAY.

There will I hide thee, *till* my life *shall* end.

TENNYSON.

Mr. Bumble thought that, now the undertaker had got Oliver on trial, the subject was better avoided, *until* such time as he *should* be firmly bound for seven years ; and all danger of his being returned on the hands of the parish *should* be thus effectually and legally overcome.

CHARLES DICKENS.

Looking round, he saw that it was a post-chaise, driven at great speed ; and as the horses were galloping, and the road was narrow, he stood leaning against a gate *until* it *should* have passed him.

CHARLES DICKENS.

If you make it a point, I will withdraw your name ; at the same time there is no occasion, as I have this day postponed your election *till* it *shall* suit your wishes to be amongst us.

BYRON.

IF, WHETHER, THAT.

I confess I shall be much surprised *if* the right honorable Baronet *shall* be able to point out any distinction between the cases.

MACAULAY.

Who could guess  
*If ever more should meet those mutual eyes,*  
Since upon night so sweet such awful morn could rise !

BYRON.

I was rather glad that Martha's energy had taken the immediate and practical direction of pudding-making, for it staved off the quarrelsome discussion as to *whether* she *should* or *should* not leave Miss Matty's service.

MRS. GASKELL.

But *whether* the extensive changes which I have recommended *shall* be thought desirable or not, I trust that we shall reject the bill of the noble lord.

MACAULAY.

I refer to Gibbon as the example of a writer feeling the task which lay before him, feeling that he had to bring out into words, for the comprehension of his readers, a great and complicated scene, and wishing *that* those words *should* be adequate to his undertaking.

NEWMAN.

A still more exact and plausible tradition, derived from Scripture, was that which asserted *that*, when the Roman Empire *should* fall to pieces, Antichrist *should* appear, *who* [and *that* he] *should* be followed at once by the Second Coming.

NEWMAN.

'Tis mighty well of you, Harry, to have accepted the freedom which I gave you ; but I had no intention, sir, *that* you *should* be so pleased at being let off.

THACKERAY.

Martin Lambert loved *that* his children *should* have all the innocent pleasure which he could procure for them.

THACKERAY.

If the book is decently written in English or any other language, it is hardly possible *that* there *shall* be any sentence *which shall* give the reader no meaning whatever.

FREEMAN.

"Vice," said the surgeon "takes up her abode in many temples ; and who can say that a fair outside *shall* not enshrine her ?"

CHARLES DICKENS.

It must needs be *that men should act in sects and parties, that each of these sects and parties should have its organ, and should make this organ subserve the interests of its action ; but it would be well, too, that there should be a criticism, not the minister of these interests, not their enemy, but absolutely and entirely independent of them.*

MATTHEW ARNOLD.

SUCH AS, SO LONG AS.

The French Emperor will be upon us, horse and foot, before three weeks are over, and will give the Duke *such a dance as shall make the Peninsula appear mere child's play.*

THACKERAY.

If a barbarous idiom or an exotic word happened to present itself, no writer of the seventeenth century seems to have had any *such* scrupulous sense of the dignity belonging to his own language *as should* make it a duty to reject it, or worth his while to remodel a line.

DE QUINCEY.

*As long as* the well-compacted structure of our Church and State, the sanctuary, the holy of holies of that ancient law, defended by reverence, defended by power, a fortress at once and a temple, *shall* stand inviolate on the brow of the British Sion ; *as long as* the British monarchy, not more limited than fenced by the orders of the State, *shall*, like the proud Keep of Windsor, rising in the majesty of proportion, and girt with the double belt of its kindred and coeval towers, *as long as* this awful structure *shall* oversee and guard the subjected land, so long the mounds and dykes of the low flat Bedford level will have nothing to fear from all the pickaxes of all the levellers of France.

BURKE.

IT MAY BE, PERHAPS.

He is rich, but a stranger, *it may be, shall* inherit all he has.

ARCHBISHOP TRENCH.

That is it *which* [it may be] *shall* bring us in right earnest to a throne of grace, and make us to desire a better country and a heavenly.

ARCHBISHOP TRENCH.

G. M.

## Correspondence.

---

### THE CEREMONIES OF SOME ECCLESIASTICAL FUNCTIONS.

" VILEY REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I stated in the last number of the I. E. RECORD that there was no positive law, as stated by the learned author of the above work, which bound to the blessing of the baptismal font on Holy Saturday in many rural districts. In maintaining his position, by trying to upset my argument, and by quotations from others as positive proofs of his contention, he appears not to have caught the meaning of our writings.

" Benedict XIII., in order to have the ceremonies of Holy Week prevail in remote churches, dispensed with the necessity of the presence of deacons, sub-deacons, choir for the litanies, &c., and required only the presence of a priest and three or four *clerics*. These alone were pronounced necessary and sufficient; and that in every parish where there was a baptismal font and these clerics, the pastor should be compelled (*adligatur*) by the bishop, under threat of excommunication, to have the ceremonies of Holy Week carried out. Decisions of the S. Congregation have decided what is the meaning of *clerics*. Benedict, in making the law, of course meant tonsured people, who in Italy were more numerous than those in holy orders: otherwise there would be no difficulty in procuring in any parish not merely three or four, but three or four scores of servers. And Gardellini, whose compilation of the decrees of the S. Congregation only is recognised, authentic and legal, commenting on the decree of Benedict, states that where three or four clerics could not be had in a parish the ceremonies had better be omitted; thus clearly showing that the clerics of Benedict were understood in an ecclesiastical sense: and though the law of Benedict was in some sense a favour, in another sense it was penal; and I contend that no theologian or liturgist holds that the law binds or exists where the necessary conditions of the law were absent. Of course the custom of a diocese and the devotion of the faithful would call on a priest to have the ceremonies of Holy Week carried out without ecclesiastics in some rural districts. But, observe, this necessity does not arise from the law of Benedict nor from the general law of the Church.

" Having now cleared the ground for this and any other

paper I may have to write, I proceed to show how our learned author neither *negatively* nor *positively* proved his point.

“ Having stated there was no obligation of blessing every font, which I have established very briefly, I added that the indiscriminate practice of blessing the font ‘is calculated to interfere with the proper celebration of a function by keeping the priests of a surrounding district away from the cathedral church, which obliges under sin.’

“ Another inconvenience from a practice of blessing the font in rural districts is that a priest has to go several miles away when his presence was required in hearing confessions for the approaching festival. Furthermore, I added that, in blessing the font merely, as is sometimes done, the law is violated by separating the blessing of font from Mass and the other ceremonies; and for this I gave a decision of the S. Congregation, n. 3443, July, 1697.

“ Now, our learned author in quoting my remarks on the inconvenient consequences of a practice which was proved not binding by any positive law in rural districts, makes me say that ‘*all* the priests of a district, curates as well as parish priests, are obliged to assist at the baptismal font in the cathedral church on Holy Saturday.’

“ I protest against such misrepresentation. I did not *oblige* all priests to attend; I did not oblige any priest in particular to attend; I did not emphasize the word *all*, for I never used it; and it is readily admitted that an emphasis can change the meaning of a word. I merely stated that the practice which he advocated was *calculated* to interfere with the attendance of priests in the cathedral or large towns at a ceremony which their rectors were bound by the general law of the Church to carry out. I did not even dream of having *all* the priests of a district come to the cathedral; as many of them would be useless in carrying out the choral service. So much for misrepresentation of fact.

“ Our learned author having put unfairly into my mouth the word *oblige*, proceeds at once to assert that only canons are bound to attend; but the bishop can and does summon the priests, not canons, who are necessary for the blessing of the holy oils and the solemnity of the ceremonies.

“ The learned author is faulty in point of fact as in reasoning, in that he attributes to me three reasons for the non-obligation of blessing of the font, page 372. He mistakes the evil effects of

a practice which I proved not to be binding in law, for reasons or arguments as advanced by me against the obligation of the law. I cited a decision of the Congregation in the year 1697, which forbade a private Mass, when a solemn Mass for want of singers could not be, on Holy Saturday, though the grounds alleged was the necessity of blessing the water. I wanted to show by this that the Church was opposed to the separation of Mass, private or solemn, from the blessing of the font, which is often done in rural districts. Thus a practice which I proved not binding in law was, besides, opposed to the law of the Church. But the learned author answers me by saying that the prohibition of 1697 could not affect the privilege of Benedict in 1725 as to private Masses. But I did not speak of Mass, private or solemn, for its own sake, but to show that the Church has decided against the separation of the Mass from the blessing of the font. Did the privilege of Benedict warrant the separation? Certainly not. Our author did not grasp the point of my argument.

In like manner the learned author wrongly attributes to me as a reason for proving the non-existence of the law in rural districts in regard to the blessing of the font, the tendency it had to keep priests from the cathedral church. I never assigned such a result from a practice which I had proved as not binding, as a reason for its not binding. Why, the law of Benedict would not bind priests, whether they remained at home or not on Holy Saturday.

The reply of the learned author to the one and unanswerable reason I advanced against the binding effect of Benedict's law is: 'my contention at present is merely that they (clerics) are no more necessary for the proper and decorous discharge of the functions of Holy Week, and of Holy Saturday in particular, than for the due celebration of Holy Mass' (p. 275). This is not my contention; but this, that the law of Benedict, promulgated under threat of excommunication, does not bind me to make use of any assistants unless they are in some ecclesiastical grade.

“Having now shown that our learned author, by not having touched a point in my argument, or given the negative proof boasted of, I now deal with what he calls his positive proof. It is the following decision of the S. Congregation. Quær. ‘An Ecclesia parochialis omnino adigatur ad functiones Sabbati S. juxta parvum Cæremoniale sa. mœ. Benedicti XIII. si sufficienti clero destituatur.’

“Resp. ‘Affirmative, et servetur in omnibus solum juxta parvum *Caeremoniale* Benedicti XIII.’ Quite so. The absence of priests, and of those in Holy Orders required for the solemn ceremonies of Holy Week (*sufficienti clero*) was no excuse for not carrying out the *Caeremoniale* of Benedict, but the *Caeremoniale* required for its binding nature four clerics. And the answer to the next question, as given in the I. E. RECORD for March, p. 276, shows that the *sufficient number of the clergy*, mentioned in the preceding decision, meant a supply of priests. For it is asked whether the ceremonies of Holy Thursday and Friday and the several blessings are to be observed in churches where there are no clergy (*nullus clerus*) but the parish priest (*Parochus solum*). The answer was: ‘to observe the *Caeremoniale* of Benedict III.’

“The Decree of the Sacred Congregation in reference to the observance of the *Caeremoniale Rituum*, runs thus:—

“‘Dum vero consuluit pauperioribus et ruralibus Paroeciis, excitare etiam voluit Episcoporum sollicitudinem et vigilantiam, ut jubeant S. functiones peragi Feria v. et vi. necnon Sabbato majoris Hebdomadae in aliis parochialibus Ecclesiis in quibus saltem tres quatuor ve *clerici* haberi possunt, servata forma parvi Ritualis S. M. Benedicti XIII. Jussu editi.’—(Gardellini, vol. 2, p. 388, col. 1.)

“It occurs to me from the discipline of Italian churches that the clerics should be even attached to the church in order to have the law of Benedict binding. But in any case the law does not bind in most rural churches, the multitudinous and intricate variety of ceremony to be observed on Holy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday, being considered. The attempt to do so on the part of an ordinary priest, without well-trained servers who could not only keep their own place, but help the priest, would only be a disedifying travesty. The only law, then, by which a priest is to be guided, is the will of the bishop. And how sparingly and wisely has the Episcopal authority been exercised in ordering the observance of *Caeremoniale Rituum* outside the Cathedral or large towns! I feel constrained then to dissent most strongly from the opinion of the learned author, advocated, I believe, also by O’Kane.

“SYLVESTER MALONE”

[I owe an apology to the readers of the I. E. RECORD for taking up valuable space with a controversy which

can have no practical interest for the great majority of them.

In his present contribution Father Malone uses the phrase "Benedict's law" several times, and the other phrase, "the privilege of Benedict," at least twice. Have these two phrases the same meaning for him? and if not, how do they differ? Why does he speak at all of "Benedict's law"? It had not been mentioned before either by him or by me, and would seem to be introduced now to afford him a convenient means of escape. In his first letter he denied in the most general terms that there was any obligation of having the baptismal font blessed on Holy Saturday. In the present he merely denies that what he calls "Benedict's law" imposes this obligation. Here are his earlier and his later words side by side:—

"Now this[namely, my statement that the baptismal font should be blessed on Holy Saturday] to my mind imports an obligation where *none* exists."

"This is not my contention, but that the law of Benedict, promulgated under threat of excommunication, does not bind me to make use of any assistants unless they are in some ecclesiastical grade."

Does Father Malone wish to make it appear that I have founded the existence of the obligation in question on any law promulgated by Benedict XIII.? To prevent the possibility of this, I candidly confess that I first heard of "Benedict's law" from Father Malone's present letter, and have been quite unable to find a trace of it anywhere else. Benedict XIII., as Father Malone rightly remarks in another part of his letter, granted a dispensation in the solemnities required for the ceremonies of Holy Week, and thus made it possible to observe the general law of the Church in churches where up to that time it had been impossible. But he imposed no new obligation, promulgated no new law; instead he removed an obstacle to the observance of an existing law.

I am accused of misrepresentation, and of various other heinous things. Let us examine the charge of misrepresentation. It is, briefly, that I have made Father Malone *say*

what he did not *say*. I put side by side the charge and the words of mine on which it is founded:—

“Now, our learned author in quoting my remarks on the inconvenient consequences of a practice which was proved not binding by any positive law in rural districts, makes me *say* that ‘*all the priests of a district, curates as well as parish priests, are obliged to assist at the blessing of the baptismal font in the cathedral church on Holy Saturday.*’”

“He [Father Malone] *implies* that *all the priests of a district,*” &c.

I did not make him *say* anything. I merely interpreted his words as *implying* a certain thing; and that my interpretation is correct, the words used by Father Malone clearly prove. Here they are:—

“Now this to my mind supposes an obligation where none exists, and is calculated to interfere with the proper celebration of a function by keeping the priests of a surrounding district away from the cathedral church, which obliges under pain of sin.”

Now in these words either Father Malone *implies* that *all the priests of a district* are obliged to assist at the blessing of the baptismal font in the cathedral, or he does not. If he does, I am right; if he does not, he is wrong. If he does imply it, I am right, for I have stated that he implies it. If he does not imply it, then he is wrong in stating that the blessing of the baptismal font in parish churches “is calculated to interfere with the proper celebration of a function by keeping the priests of a district away from the cathedral church.” For if *all the priests of a district* are not obliged to attend the cathedral church, then the absence of those who are *not* obliged to attend cannot possibly “interfere with the proper celebration of a function.” And those who are thus absent may bless the font. Therefore, in the hypothesis that Father Malone did not mean to *imply* that *all the priests of a district* should attend the cathedral on Holy Saturday morning, he was wrong in stating that the obligation of blessing the baptismal font in parish churches on that morning “is calculated to interfere with the proper

celebration of a function" in the cathedral. Who, now, has been guilty of misrepresentation?

Here is a second and similar charge against me:—

"Our learned author having put unfairly into my mouth the word *oblige*, proceeds at once to assert that only canons are bound to attend; but the bishop does and can summon the priests, not canons, who are necessary for the blessing of the holy oils and the solemnity of the ceremonies."

What does Father Malone mean by putting unfairly into his mouth the word *oblige*? Does he wish to imply that he did not use the word? This would seem to be the only possible meaning; yet are not these his words—" . . . by keeping the priests of a surrounding district away from the cathedral church, *which obliges under sin*"? There is no doubt, then, that he uses the word; and no doubt, consequently, that I do not put it *unfairly*, or otherwise, into his mouth. There may, however, be a doubt about its subject and object; for I at least am not prepared to define the antecedent of "which." Father Malone asserts in the above extract that "the bishop can and does summon the priests, not canons, who are necessary for the blessing of the holy oils and the solemnity of the ceremonies." It would seem as if I had denied this; yet here is what I said on the subject:—"In those dioceses in which there are no canons the bishop must have other assistants, and these may be parish priests or curates," &c.

Again, I am accused of having failed to grasp the point of an argument. I present the argument and the reply:—

#### ARGUMENT.

A doubt was proposed whether in parochial churches, where there was a lack of singers, a private instead of a *Solemn Mass* was allowable, in order to have the light, wax, and water blessed. The answer was *negative*, n. 3443, July, 1697. Now this decision *clearly implies that the blessing of the font is not separable from Solemn Mass on Holy Saturday*.

#### REPLY.

This decree was published in 1697, and the *Memoriale Rituum* of Benedict XIII. permitting private Masses in certain well-defined circumstances, was first published in 1725. Hence though the decree originally implied "that the blessing of the font is not separable from Solemn Mass on Holy Saturday," it could no longer continue to imply this after the publication of the *Memoriale Rituum*.

My readers can judge for themselves whether I or the author of the argument himself is most at fault regarding the point of it. Here is how he endeavours to show what he meant:—

“I cited a decision of the Congregation in the year 1697, which forbade a private Mass, when a solemn Mass, for want of singers, could not be on Holy Saturday, though the grounds alleged was the necessity of blessing the water. I wanted to show by this that the Church was opposed to the separation of Mass, private or solemn, from the blessing of the font, which is generally done in rural districts. Thus a practice which I proved not binding in law was, besides, opposed to the spirit of the Church. But the learned author answers me by saying that the prohibition of 1697 could not affect the privilege of Benedict in 1725 as to private Masses. But I did not speak of Mass, private or solemn, for its own sake, but to show that the Church has decided against the separation of the Mass from the blessing of the font. Did the privilege of Benedict warrant the separation? Certainly not. Our author did not grasp the point of my argument.”

Father Malone’s “only” argument against the existence of the obligation for which I am contending, is that clerics, that is “those in some ecclesiastical grade,” can alone assist the celebrant of the Holy Saturday ceremonies in small churches; and, consequently, that where a sufficient number of such clerics cannot be found the obligation does not exist. He is not pleased with my reply to this argument. This is quite natural, if he read only the part he quotes. He has accused me of misrepresenting him; I shall not accuse him of anything, but shall merely place opposite each other my reply as quoted by Father Malone, and as it appeared in last month’s I. E. RECORD:—

“The reply of the learned author to the only and unanswerable reason I advanced against the binding effect of *Benedict’s law* is: ‘My contention at present is merely that they (clerics) are no more necessary for the proper and decorous discharge of the functions of

“Of course it would be the proper thing to have clerics to serve at the altar at all times, as well as during Holy Week; but my contention at present is merely that they are no more necessary for the proper and decorous discharge of the functions of Holy Week, and of

Holy Week, and of Holy Saturday in particular, than for the due celebration of Holy Mass." (Page 275.)

Holy Saturday in particular, than for the due celebration of parochial mass or vespers on feast days; and that altar boys of ordinary intelligence and training can supply their place as well in the former as in the latter set of circumstances. Romsée says that it is *congruous* that the assistants in small churches on Holy Saturday should be clerics, in order to lend greater solemnity to the ceremonies, but that it is *not necessary*.<sup>1</sup> Three other writers<sup>2</sup> of name, whose works are at present before me, hold the same opinion; while no writer whose works I have been able to consult commits himself to the statement that *it is necessary* that the assistants on Holy Saturday, or on any other day of Holy Week, should be clerics, to the exclusion of lay boys."

In addition to the text I gave in a note the very words of Romsée, and of the other three authors as they are given in the subjoined footnote. Yet Father Malone would wish to make it appear, that the only answer I was able to offer to his unanswerable argument was a bare, bald assertion!

I shall now sum up for Father Malone's benefit. The obligation of blessing the font in parish churches arises from the general law of the Church. Benedict XIII. made

<sup>1</sup> Having quoted a decree of the Congregation of Rites (n. 1103, April 12, 1755) in which these words occur—*Qui facultatem obtinuit fontem benedicens quatuor saltem clericos in ministerio habebunt*—he writes: "*Quatuor saltem clericos, etc. Scilicet de congruitate ad majorem caeremoniam celebrationem non vero de necessitate.*" Romsée, *Opera Liturgica*, tom. v., p. 107; Mechliniæ, 1831.

<sup>2</sup> "*Ubi deficiant clerici ordinati saltemque possunt Sæculares.*" Wapellhorst, *Compendium Sacrarum Liturgiarum*, n. 153, 2.

<sup>3</sup> "*Jam secundum hoc ritale (Memoriale Rituum) requiritur et sufficit, ut præter celebrationem præsto sint tres ministri licet laici superpellicem induti.*" Hausherr, *Comp. Caeremoniarum*, sect. 11, § 12, 2.

<sup>4</sup> "*On tolère généralement que les Cleres proprement dits soient remplacés par des Enfants de chœur.*" Favrel, *Compendium*, p. 445, note. Paris, 1834.

no new law, but merely made it possible to observe the existing law, without the profuse solemnity required before that time. He requires the assistance of what he calls "clerics;" but custom and authority have interpreted clerics, in the context, to mean ordinary lay boys. Father Malone is prepared to admit the existence of the obligation in parishes in which the required number of clerics can be found. I have shown that clerics, in the strict sense, are not required by the law. Therefore, he must admit the existence of the obligation in parishes where a sufficient number of intelligent lay boys can be found. From this it follows that parish priests are bound to train the servers "not only to keep their own places, but to help the priests."

D. O'LOAN.]

---

THE "BENEDICTIO IN ARTICULO MORTIS."

"REV. DEAR SIR,—I shall venture to trespass once again on your kindness, by asking you to insert in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD the following additional remarks on the Apostolic Benediction *in articulo mortis*. It will be remembered that I maintained in the March issue of the I. E. RECORD that the invocation of the Sacred Name is not an essential condition for gaining this plenary indulgence; and that, consequently, it is not necessary on the part of the priest to ask the dying person to invoke it.

"1. I put forward this view of the subject for the following reasons:—First, because Pope Benedict XIV., whilst laying down in most minute detail the conditions that are necessary for gaining this indulgence, makes no mention of the invocation of the Sacred Name either in his *Const. Pia Mater* or in the form prescribed by him for giving the blessing.

"Secondly, because Pope Clement XIV., in a Brief empowering patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, &c.—subjects of the Propaganda—to subdelegate the faculty by giving the Apostolic Benediction to *all* their priests, does not mention the invocation of the Sacred Name as a condition necessary for gaining the indulgence; and, in point of fact, he expressly excludes it, by declaring an adherence to the form of Benedict XIV., the only

condition requisite, 'dummodo in hac Benedictione impertienda servetur Formula praescripta a Bened. XIV.'

Thirdly, because from the days of Benedict and Clement no change has been made in this matter, at least in countries such as Ireland; as is manifest—(a) from the diocesan faculty papers which Irish priests receive; (b) from the forms and faculties sent direct from the Propaganda; and (c) from the rituals and other liturgical books which are in common use among the clergy.

2. Notwithstanding these unimpeachable authorities, a writer in the same issue of the *L. E. Record* strenuously defends the opposite opinion, relying, in support of his view, on the authority of some eminent theologians, and on a decision given to the Vicar-General of Vannes, in Bretagne, by the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences. 'I take it,' he writes, 'that the decree of 1775 does prove this—the invocation of the Sacred Name—to be an essential condition. *'Sacerdos Dublinensis'* admits that the decree in question has this force when mention of the invocation of the Sacred Name is made in the Briefs granting powers to bishops to give this blessing, and to subdelegate their priests to give it. Now, when I was writing the reply to *'Inquirer'* of last month, I was of opinion that all bishops get exactly similar Briefs with regard to the *Benedictio in articulo mortis*.'

3. Before proceeding further, it seems strange to me that he should have formed the opinion that all bishops receive similar Briefs with regard to the Apostolic Benediction. Did he not see that the Brief of Pope Clement XIV. was issued from the Propaganda, a Congregation which transacts the business of missionary countries only? Did he not see, too, that this Brief was expressly restricted to countries subject to the Propaganda, being given to them because of the special circumstances of the faithful in these countries? Did he not see, moreover, that the faculties of subdelegation given by this Brief were of a far more ample nature than those referred to—three years later—in 1775, by the Vicar-General of Vannes, as is clear from the eighth question proposed by the latter to the Congregation of Indulgences:—'*8<sup>o</sup> Episcopus ad supradictam benedictionem impertiendam delegatus cum facultate subdelegandi: Primo, debetne perpaucos subdelegare sacerdotes, ut majus sit benedictionis istius et indulgentiae huic adnexae desiderium simul et major utrique concilietur reverentia? Secundo: potestne omnes suae*

diocesis subdelegare confessarios, ne etiam una, si fieri possit, ex suis oribus tanta privetur gratia? Resp. Affirmative ad primam partem; negative ad secundam.' These reasons, one would have thought, should have sufficed to convince him that all bishops do not receive exactly similar indulgences with regard to the *Benedictio in articulo mortis*.

"4. Later on, in the same issue of the I. E. RECORD, after quoting some authorities, he writes:—'I again concluded that all bishops received similar Briefs. This conclusion may be erroneous; 'Sacerdos Dublinensis' says it is; at all events it is a question of fact which can be decided, as far as this country is concerned, by a glance at one of the Briefs which our bishops receive. . . . He says, however, that the Briefs sent to Irish bishops contain no mention of this condition.<sup>1</sup> If so, all right; it is then not an essential condition for us,' &c.

"5. Having read this, I came to the conclusion that the *causa finita est*, if he should find that there was no mention of the invocation of the Sacred Name in the indulgences regarding the Apostolic Benediction, which our bishops receive from the Holy See. Not so; however. For, not having discovered, as it would seem, the invocation in the Briefs, he changed his opinion, and in the April issue of the I. E. RECORD struck out on bolder lines. 'Since writing,' he says, 'the hurried note in reply to 'Sacerdos Dublinensis,' which was published in the last issue of the I. E. RECORD, I have given considerable attention to the subject of the *Benedictio in articulo mortis*, and the conclusion at which I have arrived, after much reading and reflection is, that the invocation of the Sacred Name is an essential condition in all cases in which the dying person is able to make it with lips or heart, whether this condition be mentioned in the Briefs sent to bishops or be not mentioned. This conclusion I hope to establish so clearly and so firmly that every one of my readers will be compelled to accept it.'

"6. You can easily imagine that when I read this preamble I was prepared for some strong conclusive arguments, and my expectations were raised higher still as I perused the following:—'There are two classes of arguments by which I intend to establish this conclusion, *intrinsic* and *extrinsic*. The former are derived from the oft-quoted decree of the Congregation of

<sup>1</sup> The writer will pardon me for saying that I said nothing of the sort, as a reference to the March issue of the I. E. RECORD will show.—S. D.

Indulgences, issued in 1775; the latter from the authority of theologians and liturgists.'

"In order to place the intrinsic arguments on an impregnable basis, and thus prevent the possibility of future cavil, I shall show that the decree in question refers to the Papal blessing in the hour of death, spoken of by Benedict XIV. in the Bull *Pia Mater*, and not to any indulgence granted by Clement XIV., or by any previous or subsequent Pontiff.' The decree here spoken of runs as follows:—'7<sup>m</sup> *Invocatio saltem Mentalis SS. Nominis Jesu, de qua fit mentio in Brevibus ad Episcopos de hac benedictione missis, praescribitur, quamdiu aegrotus suae mentis est compos, ut conditio sine qua non, ad indulgentiam vi istius benedictionis lucranda.* R. Affirmative.'

"7. I saw immediately from this that he had taken up a decidedly difficult position. I knew that strong vigorous reasoning could do a great deal; but how, thought I to myself, can it show that a decree, regarding the necessity of invoking the Sacred Name, refers in so very exclusive a manner to a Bull or Constitution in which there is not a single word about this invocation or its necessity. I thought for a moment that I had perhaps failed to catch his meaning. But no, I had not. For, on turning to the *Catholic Times*, I found:—'The decree refers only to the Papal blessing given according to the form prescribed by Benedict XIV.,' &c.

"8. The argument by which he endeavours to prove this difficult point is a hermeneutical argument based on the rules of grammar, which demand that the same meaning must be given to any one word throughout the same context. Here, however, it might be very well doubted whether the context is the same or not throughout the entire four questions proposed by the Vicar-General of Vannes. Each question is a separate one, demanding a special answer. And then again, the form of expression used in question 7 is so different from that followed in the other three, that the change of phraseology could scarcely fail to attract attention. Questions 5, 6, and 8 begin respectively:—'5<sup>m</sup>. *Benedictio in articulo mortis,*' &c. '6<sup>m</sup>. *Benedictio supradicta,*' &c. '5<sup>m</sup>. *Episcopos ad supradictam benedictionem,*' &c.—forms of expression which leave no doubt that reference is made to the Bull of Benedict XIV.; whereas the seventh question has: '*Invocatio . . . de qua fit mentio in Brevibus ad Episcopos de hac benedictione missis,*' &c.—a mode of expression which leaves us

free to think that the invocation forms no part of the blessing ; that it may have been even prescribed by quite a different source of obligation ; and, in fact, compels us to think that it has, since the invocation of which it speaks is not found either in the form or the constitution of Pope Benedict XIV.

“9. It must, however, be confessed that the Ratisbon editor of Gury’s theology inclines to the opinion that the decree in question does refer to the Constitution of Benedict XIV. But, then, seeing that, as it stands at present, it could not possibly be made to refer to that Constitution, he thinks there must be a mistake somewhere, and suggests that the word *invocatio* should have been *intentio* or *oblatio*. ‘Si hoc responsum,’ he says, ‘spectet, uti videtur, ad indulgentiam concessam per Const. Pia Mater et vocabulum “invocatio” in quaesito non per mendum irrepserit (forte legendum; intentio, oblatio); haec oblatio praesertim in eo consistit, ut aegrotus ipsam mortem aequo ac libenti animo de manu Domini suscipiat.’ I need scarcely say that I do not object to this change being made in the question proposed by the Vicar-General of Vannes. But, in case the change is made, as the writer in the I. E. RECORD referred us to this passage as one of his authorities, I should wish to ask him just two questions—first, What in this hypothesis becomes of the necessity of the invocation of the Holy Name? and, secondly, What becomes of the authority of all his theologians? Is their testimony not founded on a false assumption of fact? and, consequently, is it not worthless as theological testimony?

“10. Having placed his intrinsic arguments on the impregnable basis of which I have thus far treated, he next proceeds to show that the invocation of the Sacred Name is an essential condition for gaining the plenary indulgence of the Apostolic Benediction in *all cases and everywhere*, whether it be mentioned as a condition in the Briefs sent to bishops, or be not mentioned. The argument by which he seeks to prove this is of such a novel kind that I prefer to give it to your readers in his own words. It runs as follows :—

“11. ‘If the words *de qua fit mentio in Breribus ad Episcopos de hac benedictione missis* were omitted from the seventh question, it would be readily conceded, I think, that the invocation of the Sacred Name would be an essential condition everywhere, quite independent of the tenor of this or that particular Brief. For the question would then simply be: Is the invocation of the Sacred

Name prescribed as an essential condition for gaining the indulgence of the Papal blessing in the hour of death? and if the Congregation of Indulgence, which has power to make new conditions and change existing ones, replied in the affirmative to this question, there would be no room for controversy or doubt. And I contend that the presence or absence of these words makes not the slightest change in the signification of the question. They constitute merely an explanatory clause, and might be enclosed in parentheses. They were inserted by the questioner merely to indicate the source and reason of his doubt; just as if he had said: "I find the invocation of the Sacred Name mentioned in the Briefs given to bishops about the Papal blessing. Am I to understand that this invocation is an essential condition for gaining the indulgence?" "Yes," answers the Congregation." This is his argument.

"12. Now, it would be far more readily conceded, I think, that if the words *de qua fit mentio*, &c., were omitted, the question would never be asked. For how would it enter into the mind of anyone to ask such a question, if he had not seen the invocation of the Sacred Name mentioned in connection with this indulgence in some Brief, or in some other Roman document? How, for instance, would a priest here in Ireland think of proposing such a question to the Congregation at the time it was proposed by the Vicar-General of Vannes, unless, indeed, he became confused, and mixed up the Papal blessing with the special indulgence granted by Clement XIV.? He would just as soon, and with just as much reason, ask: Is the invocation of the Blessed Virgin's name prescribed as an essential condition for gaining the said indulgence?

"13. But he says: If the Congregation of Indulgences, which has power to make new conditions and change existing ones, replied in the affirmative to the question in its new form, there would be no room for doubt or controversy. I reply, certainly not, if the Congregation had so replied; and if it had, moreover, signified its intention of imposing new conditions, or of changing the existing ones. But I should say that, in order to do this, more would be required than the mere answering of a special question proposed to it especially, as in the supposition here made there would be question of making a new condition, which would be an essential one everywhere and in all cases. I am, therefore, of opinion that there is much more in the explanatory

clause than he seems to think; and that, owing to the absence of the invocation to which it refers in the Briefs that our bishops get from Rome, the question which he suggests would be more appropriately put as follows: I do *not* find the invocation of the Sacred Name mentioned in the Briefs given to our bishops, nor in the Constitution of Benedict XIV., nor in any other Roman document, about this Papal blessing. Am I to understand that this invocation is an essential condition for gaining the indulgence? The Congregation would, I fancy, answer: Negative, *et amplius*.

"14. Having dealt with the general question of the Papal benediction, he next proceeds to examine the special faculties granted to Irish bishops regarding it, and to state the extrinsic arguments in support of his view. Speaking of the faculties granted to Irish bishops, he says:—'These faculties, so far as the general delegation is concerned, are contained in the Formula vi., Art. 16, and are as follows:—"*Concedendi Indulgentiam plenariam primo conversis ab haeresi; atque etiam fidelibus quibuscunque in articulo mortis, saltem contritis, si confiteri non poterunt.*" There is, of course,' he continues, 'no mention of the invocation of the Sacred Name in this paragraph; but we are not, therefore, to conclude, as has just been shown, that it is not an essential condition.'

"15. No, I repeat, there is no mention of the Sacred Name in this paragraph, nor in any other paragraph, regarding the Apostolic blessing with which we are concerned; and, therefore, it is no more an essential condition for gaining this indulgence than is the invocation of the name of the Blessed Virgin. But, what seems strangest of all is, that he should say that our bishops receive 'heir general delegation to grant this indulgence by virtue of the faculties they receive in the Formula vi. Every priest is aware that our bishops, in common with all the bishops of the Catholic Church, receive this general indulgence from the Bull *Pater Mater* of Benedict XIV., and their special powers of subdelegating, in common with bishops of missionary countries, from the Brief of Clement XIV. The Formula Sexta treats of the special quinquennial faculties that are given to Irish bishops, and long before ever they received these special faculties they were in full enjoyment of the faculty of granting the Papal benediction *in articulo mortis*, and of the faculty of subdelegating their priests to give it, without any limitation as to time.

" 16. I now come to his extrinsic arguments. I might, indeed, pass these over altogether, for not one of the theologians or liturgists that he quotes speaks of the invocation of the Sacred Name as a condition that is essential for gaining the indulgences *in all cases and everywhere*; and it must be carefully borne in mind that this is his contention, this is the thesis which he promised to prove, and which he was bound to prove. But he says: 'These theologians lay down the invocation of the Sacred Name as an essential condition without even giving a hint that it is essential in some places, and not essential in others.' But I ask, is this really the case? To my mind, many of them, as I hope to show, give this hint very plainly; and all of them that mention this condition at all give it broadly enough, by referring the necessity of invoking the Sacred Name to a special answer of the Congregation given in reply to a special question proposed by the Vicar-General of Vannes. All theologians, as a matter of course, *data occasione*, teach that such answers, founded upon special indults, should not be extended *de casu ad casum*; or, in other words, that such answers should not be applied to cases in which, perhaps, the conditions and circumstances might be totally different. Thus, Konings, N. 173, asks the question: 'An SS. Congregationum Declarationes et Decreta vim universalem semper habeant? Resp. . . . 2. Neg. Si dentur in casibus omnino particularibus, ob specialia rerum adjuncta, vel singularis loci conditiones, quod ex casus expositione et ex facto colligendum est.' Patet ex Resp. S.C.R. 8 April, 1854, &c.

" 17. I might here quote a large number of theologians, canonists, and liturgists, and show from their teaching that they do not regard the invocation of the Sacred Name as an essential condition, in all cases and everywhere, for gaining this indulgence. Amongst them would be some of those quoted in favour of the opposite view in the I. E. RECORD. As examples of these I might quote. I shall mention such names as O'Kane, De Herdt, Mare, Aertnys, Craisson, Zephyrino, Zitelli, Sabetti, Bucceroni, Gury—the different editions of it—and a host of others too numerous to be mentioned here.

" 18. By the way, having mentioned O'Kane reminds me of the fact, that we heard nothing of him in the April issue of the I. E. RECORD, though "Inquirer" was told in the February issue, that if he searched his O'Kane a little more carefully he would have found the invocation of the Sacred Name mentioned as *one*

of the conditions required for gaining this indulgence. I shall not again refer to him, and, not to weary the readers of the I. E. RECORD, I shall only quote one from each of the classes of writers mentioned above. As my liturgist, I shall give De Herdt, who was also quoted for the opposite view.

“ 19. De Herdt, having enumerated the conditions prescribed by Benedict XIV., which, of course, are obligatory everywhere, adds :—‘ *Praecedentes conditiones in Const. Bened. XIV. requiruntur, sed praeterea aliae atque aliae imponi possunt, et etiam imponuntur in Indultis, quibus facultas benedictionem impertiendi Episcopis Belgii concedi solet, Scilicet.*’ . . . De Herdt here states that, in addition to the conditions laid down by Benedict XIV., others can be imposed. This, of course, is true ; and wherever other conditions have been imposed, those, too, must be observed. And, on the contrary, where no new conditions have been imposed, there is nothing in addition to the Bull of Benedict XIV. that has to be observed. As an example of the conditions that may be imposed, he states that in the Indults which Belgian bishops receive, the following condition is actually added to the five already required by Benedict XIV. ‘ *Scilicet : 6°. Ut infirmus sit confessus ac Sacra Communionem refectus, vel quatenus id facere nequiverit, saltem contritus nomen Jesu ore, si potuerit, sin minus corde devote invocaverit,*’ &c. If the case is as De Herdt here states it is, the Belgian priests are bound by this sixth condition ; but, surely, nobody would think of saying that we Irish priests are bound by a condition which is of its very nature local.<sup>1</sup>

“ 20. I select for my theologian Aertnys, because he, too, was quoted for the opposite opinion. At N. 208, he distinguishes between the conditions that are required by the Bull of Benedict XIV. and those that may be required by Pontifical Briefs given to bishops. Speaking of the conditions required by these latter, he says : ‘ *Requiritur . . . 2°. Ut infirmus sit “ Confessus ac Sacra Communionem refectus, vel quatenus id facere nequiverit, saltem contritus, et nomen Jesu ore, si potuerit, sin minus corde devote invocaverit.” Ita Brevia Pontificia ad Episcopos. Haec nominis Jesu invocatio, dum aegrotus suae mentis est compos, est conditio sine qua non.* Ita S.C., 23 Sept.,

<sup>1</sup> This same indulgence may be gained in this country by those who have beads, rosaries, &c., blessed by the Pope or by a bishop or priest delegated by him.

1775, ad 7<sup>o</sup>. *Non requiritur specialis Confessio et Communio; sed Confessio cum subsecuto viatico sufficiunt, ut patet ex Rituali.* It will be seen from this that the invocation is not required by the Bull of Benedict XIV. according to Aertnys, but by the Briefs given to bishops: and the same argument recurs as above in the case of De Herdt. I should, furthermore, wish to call attention to the fact, that, according to him, a special Confession and Communion are not required to gain the indulgence of the Papal blessing; and that, consequently, as the invocation of the Sacred Name is only a substitute for Confession and Communion, whenever the last Sacraments are administered by the priest, there is no necessity for his asking the dying to invoke the Sacred Name.

21. Among the canonists, Craisson writes in almost the same words as De Herdt, whom he quotes. He also remarks that special attention should be paid to the indulgences which bishops receive, because of the conditions that may be imposed by them. 'Praeter Conditiones,' he writes, 'a Bened. XIV. requisitas, aliae imponi solent in Indultis, quae proinde debent accurate perpendi,' &c. Zitelli, an official of the Cong. of Propaganda, has written a very useful Manual of Canon Law, which he intended specially for the missionary countries, such as Ireland, subject to the Propaganda. He, too, treats of the conditions that are requisite for gaining the indulgence in these places for which he writes; but he has not a word about the invocation of the Sacred Name. It cannot be urged that this is merely a negative argument; for, writing *ex professo* on the Papal blessing, and the conditions necessary for gaining it, and having from his position access to all the documents bearing on the subject, he would not have been silent about the necessity of invoking the Holy Name, if any such necessity existed. This remark applies also to some of the theologians whose names I have mentioned; for an argument which is negative in form is equivalent to the most forcible positive argument when those are silent whose duty it would have been to speak. And such, surely, is the duty of every theologian who proposes to himself to instruct his readers on the conditions necessary for gaining the indulgence *in articulo mortis*.

22. What, then, it may be asked, shall I say of the authority of the theologians that have been quoted for the opposite opinion? Of some of them I have spoken already: a

few words will suffice about the rest. If anyone takes the trouble to read attentively the quotations given from them in the April issue of the *I. E. RECORD*, he will find little difficulty in convincing himself that they cannot all have been laying down conditions that are in all cases and everywhere necessary. He will, I should say, very quickly discover that their scope rather is, to give all the more important conditions (of which they are aware) that have ever been prescribed by the Roman Pontiffs and Roman Congregations; and, as they do in other matters, to leave local theologians and canonists to decide and determine for themselves, what conditions are of necessity in their respective countries.

“23. To prove the truth of this statement, it will be abundantly sufficient to examine what the three theologians, who have written for America, have to say on this subject. 1. Sabetti, who has brought out a special edition of Gury's theology suited to the wants of the American clergy, makes no mention whatever of the invocation of the Sacred Name. Konings and Wapelhorst, on the contrary, say it is a necessary condition; referring their readers, however, to the answer given to the Vicar-General of Vannes as their authority for the statement. 2. Konings maintains that Confession and Communion are necessary when possible; Sabetti makes no mention of this condition, and Wapelhorst, implicitly at least, rejects it by quoting the words of the Ritual in its place: ‘*Quod si aegrotus voluerit confiteri, audiat illum et absolvat. Si confessionem non petat excuset illum ad eliciendum actum contritionis.*’ 3. Wapelhorst has it that an act of charity is necessary when possible; the other two are silent about this condition, &c. Who are the Americans to follow? It can scarcely be that each one of these theologians is laying down the conditions that are necessary to be observed, even in America; otherwise, how are we to explain such important additions and omissions in their respective texts; or, how are we to reconcile such striking differences of opinion concerning a matter of such very practical importance.

“24. Of Lehmkuhl, on whom such lavish praise has been expended, I shall only say, that several editions of his book appeared without a single reference being made in them, either to the Decree of 1775, or to the invocation of the Sacred Name; and that as late as four or five years ago you would look in vain for any mention of them in his work. The same might

be said of Gury's admirable compendium of moral theology. I do not know that I have ever seen it stated, in any of the most approved editions of this largely circulated work, that the invocation of the Sacred Name is a necessary condition for gaining the indulgence. The same, too, might be said of almost every work on moral theology that appeared in this country up to about twenty-five or thirty years ago—at least as far as I have been able to ascertain.

• 25. The following practical question then suggests itself to one's mind. What is to be thought of the validity of all the Apostolic blessings that were given in this country for well-nigh a hundred years? Were they all, though given according to the form prescribed by Benedict XIV. himself, null and void, because of the non-observance of this special Decree, of the existence of which our priests were not aware, and they had practically no means of acquiring a knowledge of it? The supposition is so very absurd, that, of itself, it should suffice to settle the present controversy.

• 26. Just a word, in conclusion, about the ritual and the faculties granted by Propaganda. These latter are nothing more or less than the faculties granted by Benedict XIV. and Clement XIV.; and with these, consequently, they stand or they fall. If the form prescribed by Benedict XIV. is insufficient; then, also, are the faculties of Propaganda not sufficient. But, if Pope Benedict knew what he was about when he issued his *Const. Pia Mater*, and prescribed the form according to which his Papal blessing should be administered, then, likewise, are the faculties granted by Propaganda abundantly sufficient.

• 27. What I have said of the Propaganda faculty papers applies with equal force to the ritual. It, too, consists of the form prescribed by Pope Benedict XIV. for administering the Apostolic blessing. But, it has been said: 'The ritual is intended to direct the priest how to perform the ceremony, and takes for granted that he knows *alimide* what is required for the validity of his acts, both on his own part and on the part of the subject of his ministrations.' It may be here said with truth, that it directs the priest very badly how to perform the ceremony of the Papal blessing, if it only furnishes him with a form of giving it according to which he must inevitably administer it invalidly. I wonder is the case the same with the sacraments! Or, are they also administered invalidly if the priest follows exactly what is

laid down in the ritual, but happens not to know *aliunde* what is requisite for the validity of his acts? Most priests are of opinion that if they follow faithfully the instructions given them in the ritual for the administration of the sacraments and the performance of the many other acts prescribed in it, they cannot fail to perform these functions, at least validly, though there may be a thousand things regarding the nature, the matter and form, the efficacy and validity, of these acts of which they are totally ignorant.

"28. But, it has been urged: '*Noverit ex probatis auctoribus quae sint canonica impedimenta Matrimonii contrahendi*' is the instruction which the ritual gives the priest on this important point, on which depends the validity of both the contract and the sacrament.' Therefore, the ritual refers us to the theologians for the validity of our acts. I answer: Of course the ritual here refers us to the authority of theologians, because there is question of the remote preparation for the one administration of the Sacrament of Matrimony. And to the theologians also should we have recourse to know who are excommunicated, who are impenitent, and who are that manifestly die in the state of mortal sin; for to all such, the ritual tells us, the Papal blessing is to be denied.

"29. 'And,' he continues, '*noverit ex probatis auctoribus*' is precisely the instruction he would receive from the ritual regarding the conditions necessary for gaining the indulgence in the hour of death, of which there is here question.' Here, however, I must say, *No*: he would receive no such instruction from the ritual. The ritual would tell him to follow the form or rite prescribed by Benedict XIV., and that so long as he does this faithfully, *non est inquietandus*.

"30. The Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, however, points out the real genuine sources of authority on this subject under discussion. I shall just give two decrees of this Congregation.

"'Quaer. Utrum sufficiat recitatio confessionis, *i.e.*, *Confiteor*, etc., in sacramento poenitentiae habita, pro recitatione illius praescripta, quando impertienda sit benedictio cum indulgentia in mortis articulo? Resp. Negative juxta *praxim et rubricas*.' S. C. I., 5 Feb., 1841.

"'Quaer. Utrum necesse sit, tribus vicibus recitare *Confiteor*, quando administratur sacrum viaticum, extrema unctio ac indul-

gentia in mortis articulo impertitur? Resp. Affirmative juxta *praxim et rubricas.*' S. C. I., 1841.

"The rubrics are those in the ritual, and the practice is primarily and principally that of the fifty-six parish priests of that Church: *Ad quam propter potentiorē principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam hoc est eos qui sunt undique fideles.* This practice will, I think, be found a safe recipe for retaining common sense, and rejecting the Lutheran principle of private judgment.

"SACERDOS DUBLINENSIS."

#### REPLY.

"Sacerdos Dublinensis," does not, I hope, wish his present contribution to be taken seriously. It was, of course, expected by his friends, from whom he has not concealed his identity, as he has from the general public, that he should make some attempt to reply to the complete refutation of his opinion which appeared in last month's I. E. RECORD. But the question under discussion is of too grave a character to be made the subject of thoughtless writing. The gaining of a plenary indulgence at the hour of death is a matter of very serious moment; and, therefore, it is very wrong for anyone to publicly advocate an opinion regarding the conditions essential for gaining such an indulgence, unless he has either intrinsic arguments, or the authority of some respectable theologians, with which to support his opinion. But "Sacerdos Dublinensis" has neither. He sets off by giving an interesting but wholly irrelevant psychological analysis of his various mental phases during the progress of this controversy. Next he treats us to a series of unsupported assertions; as, for example: "But I should say that in order to do this more would be required than the mere answering of a special question." "I am, therefore, of opinion, that there is much more in the explanatory clause than he seems to think," &c. He then appeals to the authority of theologians, of whom he names a few, and adds that he could call forward "a host of others too numerous to be mentioned here." Yet of all those named, and of the "host" whose names he has allowed to remain in dark oblivion, not a single one supports him, unless by silence. Finally, having

misquoted, at least, one of the two or three authors whose words he proposed to quote, he makes a brilliant finish by knocking about Konings and Lehmkuhl and Wapelhorst like ninepins. And all on his own authority !

With the first part of the present contribution, as far as No. 8, neither I nor the public have any concern. There are just two points at issue. The first regards the meaning, the second the extension of the decree of 1775. My thesis is, that the decree refers to the *Benedictio in articulo mortis*, and that the invocation of the Sacred Name has been made by that decree in all places an essential condition for gaining the plenary indulgence attached to this blessing, provided only the sick person is capable of making the invocation. "Sacerdos Dublinensis" categorically denies both parts of this thesis. These then are the points at issue ; and to these will I confine myself.

The first point was so clearly established in these pages, that I believed it absolutely impossible that anyone could fail to be convinced. But I have been deceived. More than argument is necessary to bring home conviction. I do not, however, despair even of my present opponent ; and therefore, for his special benefit, I will repeat the arguments. The seventh of the nine questions addressed by the Vicar-General of Vannes is the one around which centres all this war of words. The fifth, sixth, and eighth refer to the *Benedictio in articulo mortis*. This "Sacerdos Dublinensis" himself admits. He denies, however, that the seventh refers to this *Benedictio*, because it contains "a mode of expression which leaves us free to think that the invocation forms no part of the blessing ; that it may have been even prescribed by quite a different source of obligation, and, in fact, *compels* us to think that it has." To save my readers the trouble of referring to last month's I. E. RECORD I give again the series of questions and replies :—

"5. *Benedictio in articulo mortis cum applicatione indulgentiae plenariae potestne, si sit periculum in mora, concedi tum valide, tum licite iis, qui etiam culpabiliter non fuerunt ab incocepto morbo Sacramentis refecti vel Poenitentiae, vel Eucharistiae, vel Extremae Unctionis, vel nullo horum, subitoque vergunt ad interitum?*  
*Affirmative ad formam Bullae Benedicti XIV.*

"6. Benedictio supradicta potestne bis aut amplius in eodem morbo, qui insperatae protrahitur, impertiri, etiamsi non convalescerit aegrotus? Si possit iterari haec benedictio quodnam requiritur intervallum inter ejus largitiones? *Semel in eodem statu morbi.*

"7. Invocatio saltem mentalis SS. Nominis Jesu de qua fit mentio in Brevibus ad Episcopos de *haec benedictione* missis, praescribitur, quamdiu aegrotus suae mentis est compos, ut conditio sine qua non, ad indulgentiam *vi istius benedictionis* lucranda? *Affirmative.*

"8. Episcopus ad supradictam benedictionem impertiendam delegatus cum facultate subdelegandi: *Primo*: debetne perpaucos subdelegare sacerdotes, ut majus sit benedictionis istius et indulgentiae huic anxiae desiderium, simul et major utrique conciliatur reverentia? *Secundo*: potestne omnes suae diocesis subdelegare confessarius, ne etiam una si fieri possit, ex suis ovibus tanta privetur gratia? *Tertio*: potestne subdelegare omnes directe et speciatim parochos . . . hisce verbis, etc.? *Affirmative ad primam partem; Negative ad secundam; Affirmative ad tertiam partem quoad parochos speciatim ruri degentes.*"

It is admitted that the forms of expression employed in questions five, six, and eight, "leave no doubt that reference is made to the Bull of Benedict XIV." Yet it is contended that question seven does not refer to this Bull! If my friend still holds to this opinion, I shall expect him to reply to these two questions:—1. To what do the pronouns *haec* and *ista* in the phrases *de hac benedictione vi istius benedictionis* refer? 2. What is the meaning of the word *benedictio*, which occurs in each of these phrases? and of what *benedictio* is there question?

It would appear as if I were alone, or nearly so, in adopting this interpretation of question seven. For here is what we find in No. 9:—"It must, however, be confessed that the Ratisbon editor of Gury's theology *inclines* to the opinion that the decree in question does refer to the Constitution of Benedict XIV." This is an ingenious, but not ingenuous, form of argument. The natural conclusion from these words is that of all writers the "Ratisbon editor of Gury's theology" alone thinks of interpreting "the decree in question" as referring to the Constitution of Benedict XIV., and that even he merely *inclines* to this opinion. And yet what is the fact? *Every writer who*

*refers to this decree* WITH THE SOLE EXCEPTION OF THE "RATISBON EDITOR OF GURY'S THEOLOGY" *unhesitatingly adopts this interpretation*. Here is what my friend himself says later on. "All of them that mention this condition at all, give it broadly enough by referring the necessity of invoking the Sacred Name to a special answer of the Congregation given in reply to a special question proposed by the Vicar-General of Vannes." But with my friend the authority of theologians is of no account, because, as he implies, they have all been deceived. "Is their testimony," he asks, "not founded on a false assumption of fact?" There is, however, one distinguished theologian who has adopted this interpretation, and whom I have not yet quoted in favour of it. I am sorry I cannot give his name, as he has not yet vouchsafed to divulge it: but I can give his *nom de plume*, which will be sufficient to enable my friend to identify him. His authority may not, to the mind of the general reader, add much to that of Gury, Lehmkuhl, Konings, Beringer, &c., but it should have great weight with my friend. For this distinguished theologian is none other than "Sacerdos Dublinensis" himself.

In the I. E. RECORD for February, the present writer, having quoted the decree, since become so famous, drew this legitimate conclusion:—

"Therefore, when the blessing is given to a dying person having the use of his senses, he does not gain the indulgence unless he invokes the Holy Name, at least mentally."

To this "Sacerdos Dublinensis" replied in the next issue:—

"My answer to it is—'Acque ac præmissæ extendat conclusio voces.' The conclusion should have been 'therefore, when the blessing is given to a dying person having the use of his senses, he does not gain the indulgence unless he invokes the Holy Name, at least mentally. *Quandocunque in Brevibus ad Episcopos fit mentio de invocatione saltem mentali SS. Nominis Jesu*. The answer of the Sacred Congregation, above quoted, and referred to by Lehmkuhl, was given in reply to the special question proposed to it; and in that special case submitted for its decision it, of course, removes all shadow of doubt. It is the answer bearing date 20th September, 1775, which is quoted also by De Herdt in his *Sacrae Liturgiae Praxis*, tom iii., n. 308."

Yet the same writer, who in March declares that this decree "removes all shadow of doubt" that the invocation of the Sacred Name is an essential condition in certain cases for gaining the plenary indulgence of the Papal blessing at the hour of death, in May commits himself to a statement the direct contradictory of this. And, moreover, the same writer, who in March quotes Lehmkuhl and De Herdt, who both interpret the decree in the only sense in which it can reasonably be interpreted, in May *implies* that only the obscure "Ratisbon editor of Gury's theology" ever thought of this interpretation. Adapting to the present circumstances the well-known advice given by a Q.C. to a solicitor's clerk, I shall offer it gratis to my friend:—"In controversy, my friend, never make a statement that can be refuted out of your own mouth by written or printed document in the hands of your opponent."

In the same paragraph, nine, there is another example of an ingenious but somewhat questionable form of argument. He says that I referred to a certain passage in Gury. Now, this passage of which he speaks happens to be a note of the editor, the "Ratisbon editor," to which I did not refer. My reference was to the text, and not to the notes. Am I to understand that my friend cannot distinguish between the text of an author and the notes of an editor? or does he think that in accepting the opinion of an author one is bound to accept also the opinions of his annotators? If applied to a Protestant Bible, for instance, this latter principle would be somewhat inconvenient.

In No. 12 an attempt is made to reply to the intrinsic argument by which I showed that question seven is a general question, and, consequently, that the general reply of the Congregation to this general question made the invocation of the Sacred Name an essential condition everywhere. The form of the reply shows clearly that the point of the argument was not grasped. It is, indeed, marvellous how difficult it is to get an opponent to understand an argument which he is unable to answer. He begins his reply thus:—

"Now it would be far more readily conceded, I think, that if

the words *de qua fit mentio*, &c., were omitted the question would never be asked."

This sounds very like that peculiar species of Hibernicism for which Sir Boyle Roche was renowned. If the clause were omitted from the question, he says the question would never be asked! He means, of course, that if the invocation of the Sacred Name had not been mentioned in the Briefs, no such question would have been put to the Congregation, which I freely admit. But my friend implies that the clause could not be omitted from the question unless in the hypothesis that the fact mentioned in it had no existence. That is to say, he holds that the Vicar-General of Vannes could not in the circumstances have asked the question in this form. *Invocatio saltem mentalis SS. Nominis Jesu, praescribitur ut conditio sine qua non ad indulgentiam*, &c. Now, if some one wrote: "Sacerdos Dublinensis, who is a great theologian, is on the wrong side in the present controversy," I suppose my friend will admit that the fact stated by the relative clause, "who is a great theologian," would still remain a fact though the clause was omitted, and the sentence run simply: "Sacerdos Dublinensis is on the wrong side," &c. In the same way, although the Vicar-General of Vannes had omitted the relative clause from question seven, it would not have followed that the Episcopal Briefs should have undergone a sudden change in form. I shall, therefore, ask my friend to reply again to this argument, keeping in mind that the author of the question knew that the invocation of the Sacred Name was mentioned in the Briefs, and that the clause may be omitted without interfering with this fact. With the remainder of No. 12 and with No. 13 I have nothing to do. They consist of nothing but the assertions of an anonymous writer. There is nothing in No. 14; and No. 15 contains a little irrelevant information that anyone can find first hand in the Bull *Pia Mater*, and from the Brief of Clement XIV. I may remark, though it is unimportant, and has no bearing on the issues, that the Formula VI. corresponds with the Briefs given to continental bishops.

In No. 16 is commenced the onslaught on my "extrinsic arguments," that is, on the authors quoted in last month's issue. Among others the following statement is made:—

"All theologians, as a matter of course, *data occasione* teach that such answers (as the one in question) should not be extended *de casu ad casum*."

And he quotes Konings, and justly too, in support of this statement. Now, let me ask, did Konings forget this principle when he laid it down that the decree of 1775 makes the invocation of the Sacred Name an essential condition? If he did not, then either he was of opinion that it is an essential condition everywhere, or he made the required distinction. But he has made no distinction. On the contrary, he makes the condition quite general. The same is true with regard to all the other theologians who refer to the decree of 1775. Not a single one of them even hints that it is not universal in its application. Yet surely the occasion for making a distinction, if a distinction can be made, was not wanting in this case.

No. 17 is so pretentious that I cannot refrain from giving it entire:—

"17. I might here quote a large number of theologians, canonists, and liturgists, and show from their teaching that they do not regard the invocation of the Sacred Name as an essential condition in all cases, and everywhere, for gaining this indulgence. Amongst them would be some of these quoted in favour of the opposite view in the I. E. RECORD. As examples of these I might quote, I shall mention such names as O'Kane, De Herdt, Mare, Aertnys, Craisson, Zephyrino, Zitelli, Sabetti, Bucceroni, Gury—the different editions of it—and a host of others too numerous to be mentioned here."

It would have been very interesting if from this "host" of authors "who do not regard the invocation of the Sacred Name as an essential condition, in all cases and everywhere, for gaining this indulgence," even a single one had been quoted who *says* that he does not. Yet, notwithstanding the array of names given, and the presumably greater array not given, the strongest argument that can be educed from them all is, that they do not positively condemn the opinion advocated by the writer of the above paragraph!

For explicit quotation he selects one out of each of the three classes of liturgists, theologians, and canonists. And, of course, he has selected the three who most strongly support his opinion. To De Herdt's opinion I have already referred in these pages, and have shown that it in no way coincides with the opinion I am now combating. At present, then, I shall merely point out that even he whom my friend has taken to his bosom, holds that the decree of 1775 refers to the blessing mentioned in the Bull *Pia Mater* of Benedict XIV., and, consequently, disagrees with his present patron in this respect. I give his words:—

“*Invocatio saltem mentalis SS. Nominis Jesu praescribitur ut conditio sine qua non quamdiu aegrotus suae mentes est compos, ad indulgentiam vi istius benedictionis lucranda. S. C. Indulg.* 23rd September, 1775, n. 237, 7.”

The canonist Craisson does not refer to the decree of 1775 at all. He is, therefore, put out of court. Besides he admits, what my friend so strenuously denies, that new conditions have been added since the time of Benedict XIV. He says:—

“*Praeter has conditiones a Bened. XIV. requisitas, aliae imponi solent.*”

Yet in No. 26 “*Sacerdos Dublinensis*” writes:—

“If Pope Benedict knew what he was about when he issued his Const. *Pia Mater*, and prescribed the form according to which his Papal blessing should be administered, then likewise are the faculties granted by Propaganda abundantly sufficient.”

So, too, may a Belgian or French priest write; and yet my friend and his so-called supporters would say they were wrong.

Aertnys is the theologian selected:—

“I select for my theologian Aertnys, because he, too, was quoted for the opposite opinion. At No. 208, he distinguishes between the conditions that are required by the Bull of Benedict IV. and those that may be required by Pontifical Briefs given to bishops. Speaking of the conditions required by these latter, he says: ‘*Requiritur.*’”

The italics in this extract are mine. I had read Aertnys carefully on this question, had quoted his words

in the last issue of the I. E. RECORD, and had not noticed the distinction here referred to. I felt surprised that it could have escaped me, but still more surprised when on opening the book I could not find a trace of it. Aertnys, as the most casual reader must perceive, merely refers to the Episcopal Briefs as the source whence he drew the words in which he states the condition, *Ita Brevia ad Episcopos*, he says; while for the obligation of making the invocation he refers, as all the others do, to the decree of 1775:—

“Hæc nominis Jesu invocatio, dum negotus suæ mentis est compos, est conditio, sine qua non. Ita S. C., 23 Sept., 1775, ad 7<sup>m</sup>.”

Here is how the remaining theologians are dealt with:—

“What then, it may be asked, shall I say of the authority of the theologians that have been quoted for the opposite opinion? Of some of them I have spoken already; a few words will suffice about the rest. If anyone takes the trouble to read attentively the quotations given from them in the April issue of the I. E. RECORD, he will find little difficulty in convincing himself, that they cannot all have been laying down conditions that are in all cases and everywhere necessary. He will, I should say, very quickly discover that their scope rather is, to give all the more important conditions (of which they are aware) that have ever been prescribed by the Roman Pontiffs and Roman Congregations; and, as they do in other matters, to leave local theologians and canonists to decide for themselves what conditions are of necessity in their respective countries.”

Is then “*Sacerdos Dublinensis*” the local theologian and canonist for this country? If it be admitted that he is, and if his principle be admitted, we should adopt his teaching; but I hardly think we are bound to admit either one or the other. If the principle be admitted, it will be necessary for everyone, before accepting the teaching of Ballerini or Lehmkuhl, or Gury or Konings, or any of the other great theologians, to first submit each question to a local theologian, and if the other part be admitted we must all hie ourselves off to “*Sacerdos Dublinensis*” with our new book, or new edition, to find out from him whether we may safely follow its teaching on each question. And then the misfortune is, we do not know where to go, or whom to inquire for.

To show how hardly pressed for support my friend felt himself to be, it is enough to point out his reference to Zitelli. In a passage already quoted he boasted :—

“I might here quote a number of theologians, canonists, and liturgists, and show from their teaching that they do not regard the invocation of the Sacred Name as an essential condition,” &c.

Yet, notwithstanding this high-sounding boast, he is content to claim the authority of Zitelli, not because he says a word in his favour, but because he does not mention the matter at all! Perhaps, like Lehmkuhl, Zitelli will improve in succeeding editions. So too will Sabetti probably.

Just a word about Konings and Wapelhorst. It must be distinctly borne in mind that Konings, at the request of the Bishops of the United States, wrote a special commentary on the Faculties granted to them by Formula I., that the *Benedictio in articulo mortis* is referred to in that formula in precisely the same words as it is referred to in the formula VI.; and that Konings unhesitatingly lays it down that the invocation of the Sacred Name is an essential condition. Hence, whatever may be said about other theologians, it must be admitted that Konings, at least, believed that this condition is essential even in countries under the Propaganda. It does not concern me, nor affect my argument, whether Wapelhorst and Konings disagree, if they do disagree, on minor points. All I want is, that they agree in laying down the invocation of the Sacred Name as an essential condition. And in this they do agree.

What is to be thought of this style of argument?

“25. The following practical question then suggests itself to one’s mind. What is to be thought of the validity of all the Apostolic blessings that were given in this country for well-nigh a hundred years? Were they all, though given according to the form prescribed by Benedict XIV. himself, null and void, because of the non-observance of this special Decree of the existence of which our priests were not aware, and they had practically no means of acquiring a knowledge of it? The supposition is so very absurd, that, of itself, it should suffice to settle the present controversy.”

Suppose it incontestably proved that “*Sacerdos Dublinensis*” were not validly ordained, “the following practical question

then suggests itself to one's mind. What is to be thought of the validity of all the absolutions he has given for, let us say, well-nigh twenty years? Were they all, though given according to the form prescribed by the Ritual itself null and void, because of the invalidity of his ordination, of which he was not aware, and had practically no means of acquiring a knowledge of it? The supposition is so very absurd, that of itself it should suffice to prove the ordination valid." And thus against the strongest direct testimony we prove him to be rightly ordained.

In No. 24 the writer states that he does not know that he has ever seen it stated in any of the most approved editions of Gury's admirable compendium, that the invocation of the Sacred Name is an essential condition for gaining this indulgence. I beg to refer him to the edition from which he himself quotes, and to the very page from which he quotes, and to the very number to which the "Ratisbon editor" appends the note, made so much of by the writer in the early part of his paper.

D. O'LOAN.

---

#### THE NEW CATECHISM.

"VERY REV. DEAR SIR,—The admirable letter of a zealous missionary in your March issue constrains me no longer to defer my addressing you on the all-important subject of the catechism. I cannot refer to the contemplated work as a national catechism. It will fall short of its most glorious opportunity if it transcend not national boundaries, and become a Catholic catechism for all English-speaking countries. This is an opportunity longed for by all instructors of Catholic youth, wherever the English language is spoken. Now is the occasion to determine terminology, and to definitely settle the system of primary religious instruction.

"The migrations of children in Ireland are very inconsiderable matters as compared with the emigrations of all ages and classes from Ireland. These bring, with others, to our American shores, and to all quarters of the world, the well-grounded and honourable prejudice that Ireland, having suffered so much for her fidelity to religion, is necessarily the place where the best methods of religious teaching prevail. Catholic children coming here with their

catechisms half learned, do not always feel inclined to adopt our 'approved' work, and sometimes fail to make first communion before they have reached maturity. In our great cities, our towns and villages, this is sometimes true. What, then, must be said of our country districts, over prairies and mining regions? What must be said of the desert places, too, of other lands in which the wandering Irish exile finds a local habitation?

"But the uniformity of the catechism is necessary also for the adult emigrant. At confession, we have frequently to call their attention to the catechism. Alas! the answer is too frequently returned that they were not taught that kind of catechism. They cling to their Irish teaching, and we must admire them for doing so, even though we would wish it were *our* method of teaching too. And when family ties have been sundered, and lands and seas have been crossed, and new methods and practices, customs and traditions have been experienced, is it not natural to fallen humanity to experience a relaxation of the religious bonds, which the very atmosphere of holy Ireland so wonderfully strengthens? If their same loving remembrance of truths learned in childhood's days in the schools and chapels of holy Ireland, amid scenes of dearly-loved associations, could recall the wandering fancy to existing obligation, oh! how blessed would be the lot of the wandering exile. There are numerous reasons, too, which pertain not to Ireland. Therefore, I would extend the catechism to all English-speaking countries.

I would call particular attention in the catechism to the system adopted by the Church in various countries for affording the faithful an opportunity of making their Easter Communion. The Irish 'station' in certain dwellings throughout the parish will scarcely be met with elsewhere. I would remind those of the rising generation contemplating emigration or migration, to expect different customs, and to be prepared to seek a knowledge of them, and to conform unto them.

"I would call attention to the precept of the Church about supporting pastors. The means of fulfilling the precept is everywhere different. The system of weekly or quarterly pew rents is a stumbling-block to many, especially Irish emigrants from country districts. These things should be inquired into, and explained in the catechism. Then, too, the almost miraculous devotedness of the Irish emigrants to their parents and folk at home should be noticed. Many priests find that whilst saving

most scrupulously to send home the rent, they deny themselves the respectable outfit they consider necessary to present themselves in the church. They are not unusually told by designing strangers or self-excusing acquaintances, that the rules of this country are so strange, that they cannot hear Mass without a large entrance fee. Let it be explained that they should believe no person but the priest, whom they should visit and consult. Let them know, too, that a seat is not necessary to hear holy Mass, and that nowhere in America is free admission refused anyone. I think I would call attention to the fact, that the holidays of the Church cannot be observed everywhere as faithfully as in Ireland; but that always, under all circumstances, if at all possible, Mass should be heard. A list of days of obligation in different English-speaking countries could easily be given.

"The all-important virtue of temperance could be carefully inculcated. Alas! for the emigrant who forgets his temperance lessons. Alas! for the temperance worker in other countries where Irish emigrants come among his people with bottles, saying they were not troubled with total abstinence teaching at home. Ireland has a glorious Catholic reputation among the nations of the earth; and has, therefore, a corresponding obligation. His Grace of Dublin will, I hope, live to enjoy the fruits of his labours for temperance and the religious instruction of Catholic youth. In this matter of temperance, our catechism might mention that it is a many-sided subject, and that scientists who, perhaps, have not the true religion, urge many reasons why abstinence is best for individuals and for society.

"A reading lesson could surely be introduced on the subject of vocations. In the matter of vocations to the priesthood, probably there is nothing to be desired in Ireland except, perhaps, the means of affording education. Much, however, can, I think, be accomplished in the matter of the vocations of virtuous girls to the various religious communities of the English-speaking world. Except I am much mistaken, there are numberless virtuous girls in the national schools throughout Ireland who would willingly enter religious communities if they knew such a possibility was open to them. I know many who came here, despairing of following their heart's desire in the choice of a state of life. That they could join various communities in New York, or all over America, without comparatively any expense, was to them a welcome revelation. On the other hand, the religious communities

are most anxious for good subjects. Young girls, with an ordinary, even incomplete national school education, are most welcome, and become very worthy sisters. Fairly, the same could be said for good boys desirous of joining brotherhoods. These things could be highly incorporated into reading lessons of a catechism, which would become an international medium of Catholic primary instruction, and might aid in creating an English-speaking brotherhood of Catholics the world around.—  
Very truly yours,

“PASTOR, New York.”

## Document.

### RESOLUTIONS OF THE ASSEMBLED ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF IRELAND ON THE EDUCATION BILL.

#### SUMMARY.

Disapproval of the principle of *Direct* compulsion. Approval of the principle of *Indirect* compulsion.

Renewal of their protest against the continued refusal of the Education Department to give effect to the recommendations of the *Powis* Commission in the matter of religious freedom in unmixed schools.

A meeting of the Catholic Hierarchy was held on the 5th of April, at the Holy Cross College, Clonliffe, to deliberate on various questions connected with the Education Bill now before Parliament. There were present the four Archbishops and twenty-one Bishops, his Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Logue, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, being Chairman.

The following resolutions were adopted :—

Proposed by the Archbishop of Dublin, seconded by the Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, and unanimously resolved—

“That, whilst on more than one ground we feel ourselves unable to express approval of those provisions of the Education Bill which apply to Ireland the principle of direct compulsion, we should highly approve of the enactment of any reasonable measure of indirect compulsion.”

Proposed by the Archbishop of Dublin, seconded by the Bishop of Elphin, and unanimously resolved—

“That we renew our protest against the continued refusal of the authorities of the Education Department to give effect to the recommendations of the Powis Commission in the matter of religious freedom in unmixt schools, and that we earnestly request our representatives in Parliament to press this point upon the attention of the House of Commons during the coming discussions on the Education Bill.”

(Signed),

✠ MICHAEL LOGUE, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of All Ireland, <i>Chairman.</i>	
✠ FRANCIS J. M'CORMACK, Bishop of Galway and Kilmacduagh, &c.,	} <i>Secretaries.</i>
✠ BARTHOLOMEW WOODLOCK, Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise.	

— — — — —

# IMPORTANT STATEMENT ON THE EDUCATION BILL BY THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF IRELAND.

## SUMMARY.

Special claim of the Bishops to speak on the question of the State system of Primary Education. The *direct* compulsory clauses unwarranted by the school-attendance statistics; utterly opposed to the natural feelings of the people, and leading to results injurious to the interests of primary education.

*Indirect* compulsion recommended. Provisions for *indirect* compulsion suggested.

Protest against the unfair exclusion from connection with the National system of many schools conducted by religious communities.

General means for further improving school attendance in Ireland suggested.

How the financial provisions of the Bill should be improved.

Renewal of complaint regarding the inequality resulting from the inadequacy of the present rate of capitation payments in the case of convent schools.

The Standing Committee of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland met on Tuesday and Wednesday, the 26th and 27th of April, at Archbishop's House, Dublin. There were present :—

His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Logue, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of All Ireland (Chairman);

His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin, and Primate of Ireland;

The Most Rev. Dr. Gillooly, Bishop of Elphin;

The Most Rev. Dr. Donnelly, Bishop of Clogher;

The Most Rev. Dr. McCormack, Bishop of Galway and Kilmacduagh;

The Most Rev. Dr. Woodlock, Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise;

The Most Rev. Dr. Brownrigg, Bishop of Ossory;

The Most Rev. Dr. O'Callaghan, Bishop of Cork.

The following statement in reference to the New Education Bill was unanimously adopted, and ordered to be published :—

“As representing the Bishops of Ireland, we feel called upon in anticipation of the debate on the motion for the second reading of the Education Bill now before Parliament, to renew the declaration recently published by them against the direct compulsory clauses of that Bill. Speaking upon this question, the Irish Bishops have a special claim on the attention of the Government and of the Legislature. Not only are they, as pastors, charged with the religious and moral interests of the great majority of the Irish people; but it is through their continuous efforts, aided by the cordial co-operation of their clergy and of their flocks, that the State system of primary education in this country has, notwithstanding its many shortcomings, attained its present extension and efficiency.

“The compulsory clauses referred to we declare to be unwarranted by the school-attendance statistics of Ireland, and we therefore protest against them as a grave and uncalled-for interference with the constitutional rights of parents. They are, besides, utterly opposed to the natural feelings of our people; and in their results, if passed into law, they could not fail to a large extent to render the school unpopular, to restrict the period and extent of school education to the minimum required by the Act, and furnish a new motive to render the administration of law odious in Ireland.”

We therefore respectfully and urgently call upon the Govern-

ment, in the interests of education and of order, to remove from the Bill its direct compulsory provisions. But we are not to be understood as in any way opposed to legal provisions for indirect compulsion. On the contrary, upon these we confidently rely for the maintenance and improvement of the present school attendance in Ireland, whilst we consider them free from the evils and hardships inseparable from directly coercive enactments.

We would suggest the following provisions for indirect compulsion as best calculated to prove effective :—

I. The prohibition of the employment, outside of their own homes, of children under 13 years of age.

We strongly urge the necessity of not embodying in the Act any provision on the basis of the "half-time" system; we consider that system injurious to children, both physically and mentally; and it is manifestly incompatible with the school arrangements of this country.

II. The committal to Union Industrial Schools of the following classes of children when found habitually absent from school :—

Destitute orphans ;

Deserted children ;

Children of vagrant mothers, &c., &c.

We have already urged upon Government the importance of utilizing for the establishment of such schools, vacant work houses and other disused public buildings.

III.—The exclusion from monitorships, &c., of pupils whose school attendance has not been satisfactory.

In making these suggestions for the enactment of an effective system of indirect compulsion, we feel bound to add that any such system, however well devised, must entail in its enforcement complications and difficulties without end, so long as those arbitrary restrictions are maintained by which many large and most efficient schools throughout the country, conducted by religious communities, continue to be excluded from connection with the National system of education.

In addition to the foregoing suggestions in reference to indirect compulsion, we beg also to recommend the adoption of the following general means of further improving school attendance in Ireland :—

I. To provide additional facilities for increasing the number of schools, including compulsory powers, where necessary, for the acquirement of school sites by a simple and economic procedure.

II. To render the schools more useful and attractive by extending as widely as possible amongst the teachers the benefits of training, both by the establishment of special courses of training for untrained teachers of long service, and by a system of school organization carried out by a carefully-selected staff of trained organizers.

III. To afford to infants and children of tender years the opportunity of attending school, by facilitating the establishment of infant or preparatory schools in places where no existing National School is sufficiently near to the homes of the children. In exceptional cases, where classed teachers are not available, such schools might be placed in the charge of unclassified teachers.

In reference to the financial provisions of the Bill, we are only endorsing a general complaint when we point out that, in many cases, as a result of the stoppage of school fees, the income of the teachers, instead of being increased, will be diminished.

We, therefore, beg to represent that the amount of school fees to be remitted should not in any case exceed the amount of the capitation grant which is to stand as a substitute for them.

Moreover, it should be optional with Managers—as, we understand, is the case in England—to retain the system of school fees or to accept in lieu of it the new capitation scheme.

Finally, as regards the Convent National Schools, we renew the complaint recently made by the Bishops of Ireland of “the inequality resulting from the inadequacy of the present rate of capitation payments in the case of Convent Schools—the superior efficiency of the teachers of those schools being abundantly demonstrated by the results of their teaching, as shown in the official returns published from year to year by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland.” (Resolution adopted at a General Meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, February 9th, 1892.)

The financial arrangements embodied in the new Bill are far from removing the inequality so justly complained of. We renew the claim for its removal, and we call upon our Parliamentary representatives to press this claim by every available means upon the attention of Parliament, and strenuously to protest against the assumption implied in the financial proposals of the Bill, that the Convent Schools are inferior to the ordinary schools of the National Education Board.

“We also request the attention of our Parliamentary representatives to the claims so frequently put forward by the Bishops

of Ireland, and renewed at their General Meeting last February in the following resolutions:—

“That, as an Education Bill for Ireland is to be introduced by Her Majesty's Government, we take this opportunity of renewing the claim, so frequently put forward by us on former occasions, for the adoption of the recommendation made in the Report of the Powis Commission of 1868-70, in reference to the removal of restrictions upon religious freedom in Schools that are attended exclusively by Catholic or by Protestant children, in districts where sufficient school accommodation is provided for all the children in separate schools under Catholic or Protestant management respectively.”

“That we also renew our protest against the continued maintenance of the Model Schools.”

(Signed),

✠ MICHAEL LOGUE, Archbishop of  
Armagh, Primate of All Ireland, *Chairman*.

✠ FRANCIS J. M'CORMACK, Bishop of Galway and Kilmaedduagh, &c.,	} <i>Secretaries.</i>
BARTHOLOMEW WOODLOCK, Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise.	

---

## Notices of Books.

---

THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By Tobias Mullen,  
Bishop of Erie.

To treat fairly this difficult subject presupposes a wide range of reading, and considerable critical research. It is all the more pleasing to us, therefore, to be able to say that Bishop Mullen was thoroughly equipped for his task.

No source of information on the Canon of the Old Testament has been overlooked. The Old Testament itself and the Talmud, Philo and Josephus, the Fathers of the Church and the Jewish Rabbins, are all called up in evidence. Mediæval and modern writers, too, have been largely consulted, and the views of such recent authorities as Franzelin, Ubaldi, and Cornely, have received careful and critical consideration.

Having premised some necessary explanations, as, for instance,

that by the Canon of the Old Testament is meant the list or collection of those books of the Old Testament which are received as inspired, the Bishop goes on to discuss in succession the Canon of the Jewish Church, the Canon of the Schismatics, and the Canons of the various Sects.

In discussing the question of the Canon of the Jewish Church, the Bishop gives the various leading views (Catholic and Protestant) regarding its growth, and the date at which it was closed, but refuses to adopt any of them. An Esdrine Canon, for instance, whether closed in the time of Esdras, or left open till the time of Christ, he will not hear of. Equally opposed is he to the view of those who, like Cornely, contend that there were two Canons—a Palestinian and a Hellenistic—the former recognised by the Jews of Palestine, the latter by those outside Palestine, especially in Egypt.

His own view which, as he admits (page 145), “is comparatively a modern speculation, if not a novelty,” is that the author of the Canon was the Jewish High-priest, by whom the incomplete Canon in existence in the time of Moses was gradually enlarged. Palestinians and Hellenists, he contends, had the same Canon till the time of Christ, and it was only when the office of High-Priest had been trafficked in and usurped, that the Canon became vague and confused among the Palestinian Jews.

We confess that such a theory, making the High-priest of the Old Law author of the Canon, is attractive; but we think it right to say, that it seems to us to have less evidence to support it than some of the theories which the Bishop rejects.

The space at our disposal would not allow us to examine at length the arguments which the Bishop adduces in support of his view, but perhaps it is only fair we should indicate in a few words where they seem to us to fail.

Deuteronomy xvii. 8-12 seems to us to confer authority only in regard to “matters” over which the minor tribunals ordinarily had control: for it expressly stated that it was only “when the words of the judges within thy gates do vary” that the matters were to be referred to the priests. Now, if the “matters” in question might have been decided by a minor tribunal, had its members not disagreed, surely the question of the inspiration and canonicity of the Scriptures was not one of those matters.

Equally liable to objection, we think, is the argument drawn from 4 Kings xxii., and *seqq.* For suppose the Pentateuch was

well known to Josias, Helcias, Saphan, and the rest, and had long been received by them as being inspired, then Helcias the High-priest had only to tell that he had found a very venerable copy, perhaps the Mosaic autograph. It is one thing to *declare* a work inspired, quite another to recognise a copy of such a work. The latter is all that Helcias seems to have done.

Nor does the third argument which the Bishop brings forward convince us. That the Egyptian Jews, when about to procure a Greek translation of certain Hebrew Scriptures, should send to Jerusalem, and to the High-priest there for a Hebrew copy, does not seem to us to prove that he possessed, or that they believed him to possess, power to declare what writings were inspired. That may have been known otherwise, and his business would simply be to send a good copy of those books already known to be inspired.

We have referred briefly to the main arguments in favour of this view, which makes the High-priest the author of the Jewish Canon, and we are decidedly of opinion that stronger arguments in its favour will have to be adduced before it can hope to supplant the time-honoured theory of an Esdrine Canon.

In dealing with the Canons of the Sects, the Bishop naturally gives prominence to that of Protestants. Here we may remind our readers that the Protestant Church joins with the Jewish in rejecting all the Deutero-canonical books of the Old Testament—viz., Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, 1 and 2 Machabees. Now, our author not only ably defends the Catholic Canon which contains those books, but he carries the war into the enemy's camp, and shows most clearly and forcibly how anomalous and indefensible is the Protestant position. No thinking Protestant can read the following passage, for instance, without serious heart-searchings:—

“Before the theory in question [that generally held by Protestants] is accepted, he who would do so must be prepared to believe, like all others who have adopted that theory—first, that it was the Septuagint, with all belonging to it, and not the Hebrew, with its limited and vacillating Canon, which the Apostles delivered to the first Churches. Second, that that same Septuagint, or versions of it, with its unmutilated Canon, has ever since circulated throughout the East, as it did throughout the West until the sixth century. Third, that even when it was superseded in the West by a Latin translation of the Hebrew, that translation, as it circulated throughout the West, like the Septuagint, has always contained

the deutero books.<sup>108</sup> Fourth, that out of either, without any distinction between proto and deutero-books, missals, breviaries, lectionaries, rituals, sacramentaries, &c., were formed, and texts quoted for the instruction of the faithful. Yet, fifth, he must maintain that all this was wrong, the source from which these extracts were made being polluted by the admixture of what he calls apocryphal books, which even supplied some of the extracts in question ; though the source itself, while containing these books, has been venerated for ages by the whole Church, and so far as can be now known, actually consecrated by Apostolical sanction. Can any intelligent Protestant believe this? Yet he must do so, so long as he insists that his Canon is right, and the Catholic Canon wrong." (Page 147.)

The work abounds throughout in valuable information, clearly and forcibly conveyed. Sometimes, perhaps, the style is somewhat diffuse, and there is a slight tendency to repetition ; but, on the whole, the work is most scholarly, and such as every Catholic has good reason to be grateful for.

We trust the work will have a wide circulation, as it is eminently calculated to produce good fruit. Pustet & Co., printers and publishers, have done their part admirably ; and the price, three dollars, is moderate.

J. M. R.

THE BIRTHDAY BOOK OF THE MADONNA. Compiled by Vincent O'Brien. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son.

MR. VINCENT O'BRIEN has given us in the *Birthday Book of the Madonna*, a companion volume to his *Birthday Book of the Sacred Heart*. When noticing the latter, we stated that we had nothing but praise for it, and we have no hesitation in saying now that the *Birthday Book of the Madonna* is in every way worthy of its companion.

A more attractive pair of birthday books we have rarely met with. The matter, form, quality of paper, and type, illuminated border and binding—in fact, all that go to make an elegant little book, are here to be seen combined in exquisite taste.

No more appropriate present could be found for a friend in this month of May, and we heartily commend it to the notice of the "pious maidens and matrons, who, in the shelter of our convents, or under the shadow of our churches, band themselves together as children of Mary, to honour the Mother of God, and to emulate from afar her amiable virtues."

# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

---

JUNE, 1892.

---

## DID MOSES WRITE THE PENTATEUCH?

**D**ID Moses write the Pentateuch? Could he have written it? Was the art of writing known in his time? These are questions which are being asked more and more every day, and to which it behoves us as Christians, not to say Catholics, to be able to give an answer. Time was, and not very long since either, when the opponents of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch were confined to the ranks of the so-called "critics," and it no more occurred to any orthodox Protestant to doubt it than to doubt the inspiration of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

Only a few years ago [says an able writer in the April number of *The Dublin Review*], when Bishop Colenso published to the world his startling views as to the comparatively recent date of the Pentateuch and the historical untrustworthiness of the narrative, the Church of England rose in arms against him; he was put upon his trial, and found guilty. Now, a large number of the most distinguished men of the Established Church openly hold and defend the same opinions; nay more, Dr. Gore, the head of Pusey House at Oxford, has edited a work, and himself contributed an article to it, in which he practically adopts the results of modern criticism in regard to the Bible.

. . . . .  
"Dr. Driver, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford University, is one of those who have taken up entirely with the new views."

However we may regret this destructive tendency in recent Protestant criticism, we cannot be at all surprised at

it. It is only the legitimate outcome of the Reformation shibboleth of private judgment. Once the teaching authority of a divinely commissioned Church was spurned, and individual reason made the judge of faith, it was a natural consequence that not only the authorship, but the inspiration also, of all, or at least portions of, the Bible should sooner or later have to stand its trial before this new tribunal of reason run mad. Nor is it surprising that the Pentateuch has come in for special attention. On the one hand, the remote antiquity of its subject, and the absence of all collateral history, made it comparatively safe for the "critics" to indulge "fancy free" in speculation; on the other, the importance of the Pentateuch, as the foundation of revelation, renders it peculiarly desirable to destroy or weaken its authority.

In the present paper we purpose giving a brief sketch of the principal erroneous views that have been held at different times regarding the authorship of the Pentateuch, and then proving that Moses is the author.

For more than three thousand years the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch may be said to have been practically unquestioned. Strabo, indeed, about the beginning of the Christian era, seems to have been somewhat sceptical. So was the pagan Celsus, in the second century; and in the same century the author of the Pseudo-Clementine homilies undertook to prove that Moses could not possibly have written the work. After the Manicheans, who in the third century held that the Pentateuch, as well as the rest of the Old Testament, sprang from their "Evil Principle," there was practically no dissentient voice till the middle ages, when two Jewish rabbis—Isaac Ben Jasos in the eleventh, and Aben Ezra in the twelfth century—held that considerable portions are not the work of Moses. Carlstadt, one of the Reformers, held the same view in the beginning of the sixteenth century; and so, about the same time, did the Catholic canonist, Masius. Hobbes, Spinoza, Clericus, and Van Dale followed in the seventeenth century, all denying the Mosaic authorship in any true sense; and some of them, as Clericus, holding that the work was written as late as the

Assyrian captivity.<sup>1</sup> Towards the close of this century Richard Simon, a Catholic, while holding that the entire work is inspired, referred only the laws and precepts to Moses.

Few, however, whether Catholics or non-Catholics, espoused these views, till, in the end of the last century, the new school of "philosophic doubt" arose, and so-called Rationalism appeared, denying the existence and possibility of all supernatural revelation. It would be vain, and more useless still than vain, to attempt to give the various individual views of the many Rationalists who have written on the subject. It will be more convenient, and at the same time more satisfactory to our readers, to reduce them, as they all can be adequately reduced,<sup>2</sup> to the following three theories, namely :—

- (a) The *fragment* theory;
- (b) The *document* theory;
- (c) The *supplement* theory.

According to the advocates of (a), the Pentateuch was compiled, long after the time of Moses, from a large number of *fragments*, some of them, perhaps, Mosaic, but the majority the work of other hands.

The advocates of (b) differ from those of (a) in supposing that there existed several *separate works*, instead of many incomplete fragments, out of which works the present Pentateuch was compiled. As to the number of documents, or when and by whom united to form the present Pentateuch, the patrons of this theory are far from unanimous.

The "supplement theory" (c), recognising that the unity of the present Pentateuch cannot be explained by a mechanical patching together of fragments or documents originally unconnected, holds that there was a primitive document (some say several documents) which forms the backbone of the Pentateuch, and which later writers filled in and supplemented. As to the number of those who supplemented

<sup>1</sup> The Assyrian captivity began about 721 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> See Cornely's Introduction, vol. ii., page 24.

the original work, who they were, or when they wrote, the patrons of the theory, of course, disagree.

From this brief, but for the present sufficient, outline of the modern theories, it will be seen that, while the Rationalists disagree about nearly every other point, they are unanimous in declaring that the Pentateuch is not the work of Moses, and that it must be referred to a date much more recent than the time of the Hebrew legislator. Catholics, on the other hand, hold, as all Protestants held until a comparatively recent period, and as many, perhaps most of them, hold still, that Moses wrote the Pentateuch. By this we do not mean to claim that Moses used no pre-existing fragments or documents; on the contrary, we believe, with all modern scholars, that he did:—

“Former generations, far back in antiquity, had naturally written down and preserved the records of past events. Joseph, Jacob, Isaac, and Abraham had probably contributed their share to patriarchal literature, and Moses was, no doubt, disposed to avail himself of all the aids within his reach, and of all the sources of information at his command. So that, besides personal observation, we might expect him to use with due caution the current traditions of his time, popular songs, monuments, registers, genealogies, narratives, biographies, and histories.”<sup>1</sup>

Nor do we mean to claim that Moses wrote each and every particular as it now stands: for, no doubt, the errors of copyists have to some extent affected the Pentateuch like the other books of the Bible. Nothing less than a miraculous and continuous intervention of Providence could have prevented this; and such intervention, as being unnecessary and unwarranted, we are not justified in supposing. We are prepared to admit, too, that later hands may have substituted more modern for obsolete names, and have even inserted marginal glosses in the text.<sup>2</sup> What we claim, then, is, that Moses wrote the Pentateuch *substantially* as it stands, either “with his own hand, or by means of a secretary, or in both ways, as occasion served.”

<sup>1</sup> *Authorship of the Pentateuch*. By the late lamented and scholarly Archbishop Smith, pages 21, 22.

<sup>2</sup> See Cornely, vol. ii., pages 34, 35.

And here we may remark that the art of writing was well known in the time of Moses, so that it was at least *possible* for him to write the Pentateuch. Indeed, the bold and shallow statement of Voltaire and his school, that writing was then unknown, may be said to be now abandoned by all scholars. "The system of hieroglyphics, fully and philosophically developed, and containing all the needful phonetic and even alphabetic elements, is written on monuments erected far more than a thousand years before Moses was born."<sup>1</sup> The most moderate calculation allows for the erection of the great pyramid the interval of nearly a thousand years before Moses, while many scholars assign to it a much earlier date. Renan places it as much as three thousand years before Moses. Now, "on the inner stones of this sphynx of architecture, the name of its builder, Khufu (Cheops), is still to be seen rudely marked in minium by the hands of the masons at the quarries."<sup>2</sup> And these hieroglyphics were not confined to inscriptions on stone or wood. They were also written on linen and papyrus and parchment. There is still extant an Egyptian monument, in which a royal scribe is represented as holding a papyrus scroll bearing a date which in the opinion of scholars is four hundred years anterior to Moses. But we need no other proof of the antiquity of writing than the striking fact that among all the Semitic nations to which the Hebrew belongs, the words signifying book, ink, to write—*sopher*, *dega*, *kathar*—are common to them all, showing clearly that before they were divided into separate peoples, as Hebrews, Chaldeans, Syrians, Phoenicians, writing in ink was known among them.

Are we to be told, then, that Moses, who had been educated at the Egyptian Court, and who, as St. Stephen tells us (Acts vii. 22), "was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," could not write? Should we not rather expect that, at least after the Egyptian captivity, writing was by no means a rare accomplishment among the Hebrews? Indeed, writing was so common, that we find Moses in his law permissive of divorce supposing in the Jews

<sup>1</sup>Smith, page 14.

<sup>2</sup>Smith, page 15.

at least a pretty general knowledge of it :—" If a man take a wife, and have her, and she find not favour in his eyes for some uncleanness, he shall *write* a bill of divorce, and shall give it in her hand, and send her out of his house." (Deut. xxiv. 1.)

Nor can it be said that Egypt was the only country acquainted with the art of writing in the time of Moses. The Cushite Babylonians had an alphabet seven hundred years previously,<sup>1</sup> and there is abundant evidence still existing to prove that the royal historiographer was an already established dignitary in the Court of Palestine. It was at least possible, then, for Moses to write the Pentateuch, and we now proceed to show that he did write it.

The first argument that naturally occurs to the Christian mind is the authority of Christ. If it can be shown that Christ believed Moses to be the author of the Pentateuch, this argument must be conclusive to anyone who believes in the divinity, and consequent infallibility, of Christ. Even the Rationalists, though they deny His divinity, admit Christ's marvellous ability and extensive knowledge; and the greater number of them, without questioning His authority, seek rather to explain His statements. Davidson, in his *Introduction to the Old Testament* (page 127), puts their position plainly :—

" In some things both [viz., Christ and His apostles] adopted a wise accommodation to popular views. They did not in matters of moment; but with such unimportant points of criticism as the authorship of the Pentateuch, they did not interfere. The fact that they were teachers of truth did not lead them to meddle with and correct all questions, but only those of important doctrine. If they make declarations or statements irrespectively of the persons with whom they argued, and on their own proper authority, they must be believed as asserting what is literally correct; but when confuting the Jews they generally reasoned with them on their own principles. Employing the *argumentum ad hominem*, they simply accepted the acknowledged sentiments of the people without vouching for their truth. Let it be carefully observed that they did not urge that as truth which they thought to be falsehood."

<sup>1</sup> See Rawlinson, *Bampton Lectures*, page 273, note 146.

Such, then, is the position of the ordinary Rationalist. He does not deny that Christ *spoke* of Moses as the author of the Pentateuch, for this is too plainly evident on every page of the Gospels for even a Rationalist to gainsay it: "And as concerning the dead, that they rise again, have you not read in the *Book of Moses* (the reference is to Exod. iii. 6) how in the bush God *spoke* to him, saying: I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob?" (Mark xii. 26). According to Christ, it was Moses who commanded lepers on being cured to offer a gift to the priests (Matt. viii. 4); Moses who permitted to give a bill of divorce (Matt. xix. 8); Moses who said, Honour thy father and thy mother (Mark vii. 10); Moses who gave the law of circumcision (John vii. 22). In each case the reference is to some portion of the Pentateuch, and in each case, as is evident, **Moses is spoken of as the author.**

The only question, then, is: Did Christ merely accommodate His language on this question to the erroneous belief of the people of His time? To this there can be but one reply: "A teacher of truth, on coming in contact with a universal error, may either correct it or ignore it. Confirm it knowingly, he cannot. In our case we find that Christ neither ignored nor corrected. Deliberately and needlessly He made choice of such expressions as could not fail to confirm the universal belief in the authorship of Moses."<sup>1</sup>

If the reader will only examine for himself the texts referred to above, he will find that Christ's argument in each case was quite independent of the question whether Moses wrote the Pentateuch. It would have been quite sufficient for His purpose to appeal to the authority of the law without supposing its Mosaic authorship. He could have said: It is written in your law; and His words would thereby have lost none of their force with the Jews; but, instead of this, He goes out of His way, again and again, to introduce the name of Moses, and to use language which was not required by His arguments, but which signified clearly His belief in the Mosaic authorship.

<sup>1</sup> Smith, page 23.

Equally clear and convincing is the testimony of the Apostles. St. Peter, in his sermon at Solomon's Porch, soon after the first Pentecost, quotes from Deuteronomy, as the work of Moses (Acts iii. 32). St. James, in the Council of Jerusalem, in the presence of SS. Peter and Paul, says that "Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him in the synagogues, where he is read every Sabbath" (Acts xv. 21). St. James here alludes to the liturgical custom of spreading the Pentateuch over the various Sabbaths in such a way that the whole was read once every year. And since he declares that Moses is read *every* Sabbath, he must necessarily believe Moses to be the author of the entire Pentateuch. St. Paul, alluding to the same liturgical practice, says: "For until this present day the self-same veil, in the reading of the Old Testament, remaineth not taken away. . . . But even until this day when *Moses is read*, the veil is upon their heart" (2 Cor. iii. 14, 15). So, too, we might quote the Apostle St. John (Gosp. i. 17; Apoc. xv. 3); the Evangelist St. Luke (ii. 32); and the first Christian martyr, St. Stephen (Acts vii. 37).

And this belief of Christ and His apostles was the universal belief in Palestine and outside it at the time. The Pharisees refer to Deuteronomy as the work of Moses (Matt. xix. 7); in like manner, the Sadducees (Mark, xii. 19); and the Essenes (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, Book ii., chap. viii., 9). So, too, about the same time, the Alexandrian Jew, Philo, and the Jewish historian, Josephus; the former, in the opening of his treatise, *On Rewards and Punishments*, where he divides the writings of Moses into cosmogony, history, and law; the latter, in his preface to *Jewish Antiquities*, and throughout the first chapter of that very interesting work. Even the Greek and Roman writers reflect this belief. Among Greek writers, we may mention Longinus, *On the Sublime*, chap. vii.; and, among Latin writers, Juvenal, who wrote:—"Tradidit arcano, quodcumque volumine Moses."<sup>1</sup>

Nor was this belief in the Mosaic authorship, which we

<sup>1</sup> *Satire*, xiv. 102.

have shown to have been so universal in the time of Christ, a thing of sudden growth. Far back through the centuries that preceded we can trace it in the other writings of the Old Testament. When Esdras went up out of Babylon, in the fifth century before Christ (458 B.C.), "he was a ready scribe in the law of Moses, which the Lord God had given to Israel" (Exod. vii. 6). And nearly five centuries earlier, when the days of David drew nigh that he should die, he charged Solomon: "Keep the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in His ways, and observe His ceremonies, and His precepts, and judgments, and testimonies, as it is written in the law of Moses" (3 Kings, ii. 3. See also 1 Paral. xxii. 13). Earlier still, by more than four centuries, the Lord commanded Josue, soon after the death of Moses: "Take courage . . . and be very valiant, that thou mayst observe and do all the law which Moses My servant hath commanded thee. . . . Let not the book of this law depart from thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate on it day and night, that thou mayst observe and do all things that are written in it" (Josue i. 7, 8).

Thus in one long unbroken chain we can trace back the tradition of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch to the time of Josue, who was a contemporary of Moses. In the light of all this evidence we are justified in claiming that the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is established by *external* arguments more numerous and more convincing than can be adduced in favour of the authorship of any other work of antiquity: and, unless history and tradition are to count for nothing, Moses wrote the Pentateuch.

In another paper we hope to set forth the *internal* evidence for our conclusion, and to examine at some length the principal arguments on the supposed strength of which the Rationalists boldly set aside the unbroken tradition of more than three thousand years.

JOSEPH M'RORY.

## THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

**A**MONG the most wonderful developments of the present age and past few centuries, we may regard the organization and growth of the Catholic Church in the United States. With her glorious progress, likewise, not only have we reason to rejoice in the triumphs already achieved, but her prospects for the future seem to be opening each day with an assurance of steady and hopeful advance, to which limits at present can scarcely be assigned. So far back as the sixth century of the Christian era, Ireland furnished the earliest missionaries to the vast unknown continent, in after ages designated *Tir-na-m-Beo*, or Land of the Living, by the Irish sheanachies and bards, or *Ireland-it-Mickla*, meaning Great Ireland, by the Scandinavian Sagas and Eddas, in which the Northern scalds attributed the honour of a first discovery to our own countrymen, while foreshadowing the traditional Blessed Realm as a colonial dependency, justly belonging to the country of its discoverers. Thus, long before the invention of printing, the voyage of St. Brendan to the western world was read in every great monastic and collegiate library of Europe; while centuries before the birth of Columbus, in Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, and the Netherlands, that most popular narrative exercised a sort of magic influence on the imagination, and, through its nebulous traditions, it had certain truthful bearings on the subsequently ascertained facts of geographical and historic science. Such forecasts and influences spread the current of modern with future civilization and religion, thus blended with Ireland's early historic memorials; while there are few Irish families, at the present time, who have not formed alliances with the United States, and whose dearest ties are not bound up with their progressive life and vigour. Such feelings are greatly stimulated and continued through Irish emigration, especially during the present century.

Nearly four hundred years have now elapsed since

Christopher Columbus, having previously gathered the Norsemen traditions in the Polar seas, regarding that great Western Land, set out on his voyage of discovery, with the earliest printed maps before him, on which were inscribed imaginary delineations of St. Borondon's or Brendan's Land, far out on the Atlantic. Happily, on the night of October the 11th, 1492, Columbus perceived a light on one of the present Bahama Islands, and next day its shores were clearly visible. He landed and took possession in the name of the King of Spain, and there was first erected the standard of the Cross. In the course of a few years, ministers of the Church came from Spain to spread Christianity in the New World; sees and missionary stations were established; while churches, universities, convents, and schools were founded, owing to munificent grants from the royal revenues. In various regions of North and South America, the faith was spread among the aboriginal inhabitants by zealous preachers and laborious propagators of the Gospel; while, unfortunately, many cruel and rapacious adventurers from Europe, actuated by a reckless spirit of worldly ambition and avarice, sought the newly-discovered lands, with the sole desire of enriching themselves, heedless of the natural instincts of justice and humanity towards the conquered and enslaved people. Elsewhere, the Jesuits and Recollects from France commenced the work of colonization and missionary enterprise among the Indians, leaving to posterity a bright record of their adventures, privations, and sufferings; while they were active agents in clearing the lands of Canada and the valleys of the Mississippi for cultivation and Christian settlements. But, in early times, although English Catholics were the first explorers, the first settlers on the Atlantic seaboard were the Puritans; who, although fleeing themselves from sectarian proscription and oppression, yet became most intolerant towards others, claiming freedom of conscience only for their own peculiar tenets. Except for a brief period in the Catholic colony of Maryland, where liberty of worship was granted to all denominations, the persecuting spirit of Protestantism soon began to prevail; the Church was banned, her ceremonial and doctrines were proscribed, and Catholics were

treated with insult, extortion, and persecution, in every English colonial dependency of America.

A complete and comprehensive history of the Church in the United States had long been desired, not alone by the Catholic prelates, pastors, and laity of the great and growing Republic, but scholars of different denominations felt interested in such a publication, recognising the high moral and all-pervading influence Catholicity had exercised in the confederacy, by promoting education, by fostering art and industry, by restraining crime, by upholding the sanctity of marriage, by founding orphanages and hospitals for the poor and suffering. Already the voluminous *United States History of Bancroft*, and even those compendious school histories, for the most part compiled by non-Catholics and universally studied, have dissolved the mists that bigotry and prejudice formerly spread before the gaze of many unsuspecting Protestants. Still the story of early Catholic colonization and brave adventure, with the trials and triumphs of Catholic Maryland, had been imperfectly told, until, in our own day, a man of singular gifts and high intellectual powers was enabled to devote his time and attention to that work. Such a historian was found in John Gilmary Shea.

His life-long training and the constant bent of his studies admirably fitted him to write the *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*; and this was the crowning labour of his industrious and useful career. When only fourteen years old, his first essay appeared in the shape of an article published in a Catholic magazine, while this attracted the attention and secured the approbation of no less a personage than the celebrated Most Rev. John Hughes, Archbishop of New York. That essay was an account of the soldier-Cardinal Gil Alvarez Carillo de Albornoz; and at that early period, the writer had acquired in the office of a Spanish merchant a knowledge of the Spanish language, which he read and spoke fluently until the end of his life. With Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and German he was also conversant; while his aptitude for the acquisition of languages led him, moreover, to study the Indian dialects of North America. Such was the result of an excellent

education he had received, and under the immediate direction of his father, Mr. James Shea, an Irish emigrant, and a classical scholar of the highest taste and refinement, who, in the earlier part of the present century, conducted a high school in the City of New York, where John Gilmary Shea was born on the 22nd of July, 1824. His studies were continued in Columbia College, of which educational institution he became a graduate. Thus, he naturally became addicted to the pursuits of literature. He had been admitted to the bar, and he had even entered upon the practice of law, which, however, did not seem to be his special vocation.

For John Gilmary Shea, history had a peculiar attraction, and especially the general history of the United States in its Catholic aspects. Always a devout and fervent Catholic himself, the slanders too often heaped on his Church, and his thorough knowledge of their baselessness, directed his thoughts to the most effective way of bringing the treasure-trove of a well-stored mind and memory to eradicate those false impressions circulated among his Protestant fellow-citizens. He deemed the press to be one of the most effective engines for use—as undoubtedly it was in his case—to correct the prejudices which generally prevailed in his youthful days; while he believed that historic light was chiefly requisite to remove the scales from the eyes of those who desired to find the truth of facts drawn from that deep fountain where they had long been buried, and yet, whence they had only to be recovered through the medium of industrious research and impartial investigation.

In 1851 was issued the first of his most valuable historic productions, in a neat 12mo volume, and it was intitled, *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States*. This book soon reached a second edition, bringing the account from A.D. 1529 to 1854, and it was illustrated. Soon was it followed by other volumes: *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, 8vo, in 1853; *The Catholic Church in the United States: or, a Compendious History of the Church in the United States, from the Time of Columbus to the Present Day*, by Henry de Courcy. Translated and enlarged by John Gilmary Shea. This latter

appeared also as a 12mo book, and a third, revised, edition of it was published. In addition, *Washington's Private Diary* was issued in 1861; *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi*, a 4to vol., in 1862; *Novum Belgium, an Account of New Netherland in 1643-44*, in 1862; *The Operations of the French Fleet under Count de Grasse*, in 1864; *The History of the Five Indian Nations depending on the Province of New York*, by Cadwollader Colden, with a Memoir and Notes, 8vo, in 1866; *History and General Description of New France*, by Rev. F. X. de Charlevoix, S.J., translated, with extensive Notes, six volumes, 8vo, in 1866; *A Character of the Province of Maryland*, by George Alsop, with Notes, in 1869; *Life of Pope Pius IX.*, in 1877; *The Catholic Churches in New York City, with a History of each Church and a Sketch of the Pastor*, 4to, in 1878; Henepin's *Description of Louisiana*, reproduced in 1880; *Le Clercy's Establishment of the Faith*, in 1881; Penalosa's *Expedition*, in 1882; *Life of Father Isaac Jogues*, in 1885; and *The Hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States*, in 1886. Moreover, he contributed many important chapters to Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, published in 1886.

The foregoing is a tolerably long list of works composed, translated, and edited by John Gilmary Shea. They are enumerated in the order of time when issued; and yet they by no means exhaust the catalogue of his literary labours. Besides these, about the year 1857, and since, he published a series of twenty-six little tracts, bound and unbound, relating chiefly to Catholic missions and to historical events in the United States, mostly drawn from early manuscripts of exceeding great interest to the student and man of letters. This "Cramoisy" series was so called because the style of type, headlines, rules, initial letters, and ornaments, were the same as those used by the King's printer, of Paris, who was named Cramoisy, and who published the *Relations des Jesuites*. However, those precious little books were for the most part generously presented by the editor to historical scholars, at home and in Europe. A complete set can hardly be procured by the book-collector at present, and, when recoverable at all, they are highly

prized. Finding that editions of the Bible varied much in the English translations, in 1859, Dr. Shea published a bibliography of all the editions of the Catholic Bibles which had been issued in the United States, and in it he indicated various *errata*. This work received the warm approbation of Most Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick, Archbishop of Baltimore, who was himself an accomplished and a learned Biblical scholar and annotator. With the approbation of His Eminence Cardinal McCloskey, Archbishop of New York, having carefully and repeatedly compared various texts with the Vulgate, Dr. Shea reprinted and supervised the original edition of Right Rev. Dr. Challoner's Bible, issued in 1740. Again, in 1860, appeared a series of fifteen volumes, constituting dictionaries and grammars of different Indian languages, in 8vo shape; and these were classed under the denomination, *Library of American Linguistics*. His careful study of those recondite and almost unknown Indian languages and dialects established Dr. Shea's fame as a profound scholar among men of learning in all countries. This celebrity was further developed in his contributions on the Indian tribes, their customs and their languages, published in the newest editions of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, as also in the *American Encyclopedia*. Partly original and partly translated, his *Lives of the Popes* appeared in 8vo; *Bible Stories for the Young, in the Words of the Douay Version*, 4to; and *Child's History of the United States*, in two volumes, 8vo; besides *A Description of the Province and City of New York*, in 1695, by John Miller, with notes, 8vo; and Shea's *Early Southern Tracts*—1. *A Relation of Maryland, 1634*; 2. *The Salt-weed Factor*. These seem to cover almost every American historic subject calculated to instruct the unlearned, as also to interest the learned. Moreover, no less than twenty-four small 8vo volumes of memoirs and relations regarding the French settlements and explorations in America were edited by him; while it should be next to impossible now to discover his many papers contributed to reviews, magazines, and the proceedings of various historical societies of which he became a member. As a recognition of the many invaluable services

rendered by Dr. John Gilmary Shea in the domain of history, the Spaniards made him an honorary member of the *Real-Academia de Historia de Madrid*, in the year 1883. This was a distinction never before conferred on any American.

In the year 1858 he was appointed editor of the *Historical Magazine*, and for eight continuous years he acted in that capacity. Already he had become a member of the New York Historical Society. Its extensive library gave him a decided taste for the study of United States, Canadian, and Mexican early records, and their bearing on the aboriginal tribes of America. He was a most industrious collector of works bearing on those subjects; while, at great expense and by hard labour, he procured copies of original manuscripts and documents from State departments, national institutions, learned societies, colleges, and religious houses. Several universities and colleges in the United States honoured him with the degree of Doctor of Laws, and with commemorative medals in recognition of his scholarly attainments; but, probably, the most significant and complimentary of all was that degree conferred on him by Georgetown University, on the occasion of celebrating its late centenary, with the striking and presentation of a special gold medal, inscribed with his name and profile, as also styling him *par excellence* "The Historian of the Catholic Church in America." For that noble public institution, Dr. Shea's splendid and unique historic library of over twelve thousand volumes has now been secured.

Although zealous and anxious enough for the present as well as the future of their Church in the country, heretofore the Catholic prelates, clergy and laity of the United States had given but slight attention to explore and put on record its past history. A multiplicity of causes might be assigned for such a palpable and strange neglect; but, perhaps, the true reasons are to be drawn from the busy lives and professional pursuits of so many talented men, who had not time to venture upon the reading and training requisite for that task. At last, a single individual was providentially found, who could appreciate at their true worth the great

memories of men that had passed away, and who had a thorough capacity for historic investigation, as also an indefatigable industry to bring from their long hidden recesses those irrefragable evidences of achievements and heroic lives deserving to be registered and revered. That praiseworthy effort should necessarily cover a wide, if not a very remote field of research. Moreover, an enthusiastic love for the subject, as also one who had a store of learning for the contrasts and comparison of documentary or controversial publications very difficult to be procured and duly analysed, must be engaged on a comprehensive and yet familiar theme. The well-established literary fame of John Gilmary Shea, and also his high character as a loyal Catholic and as a patriotic American citizen, caused a very general desire to secure his services for the production of a work which must ever continue to perpetuate his memory. Most willingly he undertook the preparation and outlined the plan which met the cordial approbation and warm encouragement of the American prelates and clergy, as also of the most intellectual and enlightened among the Catholic laity of the United States. Very liberal patronage was procured for that literary venture, yet not more than the issue required and deserved. Too late for actual completion, had it been commenced, but it was prosecuted with a perseverance and an energy hardly to be expected from the failing health of the distinguished author, who closed his valuable life and labours at four o'clock on the morning of last February 22nd, not having completed his sixty-eighth year.

As projected, his history was to have been completed in five large octavo volumes, each containing nearly 700 pages, and having for its general title, *A History of the Catholic Church within the Limits of the United States, from the first attempted Colonization to the Present Time*, with portraits, views, maps, and fac-similes, by John Gilmary Shea. Only three of these volumes have as yet appeared. The fourth was far advanced through the press at the time of the author's lamented death, and it seems probable it shall soon be issued; while, as we have been informed, the fifth is almost ready to place in the printer's hands, when a

capable editor shall be found. Each of the three volumes already published has a different sub-title, indicating that it covers a distinct period, and deals with a series of distinctive topics, and contemporaneous or connected facts. Wherefore, the first volume is intitled, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days. The Thirteen Colonies—The Ottawa and Illinois Country—Louisiana—Florida—Texas—New Mexico and Arizona. 1521-1763.* New York, 1886. Besides a special preface, the volume comprises, "The Catholic Church in the English Colonies, in Book I., containing four chapters; Book II., "The Catholic Church in the Spanish Colonies," having two chapters; Book III., "The Catholic Church in French Territory," with five chapters; Book IV., "The Catholic Church in the English Colonies," having five chapters; Book V., "The Catholic Church in the Spanish Colonies," with four chapters; Book VI., "The Church in French Territory," with six chapters; as also a brief conclusion or summary, with a copious index. The headings here given only present a vague and general idea of those subjects treated in detail, and in a consecutive or transitional order of acts, which range throughout the period embraced, and over a vast extent of territory. But the narrative of events proceeds on a regular basis of arrangement and directness of statement, which leads the reader soon to infer that he follows a safe guide through the various phases or changes of scenes and issues, while style and language are clear and correct, without those involutions of sentences or irrelevancies of composition that too frequently demonstrate defective knowledge on the part of historians, even when desirous of revealing the whole truth. Although local histories and biographical memoirs had preserved much material for scattered notices of the earlier missions regarding particular places and individuals, still was a patient and laborious search required among unpublished manuscripts and documents, as also among printed books in different languages, besides access to colonial newspapers and tracts, happily preserved in the great public libraries of New York, before a general and an original Church history of the United States could be compiled. Especially for the earliest Spanish period

of settlement within their present limits, little or nothing had been done by English Catholic writers to make known in true colours, not the least interesting narratives and tracts which were most necessary to be consulted, before a full and consecutive history could be issued. Here, indeed, was a new mine to be opened; and from 1513, when John Ponce de Laon, one of the early companions of Columbus, first landed in Florida to the period when spiritual conquests were extended by the Spanish missionaries to Mexico and California, we have a new light thrown upon the most interesting and edifying lives of many holy confessors and heroic martyrs. What renders those accounts particularly authentic and reliable for the scholar and the student, must be inferred from the numerous Spanish authors quoted in the notes appended to each chapter; nor are these in the nature of second-hand references, so conveniently appropriated by those writers who pretend to have consulted books and documents they never saw, and frequently could not read. Carefully gleaned from the surroundings of civil history are those facts which have sole relation to ecclesiastical affairs, and which are given with a minuteness of detail that never wearies the reader, because each recorded incident has its own special features of attraction. Moreover, a great number of those documents, from which the Irish-American historian has collected information, are contemporaneous or closely connected with the events narrated, while their testimony cannot be invalidated on any imaginable pretext.

Not less satisfactory is the manner in which the French explorations and missions have been described, while the early history of Canada comes in for its incidental treatment as connected with that theme. From the St. Laurence and the Upper Lakes, the Jesuit Fathers made their way through those wilds tenanted by the Hurons, Abnekis, and Illinois tribes; the discovery of the Mississippi by Fathers Marquette and Joliet, with the labours of Father Hennepin on the Upper Mississippi; the colonization of Louisiana and the settlement of the far western territories, with vicissitudes of the celebrated Seven Years' War between England and

France, to the Conquest of Canada by the English, as affecting the interests of religion—all this is most graphically told, as likewise in a fashion to rivet the attention and gratify the curiosity of every intelligent mind. The amount of recondite documentary illustration, and the number of rare old books referred to, prove beyond question, that none other than Dr. Shea could approach this special epoch of Gallo-American history with such a profound knowledge of the subject, or could combine and condense the multiplicity of transactions related in such a way, as to marshal every incident in its natural order and sequence. Isolated missionary stations and labourers in the vineyard receive a due share of attention, and transitions to more distant places and contemporary persons often require insertion; but, an occasional reference to the maps and diagrams with which the volume is illustrated must bring every geographical allusion and historic statement clearly before the understanding.

The persecuting spirit of the New England Puritans, and the intolerance of other colonists in various provinces towards Popery, were not in the least relaxed during that giant struggle between France and England for supremacy in the New World. The extent and intensity of those obstacles to the spreading of the faith had not previously been well-known, until Dr. Shea unearthed from the early statutes, archives, and newspapers, evidences of a condition in complete antagonism with existing tolerant notions and established liberty of conscience. Only within the Province of Maryland, founded by the Catholic Lord Baltimore, George Calvert, was religious freedom at all recognised, and his character secured to the emigrants an independent share in the legislation of that colony to be determined with the advice and approbation of a majority among the freemen or their deputies. Thus, as the distinguished American historian Bancroft states: "The asylum of Catholics was the spot where, in a remote corner of the world, on the banks of rivers which as yet had hardly been explored, the mild forbearance of a proprietary adopted religious freedom as the basis of the State."

The early foundations and missions of the Jesuit Fathers in Maryland; their friendly intercourse with Catholic and Protestant settlers, and with the Indian tribes; the religious and legislative freedom of the colony: hostilities excited against the Catholics: overthrow and subsequent restoration of the Catholic proprietary; the Franciscan missions; change of affairs with the fall of the Stuarts: the death-knell of religious liberty sounded by the establishment of the Church of England and the introduction of tithes and intolerant penal laws; the persecution of Catholics in all the colonies, and the slow progress of the Church under so many restrictions—these and many other highly interesting particulars are set forth, and serve to show that the faithful were oppressed with double taxes, penalties and disabilities, except in Pennsylvania, where the Catholics were tolerated by the Quaker proprietary, and where they were comparatively free. The Vicar-Apostolic, living in England, had charge of those distant missions; and, needless to state, when the Church was there banned by persecuting laws, little care could be devoted to the scattered flocks in the New World during the dark Colonial Days.

The second volume of Dr. Shea's great work contains *The Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll, Bishop and First Archbishop of Baltimore: embracing the History of the Catholic Church in the United States, 1763-1815*, New York, 1888. With a brief preface, this volume details the life of the Rev. John Carroll to his consecration as Bishop of Baltimore, the condition of the Catholic Church in the English colonies and in the United States, 1763-1790, in Book I., comprising six chapters; the account of Right Rev. John Carroll, D.D., Bishop of Baltimore, 1790-1808, as Administrator of Louisiana, 1805, and as Archbishop of Baltimore from 1808-1815, is to be found in Book II., containing five chapters; while around that illustrious central figure are grouped all the contemporaneous Church affairs of a most eventful period, with a careful tracing of the origin, not only of the dioceses then erected, but of nearly all the missionary stations that like the many small springs wide apart still combine to form the full flowing of mighty rivers.

Here are specially disclosed the far-reaching purview and admirable skill of the writer, who combines the best excellencies of biographer and historian; treating incidents which should assuredly confuse the judgment and faculties of any other compiler, but which, under his management, find their several allotted places and consecutive dates in that position they ought naturally occupy. With personal and family details we have presented a faithful picture of American social customs and Catholic worship towards the middle and close of the last century; the inspiring theme of the American Revolution, and the agency of the Jesuit Father John Carroll, delegated by Congress to engage the Canadian Catholics in the struggle for independence; his intimacy and friendly relations with George Washington and Benjamin Franklin; after the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, the English Catholic Bishop Talbot declining to exercise jurisdiction in the United States, a scheme was set on foot to place Catholics there under a bishop to reside in France, and to be appointed by the French king; this intrigue was defeated by the appointment of the Very Rev. John Carroll as Prefect-Apostolic of the United States in 1784; his consecration in England, and subsequent pastoral labours on returning to his own country; the institution of the see of Baltimore by a Bull of Pope Pius VI., dated the 6th day of November, 1789, and his administration of Louisiana when that territory had been acquired by the United States from France; the division of the diocese of Baltimore, and the erection of sees in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Bardstown to the death of Archbishop Carroll on Sunday, December 3rd, 1815: such is but a brief summary of contents in the second volume, as may be judged from the slightest cursory examination of the heading of chapters, and the copious index which has been appended.

The third volume contains the "History of the Catholic Church in the United States from the division of the diocese of Baltimore, 1808, and death of Archbishop Carroll, 1815, to the Fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore, 1843." New York, 1890. After a short Preface, the First Book, in nineteen chapters, relates the progress of religion

in the dioceses of Baltimore, of Richmond, of Boston, of New York, of Philadelphia, of Bardstown, of Charleston, and of Cincinnati, within the period treated; the Second Book, in three chapters, treats on the diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, on the dioceses of St. Louis and New Orleans, and on the Vicariate Apostolic of Alabama; Book the Third, in two chapters, relates the holding of the First Provincial Council of Baltimore, and growth of anti-Catholic feeling; Book the Fourth, in eighteen chapters, resumes the history of the dioceses of Baltimore, of Richmond, of Boston, of New York, of Philadelphia, of Charleston, of Bardstown, of Cincinnati, of Detroit, of Vincennes, of Nashville, and of Natchez; Book the Fifth, containing five chapters, has a renewed account of the dioceses of New Orleans, of St. Louis, of Mobile, and of Dubuque; while the Sixth Book is comprised in a single chapter, treating on the Vicariate Apostolic of Texas. This, with a valuable index, terminates the work, so far as it has been already published.

Some hundreds of illustrations are contained in these volumes, and several among them are beautifully executed engravings of celebrated prelates and missionaries, whose career has been recorded in the text. Besides there are numerous woodcuts, representing chiefly churches and religious houses or stations of the earlier times, ancient maps, views of towns, religious objects, *fac-similes* of documents and signatures taken from registers, whereby we are enabled to realize the autographs of several renowned missionaries. The mechanical production of the work is in the highest degree creditable to the author and to his collaborateurs; the printing, paper, press-work and binding, are in a superior style of excellence. Needless to state, the work bears evidences of the most careful revision, for hardly a single letter or word is misplaced; while those external and internal adornments give an extrinsic and intrinsic value to books of reference, which are destined to have an honoured place on the shelves of every great and well-selected library, whether of a public or private character.

In all Dr. Shea's previous writings, as also since he

became editor-in-chief of the *Catholic News*, in 1888, his most profound scholarship and critical exactness gave weight to his historic pronouncements, while his method and style of reasoning were seasoned with a persuasive and natural eloquence, resulting from his earnestness and prudence in treating all religious and political topics of the day. In social life, he was remarkable for that courteous and modest reserve and gentleness of manner which caused him to be revered and admired, even by those entertaining opposite views ; while he never failed to charm and instruct all who had the pleasure of his intimate acquaintance, and who knew how to draw from him that varied information and fund of anecdote with which his memory was so well stored. However, it was his *History of the Catholic Church within the Limits of the United States*, that called forth encomiums, not alone from the religious, but from the secular press of America, without distinction of creed or party. While it traces, year by year, the growth of Catholicity there, scarcely a single item of importance has been omitted from the narrative, so comprehensive, so captivating and so reliable. It is a lasting monument of the author's zeal and erudition ; moreover, it is one of which every intelligent Catholic in the United States feels justly proud. It has corrected already many past errors and misrepresentations of preceding historians, and certainly placed the Catholic Church in a new and luminous point of view, especially for every impartial and intellectual Protestant reader. As a history, it can never be superseded, and we doubt if any material additions can be made to the matters it has already included. We have now only to close this imperfect notice with a brief comparison and conclusion.

When the second census of the United States population had been taken in 1800, 5,305,937 was the total return : and of that number it seems most probable, that there were not 50,000 Catholics among them. As we have already seen, these had only one bishop, perhaps not more than sixty priests, while Georgetown College was the only Catholic seat of learning then founded. The churches were only a few modest houses, erected chiefly in the States of Maryland,

Pennsylvania, and New York. At present, the ecclesiastical summary of Catholic statistics for the United States returns 14 archbishops, 73 bishops, 8,332 priests, 2,132 seminarians, 7,523 churches, 3,302 chapels and stations, 35 ecclesiastical seminaries, 102 colleges, 635 academies, 3,194 Catholic parochial schools, 633,238 pupils in parochial schools, 553 charitable institutions, besides a great number of convents, religious houses, nuns and brothers; with a Catholic population of at least ten millions.

The enumeration returns of the last census bring the total population of all the different sects and territories to about 65,000,000; so that, while in the beginning of the present century, there was only one in every hundred of the inhabitants Catholic, now it may be safely asserted, that there is one Catholic to every six or seven who are non-Catholic. It can thus be ascertained, how extraordinary has been the expansion of the Catholic community, and its progressive gains in each year, in the great Western Republic; nor can such results be accounted for through the laws of natural increase in the proportionate number of births, nor even in the emigration returns, for Ireland is almost the only country from which a considerable preponderance of Catholic emigrants has proceeded, and all the Irish of every denomination who arrived in the United States from 1820—when its Government Immigration Returns were first collected—to 1870, amounted in the aggregate only to 2,700,493. This the Special Report of the latter year officially sets forth, from the Bureau of Statistics at Washington. Within the last twenty years, it is safe to state, that an additional 2,000,000 has not emigrated from Ireland to the United States. The very best authority on the subject, the historian of the American Catholic Church, has proved conclusively, that the general and relative increase of Catholics there is mainly owing to the disintegration of Protestant sects; to the excellent diocesan organizations by the Catholic hierarchy; to the zealous missionary work of the priests and religious; as also to the numerous conversions which take place, and especially in the great centres of population.

The apostolate of the Catholic press, now numbering over

two hundred reviews, newspapers, and periodicals, may be reckoned among the effective agencies, not to speak of the religious books and tracts that largely circulate throughout the length and breadth of the land. Moreover, the progress of the Catholic Church in the United States has been one of trial, of toil, and of privation, in the glorious records of the past; it has now entered upon a career of success and triumph, which promise abundant fruits in the future, when some other gifted historian shall be found to continue the labours of him whose great work we have had under review, and who, we fondly trust, having gone to his final rest, has merited the rewards of eternal life.

JOHN CANON O'HANLON

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PASSION, FROM  
LITERATURE AND THE DRAMA.—No. II.<sup>1</sup>

1. JESUS CHRIST. By the Rev. Father Didon, of the Order of Preachers. Translated. 2 vols. London: Kegan Paul and Co., 1891.
2. THE CHRIST, THE SON OF GOD: A LIFE OF OUR LORD. By the Abbé Constant Fouard. Translated by G. F. X. Griffith. 2 vols. London: Longmans, 1891.
3. NOTES ON DOCTRINAL AND SPIRITUAL SUBJECTS. By the late Father F. W. Faber. 2 vols. London: Richardson, 1866.

REV. FATHER DIDON, in the two goodly tomes of his English edition, has written a Life of our Lord which, in our mother tongue and in several ways, is almost, if not quite, unique. Following quickly from the press upon the re-issue of the recently translated work of the Abbé Fouard, Père Didon's book, whether it be more or less able and learned, or more or less eloquent and persuasive, holds an independent position. For the first time, on its own special

<sup>1</sup> The first part appeared in the October Number of the I. E. RECORD for 1891.

lines and with its own given objects, and amidst a flow of Protestant biographies of Christ—which can never be read with unmingled pleasure, however pure may be their intention—we are here presented with a Catholic Life, by a Catholic divine, addressed, with Catholic surroundings, to a Catholic audience.

As the reader may be aware, from time to time there have been published, of old or of late years, and in the vernacular, various monographs, or series of volumes, dedicated to this supreme subject. Amongst others, the purely devotional Life, by St. Bonaventure, was translated, towards the close of the last century, and issued in 1744, by Rev. Edward Yates. The *Evangelical Harmony; or, the History of the Life and Doctrine of our Lord, according to the Four Evangelists*, was published in two volumes, in the year 1803, by the Rev. Henry Rutter, with the old Catholic firm of Keating. A French Father, Francis de Ligny, S.J., who died in 1788, put forth an elaborate paraphrase of the sacred text harmonized, illustrated by comparatively brief notes; and this, having been translated by Mr. Molloy, was published in Dublin in the year 1846. In its original language De Ligny's work secured a very wide popularity in France, and was translated for circulation in Spain and Italy. It is hardly necessary to mention, though it would be ungrateful and un-critical to omit, Father Coleridge's, S.J., magnificent contribution towards the same topic. In upwards of twenty volumes, produced, in the midst of much other priestly labour, in something short of twenty years, this Father has treated, in its different stages, the *Life of our Life*, in the Quarterly Series published under the auspices of his great society. Of this extended work, the last volume has just appeared, under great physical difficulties which result from the reverend author's state of health. It is entitled the *Passage of our Lord to the Father*, and deals mainly with the Passion of Christ. It may not be superfluous, however, to name another book, not so widely known in England. This is a single volume issued in the past year, is called *The Life of Jesus Christ, according to the Gospel History*, by Rev. A. J. Maas, S.J., Professor of Oriental languages in

Woodstock College, U. S. A., and contains an exhaustively harmonized and combined text from the several Gospels, with concise explanatory notes below. Other works, of course, might be mentioned. Still, within its assigned limits and avowed range, and still more with its own aim and special intention, for the first time do we possess a work in which so much has been attempted, and so much has been executed in the English tongue, within the compass of two volumes. For, speaking in general terms, the Dominican Father's book is at once critical, historic, and philosophical; it is both exegetical and descriptive, and sometimes even is hortatory. It is full of matter of primary importance, without being over-wrought or needlessly diffuse; and is concise, and even in parts condensed, with no obvious appearance of curtailment. It is brilliantly and epigrammatically written, where scope is offered for such literary exhibitions of thought and power of expression—features by no means lost in the translation—and is carefully and solidly composed where the gravity of the occasion demands the calmness and dignity of the historical method. The character of its style in many places, and of much of its contents, is almost suggestive of the lecture room; and portions of it, as it stands, are well adapted for public delivery. But there is stiff reasoning in its pages which requires earnest and close attention for grasping the argument; and there are contentious passages which appeal more to the privacy of the study than to the platform, or even to the pulpit. In short, the learning of the average student may be augmented, and the knowledge of the average reader may be deepened and widened by its mastery; whilst the devouter sort of either kind may find endless material in its pages for meditation and contemplation.

Occupying, roughly speaking, about the same bulk as the sister work of the Abbé Fouard, Père Didon's *Life* challenges comparison with the earlier volumes, and suggests many a contrast between itself and them. Indeed, whilst they both treat of one topic, are drawn from similar sources, and reach the like goal, the two French authors could hardly have discussed more variously, not to say

from more opposite standpoints, the human story of their divine subject. One aspect of the Life of Lives, however, has been taken by neither ecclesiastic, and of this aspect something will be said later on. But, apart from this aspect of the question, though both books are, in their scope, nominally and actually historic; and both are composed by theologians and men of culture, discrimination, and power, the work of the secular priest is, perhaps, the more severely critical, and the work of the regular is certainly the more deeply philosophical. The first, the Abbe Fouard's, bears a nearer affinity to the characteristics of a personal narrative memoir, into which are skilfully woven the very words of Holy Scripture, in the author's own version of them, enriched with minute and graphic details. The last-named, Pere Didon's, is more scientifically conceived, is built upon a broader philosophic basis, wears a bolder and more imposing literary front, and allows itself a wider purview, extending backwards to causes, and onwards to results, embracing much of what is understood by the term, the philosophy of history. Comparisons and contrasts of a like nature, between the two companion books, are interesting to observe, and may be useful to state; and, perhaps, this may be the easiest method that can be adopted for bringing to light certain of the peculiarities, beauties, and other features of this the latest issued addition in English to the ever-increasing number of sacred biographies of our divine Master, from the pen of P  re Didon.

Amongst the almost endless topics for appreciative comparison and amicable contrast afforded by these several volumes, the following may be found helpful towards indicating elements in Didon's original and valuable work which should not escape the notice of the reader. They are made at haphazard, and not in order of importance, nor yet according to logical sequence.

In the first place, it is singular that the member of the learned Order of Preachers should have written his philosophical Life with hardly a reference, and hardly a footnote, which might not form a portion of the text, or be included, as a quotation, enclosed by brackets, within the work itself.

The critical and illustrative notes of the Abbé, on the other hand, are fulfilled with a vast and varied amount of matter, elucidatory, apologetic, controversial, apposite, or supplementary to, yet independent of, the text. With the exception of a short preface, Père Fouard begins his labours at once by discussing the sacred Infancy. Didon prefaces his labours with an elaborate and lengthy introduction of eighty-three pages, on the position and functions of criticism and history in the life of Jesus Christ. Fouard, again, furnishes a long useful Bibliographical list of the writers whom he has read, consulted, quoted, criticized, condemned. The Dominican Father has, no doubt, referred to and utilized the larger part, if not the whole, of the authors named, as he has certainly utilized many others that are not mentioned in this list; but he has not categorically enumerated them. Both authors, not unnaturally, quote, and quote freely, from the records of inspiration.

But, whilst Père Didon (or, rather, his English second self, who remains nameless, or he might be reprehended) is content, it is believed, to reproduce the mere letter of the Anglican Authorized Version, and not even of the Revised Version, Abbe Fouard utilizes widely and with much edification, as casting fresh and often new light on the inspired text, the renderings of many ancient MSS., and even of primitive versions and translations of the sacred narrative. Moreover, the latter, Fouard, in the person of his translator, does not hesitate to render, and, it may be added, to effectively render, the Greek text into the vernacular, not to say into the vulgar speech of to-day, in order more obviously to accentuate some special point in the New Testament drama, which needs to be emphasized. Both writers have benefited themselves as authors, and also as Christians, and have enriched their readers, they being students, by having made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; and the Abbé, perhaps to a larger extent than the Dominican, has illustrated his text with extracts from local works of antiquities and archaeology, as well as by quotations from the commentaries of the Aramaic paraphrases, traditions of the Talmud, and other Jewish literature. Again, the learned Dominican has, perhaps

devoted more time and attention to the fulfilment of prophecy, in the Life of Christ, than his brother annotator, Père Fouard. The one has shown more clearly than the other how much more nearly allied is prophecy to history in its strange, weird, literal, unexpected realization, than it is to mere vague, indefinite anticipation, as men hold, of the words of One who both foreknoweth and looketh backward in the mirror of an ever-existing present vision of God. Both works, again, are illustrated with maps; but Père Didon drew for himself the map of Palestine in the time of our Lord; in part, presumably, from his own travelling experiences: and his map is large, distinct, and full of details. Both books possess skeleton harmonies, tables, and dates of events, arranged under the fourfold heading of the evangelistic story, called a Concordance by Fouard, and a Chronological Table by Didon. But neither authors give us, as Father Coleridge gives us, that which is simply indispensable in the study of the Life, whether it be a portion of, or apart from the work itself, namely, the *ipsissima verba* of the Gospels printed in parallel columns, and in a harmonized order of sequence. The last-named of our authors, whilst marking the several Passovers (in the place of estimating by years) of the ministry of Christ, descends to the particularization of dates—years, months, and days—and marks as the actual date of the Crucifixion the 7th day of April, in the year A.D. 30. Neither book has been well indexed; and neither Père Didon nor his translator have attempted to supply one—a grave failure of literary duty towards the intelligent reader, and a serious want to the ordinary student. The two appendices in the two authors are curiously varied when compared and contrasted. But oftentimes, points, discussions and criticisms which the one writer treats in his text, the other relegates to his appendix. The two more important divisions of the appendix in Didon's work are those which treat of the chronology of our Lord's life and the two genealogies, which he holds to be those of Joseph and Mary, Heli and St. Joachim being considered to be one and the same person. The appendix on the Word of St. John, and the arrangement on the chronology of the Passion, are the

two most valuable parts of the addenda to Abbé Fouard's work. The agreements and differences between the two learned theologians will repay study.

It is, however, with Pere Didon's *Jesus Christ* that we are primarily concerned in this article; and of that father's two large volumes, it is with his treatment of the Passion that we are mainly restricted for consideration. Perhaps one of the specially valuable portions of the Dominican's work is the introduction to the whole book, to which reference has been already made. That introduction, though, of course, intended to cover the author's remarks on the whole life, may with equal appositiveness be applied to the latter portion of the earthly career of our Blessed Lord — the sacred Passion. Pere Didon discourses in these pages on criticism and history in relation to the records of the human life of Christ. The objects of His labours are summed up in the following paragraph:—

“The history of Jesus is the foundation of the faith. The doctrine and theology of the Gospel, Christian ethics, the worship, the hierarchy, and the order of the Church—all rest upon it. Thanks to the unwearied labour of the learned, the doctrine of Jesus, His ethical system, His worship, and His Church, have gradually become the object of distinct, perfect, and organized sciences, answering to the legitimate aspirations of those believers who desire to be at once men of faith and men of science; and so the history of Jesus Christ must be told according to the demands of history. The present work is an attempt to meet these deep needs.”

The Dominican Father then states the case of the critical school. Not only, he says, his Christian faith, but his impartiality as a man, revolts at the pretended contradiction between dogma and history, and he concludes his argument by urging that if Christ be a mere man, how comes it to pass that He has “founded a religion which dominates the world?” The work is inexplicable he adds, “it is the readiest proof that Jesus was, indeed, all that the Church affirms.” But Pere Didon will by no means yield criticism, *qua* criticism, to the so-called critical school. The first element, he declares, of a scientific history is “that it should

be set out by wise, clear-sighted, and impartial criticism :” which, he continues, is a faculty essential to every human being, and is a condition of all true science. The Father then proceeds to show how the written Gospels supplied the various needs which were felt by different primitive converts to the faith, who had been made converts by the preaching of the first Christian missionaries. As it is well known, St. Matthew wrote for his own fellow-countrymen, in their own common tongue, in a Gospel which later on he possibly, and even probably, himself translated into Greek—a point which Didon apparently does not press ; indeed, does not name, perhaps does not accept. The first evangelist preached to the Jews the doctrine of the Messiah. St. Mark then took up the tale of an evangelist, and essayed to carry abroad the good news to the adherents of the old religion, under the influence and authority, if not by the co-operation, and even by the actual dictation, of St. Peter. The second evangelist has no apologetic tendency for the Jews ; but boldly, though implicitly, announces to the Gentiles the divinity of Jesus. When a legitimate want is felt in the Church, says the Father, “ a vigorous mind is almost always found to answer it.” The infant Church, he adds, demanded a document which should give a more complete picture than any yet composed of the history of Christ : and a learned convert of the Apostle St. Paul was inspired by God to answer the demand by writing the Gospel of St. Luke. He announced the good tidings to the Gentiles, supplemented much that had been omitted by both the earlier authors, and himself became the evangelist of mercy and goodness, as St. Mark had been the evangelist of power, and St. Matthew the evangelist of prophecy. Didon’s account of how St. John’s Gospel came to be composed : why it was written ; what was its object : who desired its creation ; how it attained its end—is too long for quotation, and would suffer by contraction. His work itself must be consulted. The elements of future and present heresy, as the author says, “ doctrines which took the name of Gnosticism, a confused mixture of Monism, Pantheism, and Dualism, of fate and magic, and strange asceticism, a mixture of speculation on the origin of things

and on the universe," were in part anticipated, and in part condemned, by the Gospel of the Logos, which established the faith in Christ, the only Son of God, and in His true divine nature. All the heads of the Churches of Asia, and the Apostles, St. Andrew as their leader, begged him to do so, writes Père Didon, after St. Jerome; and, as he concisely puts the case, whilst the earlier Gospels narrate what was seen in Jesus, the fourth Gospel declares what was not seen; they show us the Man, that reveals to us the God.

It is not easy, in the space at our disposal, to transfer this argument of the various objects and intentions of the four inspired historians of the life of Jesus to the limited area in which they describe His dolorous Passion. Yet, an attempt may be made to do this briefly in one or two particulars selected from the records of each several evangelist. A careful study of the fourfold account will not fail to produce indication, if not actual proof, of the fidelity of the above analysis, shortened from the words of Didon. In this place the effort can only be made suggestively and in outline. Thus, the predominant idea contained in the earliest Gospel was to present Christ to the Jews as the Messiah of prophecy. In the account, then, of the apprehension of Christ in the Garden, St. Matthew records the words of our Lord, which inevitably lead back the mind of the reader to unfulfilled prophecy, touching the twelve legions of angels; but, adds the evangelist, from the lips of Jesus, "How, then, shall the Scriptures be fulfilled, that so it must be done?" From St. Mark, who essayed to carry the good news abroad, Didon says, "All that part of the earlier evangel which exhibited the Messiahship had disappeared in the second Gospel." This is the Gospel of the Son of God; and it is worthy of note, in regard to the speech of the centurion who witnessed the Crucifixion, that, whilst St. Matthew quotes his own words as acknowledging that "this was the Son of God," and St. Luke quotes his words, "this was a just man," St. Mark gives the fuller text of the centurion's exclamation, combining the other two, when he cried, "Indeed, this Man was the Son of God." The evidences, from his own Gospel

account of the Passion, which indicate that St. Luke was the evangelist of mercy and goodness, are numerous. For instance, in the scene at Gethsemani, when St. Peter's brave and impetuous rashness exposed his Master, and with Him exposed the disciples, to additional danger from the regular soldiery and the armed mob, St. Mark is content to say that the saint of the future cut off the ear of the servant of the high priest. St. Matthew and St. John add the command of Jesus to Peter to sheath his sword. But the beloved physician, St. Luke, allows himself the gratification of assuring the Church of all ages that Jesus, with a touch of His all-merciful hand, healed the mutilated member. Pere Didon affirms that the essential Godhead of Jesus is announced by the last of the evangelistic four. It is noteworthy that, in support of this acknowledged theorem, St. John is the only one of the four who places on record the uncommanded, and almost, so to say, automatic miracle in the Garden; as if the very human beings who were permitted to apprehend, bind, and lead away captive Almighty Power, were yet unable to withstand the mere mention of the incommunicable Name; for, says the apostle of Jesus' love, "As soon as He said to them, I Am He, they went backward, and fell to the ground."

Of course all this is more or less familiar to the student. But, it is a great gain that all this, and much more than this on cognate topics, should be made accessible outside mere text-books, in an attractive form, in good readable English, and under interesting conditions, to the many who are not students, but casual readers, oftentimes at the mercy of a supply of mental pabulum of a theological character from the shelves of a circulating library, or from the stores of a provincial book club. And this has been done by the French divine and his accomplished translator, and has been well done. The conclusion, however, of this portion of Pere Didon's Introduction is not so familiar to the ordinary student, but that his memory may be advantageously refreshed with the facts and inferences vividly stated and deduced by the author. This has been effected in such

clear, forcible, and compact language that, though it be long, the whole passage may with profit be quoted :—

“The genuineness of the four canonical Gospels is a question now settled for ever.

“It is proved by the fragment of the canon of Muratori, that under the pontificate of Pius I., in 142, there were four Gospels; that the Roman Church recognised no others; that she read them in the same order in which they are now classed; that she considered them as inspired by God, written by one and the same Spirit.

“It is proved by a learned and detailed comparison, that all the Gospels may be reconstructed, bit by bit, but entirely, by the aid of quotations gathered out of the works of the Fathers of the first and third centuries, from the author of the Epistle of Barnabas to Tertullian and Irenæus.

“It is proved that, not only in the middle of the second century, in 150, there already existed a Latin version of the Gospels, the old Italic version, but that before it there were already two—one made in Africa, the other in Italy.

“It is proved, thanks to the discoveries of Dr. Cureton, that before the old Italic version, there existed one in Syriac, called the ‘Peschito:’ and that the translator of the Italic had a Greek translation under his view, carrying on its margin Syriac variants, to which he especially referred.

“It is thus proved that the translations were contemporaneous with the original.

“It is proved, moreover, by the discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus, by Tischendorf, that at the very time when, according to Tertullian, the autograph MS. of the Gospels was still preserved in the Apostolic Churches, there was a contemporaneous copy. This copy is the Codex Sinaiticus, anterior to the MS. corrections officially required by Constantine.

“We have, therefore, the right to conclude that the Gospels existed from the first century, and that they existed as we now have them. If we have not the original autograph MSS., we have at least contemporary translation. Criticism is satisfied. There is complete harmony on this essential point between it and the tradition of the Church.”

It has been said that one want dominates the works of both of the two French ecclesiastics. There is little or nothing of the strictly devotional element to be found in the pages of either; and the absence of this feature constitutes a distinct want, which is felt by the reader. Philosophy and criticism, combined with history, are admirable coadjutors; and the trio form a chain not easily broken. But, the reader occasionally

desiderates matter which is distinct from any one of these three; he needs nourishment of a more spiritual character; and the material is not found ready at hand for use. Clearly, we must look for such an element, or for such an addition, elsewhere. It is true, that, as neither author essays to write a devotional treatise, the want in question hardly constitutes a just cause of complaint. Yet, it may be allowed humbly to express regret for the omission. As Father Maas well says in his preface: "Scripture must be accurately understood before it can be judiciously applied;" and, perhaps, the essentials of a commentary are more important than the refinements of it, or the deductions from it—in short, than its spiritual luxuries. We still need, however, a *Life of our Lord*, which without being either non-historical, on the one hand, or uncritical, or falsely philosophic on the other, before all else shall be cast in the mould of devotion—be ascetical in character. Based on the learned labours of the two Fathers under review, but carrying their results further developed into the domain of devotion, such a work would be perfect in theory, and in practice could hardly fail to prove of much service to Catholic ascetic literature. Endless materials, of course, exist for making the compilation—for a compilation the work ought to be, and must be. It requires only the scientific knowledge of the priest in theology, and the ascetic experience of the religious in devotion, to equip a competent student and scholar for the task. A layman can, perhaps, see and appreciate such a want better than the cleric, though he be powerless to meet it; and, perhaps, some divine may be persuaded to supply the want before either the need becomes intolerable, or, what is equally fatal, as barring the way against others, before some incompetent person rushes in where angels may well fear to tread. Two main requisites, it may be hazarded, for the compiler of such a work, after he has acquired knowledge of his materials, and has been granted a mastery over them, and perseverance to manipulate them, are presupposed. They are, first (if the reader will not be scandalized), a temper in touch with the spirit of the age, which will recognise such spirit, though not be ruled by it; and last (as the

reader will at once admit), discretion and common sense in the utilization of his materials. There is such a fault as overdoing even a work that is fundamentally good; and in the difficulty of deciding on quality, quantity, and precedence consists much of the difficulty inherent in a plan of selection from the thoughts of others.

In this relation it may not be amiss, as an illustration of the Passion, to draw renewed attention to a work of the late Father Faber, published posthumously, which, though well known to scholars, has not, it is believed, secured amongst general readers the wide circulation in the world which has rightly been secured by other devotional works from the same fruitful and gifted source. Perhaps, the fragmentary and note-like form of its analytical contents may be one cause of this comparative absence of wide appreciation: for, if this obstacle be surmounted, a rich intellectual feast awaits even the fastidious. The work, however, includes an almost exhaustless mine of pious thought for the student, methodically arranged, under given headings, in mere outline, which will be filled with detail and colour, and tempered with light and shade, according to the will and capacity of the artistic reader. Such was the intention of the author; and, no doubt, the work has been much employed for a like purpose, for which in part it was originally conceived by Faber, for his own use—not only in private meditation, but as a suggestive help in the composition of sermons and lectures. However this may be, one portion of the *Notes on Doctrinal and Scriptural Subjects* is very apposite to the topic under consideration—the Passion of Jesus. The particular part to which reference is made, which is entitled “Calvary,” was composed six years before the death of the great Father of the London Oratory; and it was in the mind of that gifted ascetical writer to publish in the future a devotional treatise on the lines he had here traced, and from the materials he had here collected from various sources, elaborated, extended, beautified from his own fertile and luxuriant imagination. Before he could again teach others, even partially, some of the deeper and higher mysteries of the Passion story, it pleased God to call him hence to realize them himself in

their entirety. But his literary executors have acted judiciously in permitting others to benefit by the varied range and fulness of his knowledge, by the clear depths of his contemplation, by the felicity of his graphic illustrations, and by the sparkling flow of his rhythmical and poetical prose—though all be done, as is here done, in briefest analysis.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, it may be parenthetically said that Father Faber's representatives could hardly do a greater service to piety than by reproducing this portion of one of his books, in a cheap reprint, to aid the devotions of Lent. His *Notes*, then, in regard to the two other works under consideration, may be held to be complementary to both, as they are severally supplementary to each other. And, whilst many who know and value the *Notes* themselves, will excuse the repetition at this date, the few to whom they be not known will not object to a rapid superficial summary of the few pages which contain what in reality is an ascetic outline of the Passion events and their surroundings, together with certain devotional reflections which arise from their contemplation, during the last hours of the life of our Lord upon earth.

Father Faber's *Notes on the Passion* are contained in the second part of his first volume, under the heading of the "Sacred Humanity of Jesus." They consist of three subdivisions, of which the first is devoted to the Passion itself; the second is filled by a fragment of a fuller statement of its historical, doctrinal, and mystical character; and the last

<sup>1</sup> Lest this estimate be considered over-partial from the pen of a Brother of the Little Oratory, in London, here are three sentences culled from a single chapter, the eleventh, of this skeleton analysis:—(1) i. 7: "The hearts of the saints, like sea-shells, murmur in the Passion ever more." (2) iii. 3: "Holy Week, a sort of universal retreat for the whole world; one use of its functions is to make it unlike all other times." (3) vii. 3: "The mysterious way in which it (the Passion) works in soul and body, like plants and flowers, shaping, colouring, and scenting themselves by hidden chemistry." When one remembers that these three passages occur in a mere catalogue of hints for meditation, a form which in other writers is apt to degenerate into perfumetory dryness, not in a finished work of devotion—the beauty of thought which characterizes the first; the happily wrought phrase of the second, which has a tendency to adhere where it touches; and the power of popularizing and applying the facts of nature to the truths of grace—one of the Father's peculiar gifts—in the last the language of the text is, perhaps, justified.

includes meditations in outline on a crucifix. The first part and the last, taken together, go far to exhaust one side of the subject in detail—if, indeed, meditations on the Passion be capable of any approximation to such treatment by the intellect of man. The central portion is a beautiful and choice gem from the Father's writings, which seems accidentally to have fallen from its proper place elsewhere, and to have been cherished as the only memorial of a lost devotional composition by a talented literary artist. Attention may here conveniently be drawn to the earlier division only of the analysis. It fills about sixty pages, and is divided into twelve parts. Together, these parts form a "Sketch of a proposed treatise," and they are entitled—1, The Passion; 2, Its Excess; 3, Bodily Pains; 4, Mental Sufferings; 5, The Shame of the Cross; 6, Outward Demeanour and Inward Disposition; 7, Solitariness; 8, The Circle of Evil; 9, Divinity in the Passion; 10, Its Spectators; 11, Shadows of Calvary; 12, The Abyss. Those who are but superficially acquainted with the works of the Oratorian Father may without much effort conceive the depth, the breadth, the largeness and littleness, the loyal adhesion to the letter, and the lofty soaring of spirit, which must characterize even a skeleton commentary on such a topic from such a hand. But no ordinary imagination will readily realize the actual without visual evidence. These few pages must be read on one's knees, in the sacred Presence before the Altar, in order to be thoroughly appreciated. The outlined meditations apparently follow no law; if there be a rule, the scaffolding, so to say, is skilfully hidden: but each portion is subdivided, at greater or lesser length, according to the requirements of its topic, or to the inspirations with which the writer was favoured. They ascend in the scale of asceticism, from a discussion of the lowliest and most obvious events and facts of the Passion, its human agencies and human results, to the divinest contemplation of the Sufferer, and the relations which subsist between His sufferings and the Sacred Humanity on the one side, and ourselves, the humanity which needs sanctifying and obtains sanctification, on the other. For instance, the outward history of the

Passion is sketched, its various localities are indicated, and the enforced journeyings of the Divine Victim from the one to the other, and both in their sevenfold order, are noted in consecutive sections: and the several trials of Jesus, five in number, the instruments of His torments, numbering seven, and how His five human senses were individually outraged are indicated in others; and again, His bodily pains and their kinds, and how they afflicted His sacred frame, are depicted in further subdivisions. Rising in dignity above this more or less earthly aspect of Christ's Passion woes, Father Faber treats of the mystical character of His sufferings in the first section: our Divine Master's mental agonies, generally and in detail, are pictured in the fourth: the shame of the Son of Man, and the indignities which He was pleased patiently to accept, and the mystery of what shame was in His soul, is dwelt on in the fifth. The Solitariness of Jesus, and the Circle of Evil, are two striking and powerfully written sections. Of the first, these few words form the introductory thoughts: "In the vastness and crowdedness of creation, there is something overwhelming in the Unity of God. The Trinity seems to save the solitude of the Unity. So also in the haunted darkness and wild clamour of the Passion, it is terrible to think of the loneliness of Jesus, the one Mediator between God and Man." Of the second section above named, the following are the headings of the subdivisions:—"The presence and overshadowing of evil;" "The representative wickedness of all ages gathered round Him;" "The Creator's visit to His creatures, and the phenomenon considered"—ending with the words, "Has not evil won the battle; and is there one hope left of triumph for Eternal Love?" The relation of the divinity of Christ to all the sufferings of His last hours on earth, what it conferred, and what it withheld from the sacred Victim: and what relation these awful truths and facts bear to ourselves in the Passion, is limned in the ninth. The chapter called the "Shadows of Calvary" indicates how the Passion lives on in the Catholic Church, and is still, even in the nineteenth century, a human attraction; and how the passion influences the active life in the world, and the contemplative life without the world: and

how it works inward and outward similitude, with a conclusion drawn by the author himself, fills another chapter. And the Abyss—containing the Last Seven Words, when “death is drawing nigh,” and when “death lays hands upon” the Lord of Life, with “thoughts which overwhelm the individual soul, and the seven descents of the soul in the deeps of the passion”—concludes this exhaustive, and in view of its contracted limits, this masterly treatise in outline.

ORBY SHIPLEY.

THE MOST REV. JAMES BUTLER, D.D.,

ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL, 1774-1791.—II.

THE declaration of 1774 was intended, as I have said,<sup>1</sup> to open the way to important relaxations of the oppressive penal code. The first of these was the Act of 1778, giving Catholics some security in the acquisition and enjoyment of landed property. The Act gave much, but perhaps was more valuable for what it promised. The preamble of it expressed a hope “that all denominations should enjoy the blessings of our free Constitution”—a distinct encouragement to Catholics to persevere in their demands. Neither the right conceded, nor the encouragement offered, excited any noticeable dissatisfaction in the country.

Inspired by their success, and full of hope for the future, Dr. Butler and the leading Catholics were eager to push forward and continue their progress. But they found it very difficult to rouse the general body of the people, and interest them in their efforts. To political action their people were complete strangers, and it made demands upon them which they were not quite alive to the need of satisfying.

“We have been trying [wrote Lord Kenmare], to spirit up the body to some exertions, which have been strongly recommended to us by some of the leaders here as well as in England.

<sup>1</sup> See I. E. RECORD (April, 1892), vol. xiii., page 302.

The indifference of the major part of our people is inconceivable ; it is scarce possible to bring any number of them together ; the subscriptions they entered into about the time of passing our bill, but a few have paid : and we can scarce prevail on those employed in the collection to apply to the parties to fulfil their promises. In this state of things I moved in the committee that application should be made to the chiefs of the clergy to have a yearly subscription and collection made from the wealthier class in every parish of the kingdom."

As the number of parishes was two thousand, he adds, he hoped to raise so many guineas yearly. This was in December, 1778, and we have accounts of such collections being made by Dr. Butler in his diocese. What he was doing personally, a letter, written by his friend, Dr. Egan, Bishop of Waterford, that same month, tells us :—

"The Archbishop was very earnest with me to accompany him to Dublin; but, besides that I imagined that in the ferment which Parliament must have been in on its first assembling, little attention could be paid to our affairs, I was afraid of the air of the city during the present gloomy season. Dr. Butler was not idle; he tells me his journey was not fruitless: that he visited all the great men in town—the Speaker, the Attorney-General, &c., and in them all he found dispositions favourable to befriend and relieve us: he adds that the heads of a bill for the repeal of all the penal laws against us, except such as disqualify our people from holding offices under the Crown, and voting at elections, were under consideration. And proposing by the Attorney-General, the Recorder, Mr. Burch, and Mr. Yelverton, and were to be introduced after Christmas."

But bills were not to be drawn up and carried through for nothing: and in such an age it is not surprising that both in Dublin and in London money was required for many purposes. What must surprise us is the difficulty of obtaining it, considering all we are told about the wealth of Catholic merchants and traders at the time, and the sums they advanced unasked to equip and maintain the volunteers.

"I am sorry to acquaint you [wrote Lord Kenmare, in December, 1779], that several of our principal gentry have not paid their last year's subscriptions: and several of our chief traders nothing, or next to nothing. Slavery and oppression have debased and

crushed their spirits ; and were it not compassion for the poorer classes and the farming portion of society, one would scarce regret to leave them in their thralldom."

Dr. Butler and his friends had not only this domestic difficulty to face, they had also to encounter the plottings of enemies, who were insidiously attempting to enslave the Church they had been unable to destroy. With this view, some efforts had been made in 1778 to introduce a *recto* clause into the Relief Act of that year. Specious pretexts were advanced to show its necessity. It was well known that the Stuarts had been granted, and had constantly exercised, the right of nominating Irish bishops. It was not known that that right had been withdrawn ; indeed it was supposed that Dr. Troy's appointment was a very recent case of its exercise. Attention, too, was directed to the very frequent appointment of regulars to Irish sees. These, in the days of persecution, had been invariably honoured by the special hatred of the persecutors, and when a modified toleration was extended to the secular clergy in 1704, they had been carefully excluded. They were naturally suspected of special disaffection, a suspicion which many circumstances seemed to confirm, and notably their late opposition to the test. Many, too, noticed their complete subjection to foreign superiors at a time when England had hardly a friend on the Continent.

When the effort to introduce the *recto* clause failed, the regulars were attacked directly ; and a Bill was prepared for introduction into the House, extending toleration to existing members of religious orders, but prohibiting any succession of them under the severest penalties, except as directly subject to the Irish bishops. The Friars were in the greatest alarm, and sought every means of defence. At Father Arthur O'Leary's suggestion, a memorial in their favour was drawn up, to be signed by the bishops and leading Catholics. Its object was to meet some whispers which were going round, that the proposed measure had the approval of many Catholics, and even of many bishops ; and there were enemies who did not fail to accuse Dr. Butler of such treachery. It was a pure calumny, which the following

letter from Father O'Leary to the Bishop of Meath, in April, 1780, abundantly disproves:—

“ I had the honour of a conference with Dr. Butler, of Cashel, in his passage through this town. I informed him that the false report of the religious having aspersed the Munster bishops at Rome, had been contradicted by an authentic letter from that city, signed by the agents of the secular and regular clergy. Your lordships must have seen a copy of it before now. If not, it shall be imparted to you. His Grace told me, in producing the certificate [the memorial mentioned], that he would consult his provincial bishops, who, he was sure, would sign. . . . He declared to me that when application was made to him and Dr. Egan, relative to the matter, by a leading member, both pleaded our cause. I received this instant an obliging letter from him, dated at Thurles, with his signature to the certificate, and a promise of the signatures of the provincial bishops. It makes me doubly happy in having his protection, on the one hand, and having an opportunity of removing my suspicions, on the other: though, in fact, my opinion of him was such that he was not the principal person I ever suspected of entering into a shameful confederacy with a party averse to our religion against its ministers, if a confederacy of the kind has ever been in agitation.”

There was certainly none that Dr. Butler and the Munster bishops were concerned in, and his cordial support and great influence in the House did much to defeat the plot against them. He was indeed opposed to their being at that time so frequently promoted to high dignities in Ireland. He knew the suspicions such promotions tended to keep alive in the minds even of many friendly and well-disposed Protestants, and he saw no sufficient reason to provoke them. A letter to Dr. Plunkett, in 1781, explains his position:—

“ I wrote on my return from Dublin, both to the Nuncio and to the Protector, that it would be highly dangerous to name a friar to the coadjutorship of Armagh, and this from a conversation I had with the Speaker at Lucan, on my road to Garrisker, who, talking about Armagh, assured me that if a friar were appointed, he would not answer for the consequences, and advised me by all means to prevent it, and to mention his name on the occasion. I have accordingly done so in both those letters which I wrote from Garrisker; but this must be kept a secret between us. They will, I feel confident, have effect. The Court of Rome will not be so imprudent as to indispose our rulers against us, when all our hopes are alive in expectation of new favours.”

His opposition was tinged with no enmity against the regulars. "I have very great friendship for Dr. Troy," he wrote in 1786, when there was question of translating Dr. Troy to Dublin, "and am quite intimate with him; but I declare to your lordship, was he my brother, I would not vote for him where there was any danger of hurting religion, let him be otherwise ever so qualified." His one view was, that no private interest or advantage should stand in the way of his people's and his religion's freedom. Every record he has left behind him shows him to have been singularly upright in the means he employed to promote this object, but singularly steadfast in his pursuit of it.

The Relief Bill, to which I have already referred as in a state of preparation, was finally introduced into the Legislature in February, 1782. A letter from Dr. Butler, who was in Dublin to watch and help its progress, describes its main features, and tells of a new attempt at obtaining a power of *veto* :—

"Having come up to town to forward, as much as my weak influence could, the success of our bill, I waited from day to day to give you some satisfactory account of it. On yesterday (Feb. 20th), it was brought under debate, and, by a general agreement, it was simplified into four clauses : viz., liberty of property ; liberty of conscience ; liberty of marriage ; and liberty of arms for self-defence. The first only was discussed, though the House sat till three o'clock this morning. It passed by 145 to 56. The House manifested a liberality of sentiment quite unprecedented.

"The Archbishop of Cashel, the Primate, and the Speaker, are for having *the nomination to our vacant sees vested in the king*. When this was mentioned to me, I opposed it by every means, as tending to convert the collation of our dignities into downright electioneering, which would certainly be the case ; and, by putting us on the same footing with the bishops of the Established Church, deprive us of our people's confidence, and thereby of that influence over them the exercise of which has, at various times, been so valuable, not only to morality and religion, but also to loyalty and allegiance."

"I proposed a plan, which, I am satisfied, would go as far as any measure could to ensure the fidelity and loyalty of those who were about to be promoted to dignity in our Church, and at the same time make no such change in the discipline of it as would be dangerous ; it was, that the future bishops should be chosen by the clergy of the vacant see, by the prelates of the province

and the metropolitan; that no one should be chosen, except such as had taken, or would take, the test oath; and that all recommendations from foreign lay powers should be studiously disregarded. This plan I submit to the approbation of the bishops of the province.

"I have been here now five weeks, *battant le pavé tous les jours*. Mr. Grattan, whom I frequently see, is all and all with us; as are the Provost, Attorney-General, Messrs. Yelverton, Hussey Burgh, Ogle, Gardiner, Dillon, Holmes, young Sir William Osborne, Lord Kingsborough, John Butler of Kilkenny, Sir Boyle Roche (in capital letters), Mr. Bushe, the Duke of Leinster, Connolly, Forbes, and others. The Friars, I am afraid, will be severely treated."

The following letter from Lord Kenmare gives further details of the measure, and lets in some curious side-lights on the manners of the House. It is dated March 4th:—

"I waited to give you information on the subject which, I knew, lay closer than any other to your heart and mine—the repeal of our Popery laws. You have seen how Mr. Gardiner's first plan was defeated by a false and malic'us insinuation of Mr. Fitzgibbons, 'that it affected the titles under the Act of settlement;' which, however groundless, *electrified the House* (as the Attorney-General expressed it). On this, he was obliged to divide the bill into several clauses. That of holding property, with liberty of purchasing, passed in my presence with great liberality of sentiment, and experienced little opposition. The clause of religious toleration passed the Tuesday following, in much the same way; but when our enemies perceived we were advancing so rapidly, many of them *retired, and got quite drunk; and on their return in the House caused such riot and confusion, that an adjournment immediately took place.*"

He goes on to tell how opponents continued to wrangle, and the attractions of a new opera proved too much for the loyalty of their friends and caused another vexatious delay, but mentions that he had a promise from the Secretary that no recess should take place until the bill had passed. It must have been anxious waiting and watching for Dr. Butler; yet his letters show a buoyant, hopeful spirit throughout. But in April he is home again in Thurles, and writes to Dr. Plunkett:—

"The compliments you are so kind to pay to Dr. Egan's and to mine endeavours in Dublin, your lordship has an equal title to. You were with us in laying out our plan of action; and the

sanction of your approbation confirmed me in the opinion of the propriety of our resolves. I believe our bill will pass triumphant in the House of Lords. I long to see it all concluded. We are levying money here, pursuant to Lord Kenmare's and Sir Patrick Bellew's request, in order to make presents to Councillor Macnamara and other friends in London. What are you doing in Meath? The omission of the clause hurtful to the Friars gives me pleasure, and I hope will soothe them. When do you begin your visitation? I shall open mine in the middle of May. We must regulate our motions so as to meet on the confines of our respective districts. All friends here desire to be most kindly remembered to you."

Though Dr. Butler was anxious for the success of the measure, he was far from satisfied with it, and he feared that, if rigorously construed, it "would leave us no exercise of power or jurisdiction except in our places of worship. All mandates, pastoral letters, collations of parishes, dispensations, &c., would become penal. Our visitations, so useful to the peace of the country, would be unlawful; the names of Catholic bishops and priests forbidden." In conversations with his Protestant friends he made it his object to promote a more liberal interpretation of these clauses, and did so with very decided success. He was himself the first to test and use the freedom granted, and in the October of that year held a three days' synod at Thurles with all due solemnity.<sup>1</sup>

I have said so much about Dr. Butler's anxiety to conciliate Government and the ruling classes, that some may have begun to think him either extremely timid, or perhaps the parent of that species, *Castle Bishop*, which in years past some authorities have declared to be not unknown in this country. There could be no greater mistake. He was a persistent advocate of agitation. He never awaited the convenience of Government to press Catholic claims upon its attention; when it was most anxious to forget them, he was most active in urging them. Even in those days when bold speaking required so much courage, he knew how to use it on occasion. I have told of his firm stand against a *reto*; had his life been prolonged we should never have had a controversy upon the subject. At other times he was

<sup>1</sup> Statutes enacted. See Reuchan's *Collections*, page 173.

equally unbending. The disputes over the Mutiny Act made desertions very frequent in 1780 and 1781, and made it practically impossible for Government to prevent or punish the offence. In his perplexity the Lord Lieutenant tried to engage the help of the Catholic bishops to persuade the deserters to return. Their Relief Bill was about to be introduced, and they might be presumed obsequious. Dr. Butler sent him back word that it was impossible he could assist him. He could not consistently with his religious principles and a proper care of his people advise them to the effect demanded. But, he added, repeal the laws that deny them the free exercise of their religion, and allow in every regiment a Catholic priest to attend the Catholic soldiers, then we will all animate them to serve their king and country.

Where the honour of his religion was concerned, he never looked to consequences, and he had the highest idea of the honour due to it. When he came home to Ireland he found that religion barely connived at, its essential obligations alone enforced, its liturgy carried out almost in secret, and shorn of every dignity and ornament. This, he thought, was not as it should be. Legal toleration came only in 1782, but before that date he had made an effective change in his diocese. His practice on his visitations is worth giving, as we have it, in his own words, in answer to an inquiry about it by Dr. Plunkett:—

“ On my coming to the diocese, I sent a pastoral letter to all my parish priests, informing them of my intention to visit the diocese, and of the inquiries I’d make, and that I’d give everyone at least a week’s notice *beforehand* of my coming to his parish. I ordered them also to have a list of all scandalous sinners, such as drunkards, swearers, &c., and of all who had neglected their Easter Duty; and of all parents who neglected the instruction of their children, &c.

“ I announced to them that I’d confirm no children under seven, and none past seven who were not well instructed in the principal mysteries, the commandments, the seven sacraments, particularly confirmation and the disposition for a good confession, and who did not know the acts of Contrition, Faith, Hope, and Charity. I opened my visitation by the prayers recited in the Pontifical: was received at the door of each chapel by the pastor, with a cross in his hand, which I kissed, and the aspersory

with holy water; then the *Benedictus* was either said or sung, as in the Pontifical, with the prayers. After, being in rochet and camaille, the mitre on my head, I explained to the people the nature of my visitation, the graces and blessings it would impart to such as were prepared for it; and to dispose them for that purpose I exhorted them to profit by the presence of their Divine Saviour on the altar, during the time of the Mass, which was to be celebrated by their pastor; to beg of Him to touch their hearts, to make them see their past ingratitude, and to excite in them an ardent desire of profiting of this our visit. I then repeated aloud the Acts of Contrition, Faith, Hope, and Charity, and took occasion of unfolding to the people the nature of them, the obligation of frequently saying them, the indulgence granted to those who devoutly recited them, &c. After the Communion of the priest, before the Gospel of St. John, I gave the episcopal benediction; Mass over, I invited them all to join with me in praying for the dead, as prescribed in the Pontifical. This done, I sent out the children, and ordered the clergy to examine them, whilst I made inquiries of the parish priest about the state of the parish. The subject of my discourse to the people, after inveighing against the different abuses that I heard prevailed amongst them, was on the dispositions requisite for a good confession, the outlines of which I took from my catechism; this finished, I gave Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, which gave me an opportunity of speaking on the Real Presence; and I found it very necessary to do so, as Protestants often mix with our people in the chapel. This, done, I dismissed the grown-up people, recommending to them peace and obedience, and soliciting their prayers. I next called in the children, whom I examined myself, and gave confirmation to such as I found duly prepared, and who had been, of course, at confession. After a short discourse both before and after that ceremony I dismissed them, and then inquired about the ornaments, vestments, &c., of the chapel; heard such cases as could not be spoken of in public; interrogated if the midwives were instructed how to give baptism in case of necessity. I always caution the people not to be in a hurry to bury their dead, and against closing the mouths and nostrils of the dying as soon as they *seem* to expire. I sometimes visit but one station, sometimes both. This is merely a rough sketch of my order of visitation, written in a hurry. Let me know your thoughts on it."

His devotion to the Blessed Sacrament was specially fervent; he established a confraternity in its honour in his cathedral church; was most earnest in promoting frequent communion, and carried out the Corpus Christi ceremonies and procession with peculiar pomp. In his diocese, at the time, lived some of the most bigoted Protestants in Ireland.

Dr. Butler, in these matters, never considered them. His boldness, for a time, confounded them; but in 1780 informations were sworn against him. He was charged with bringing the clergy of the Established Church into contempt; of persecuting some perverts; "and that, by exacting protestations and all marks of humiliation from those of your own Church, on the most public occasions, the Established Church appeared in your diocese barely tolerated, while the Church of Rome assumed uncommon usurpations, in show as well as in substance; and that to carry this superiority to its full extent, you availed yourself of all your family influence." Such was the substance of the accusations, as brought under his notice by Scott, the Attorney-General, with friendly intention, indeed, but in a letter, which, while showing unusual respect for Dr. Butler and his family, was tinged with the petulance that has been styled the soul of his character, and "which gave his very civility the air of rudeness, and his acts of kindness all the effect of affronts."

These charges show us how much he had even then advanced his religion in honour and respect; and in so far as they implied this, he answered that it was his pride and glory to have done so by every influence he could use. "And is not this, sir, consulting the good of the State? For, as it is religion only that can give sanction to all human laws, the more subjects are taught to revere the dictates of the religion they profess, the more careful will they be to observe all the laws of the country they live in." But he was exciting no enmities and planning no persecutions—these miserable perverts, it was beneath him to have even missed from his flock; to promote peace and harmony has been his constant object. If Government will listen to such illiberal and contemptible accusers, and still suspect him, he is ready and anxious to meet them in public trial. His challenge was not accepted, and no further charges were ever made against him.

His general relations with the Protestants of his diocese were most friendly, and he mentions in his letters, with pardonable pride, the consideration with which the Protestant

Archbishop of Cashel, a most exclusive and arrogant man, treated him, inviting him, he says, to dine and stop at his house at a time when he would admit none of the county gentry to see him. His friendship with that prelate enabled him to elude the clauses of the Act of 1782 regarding education, which required the licence of the Protestant ordinary for every school opened in the diocese. Dr. Agar assured him he would license no Catholic school or teacher without his approbation. And it was with his help, and that of the Speaker, Mr. Pery, that Dr. Butler was able to get an Act passed through the Legislature, merely to remove some Catholic scruples regarding interest. Where no special titles were known to exist, Catholics had a difficulty about accepting any interest for a loan. Dr. Butler considered that in a country in which commerce is the very life of the State, the State was deeply interested in promoting the circulation of money, and might, for that end, authorize the acceptance of a small premium on loans, by way of reward, to those who placed their money at the public service. As the existing laws were merely prohibitive of an excessive interest, he desired to have a positive authority conceded. The following letter from Dr. Agar shows how he obtained it:—

“In order to remove the doubts and scruples which you mention, a bill was prepared, which I presented to the House of Lords a few days since, and of which I now enclose a copy. It has passed this day the House of Lords, and is now before the Commons, where, I believe, it will not be altered. This bill will, I hope, answer all your wishes and expectations; it was drawn expressly for the purpose, and seems to the Speaker and me to correspond correctly with the ideas contained in your letter. It will make me happy to hear that it meets your wishes. I have the pleasure to inform you that I had the honour of dining with your brother and Mrs. Butler yesterday, and that they are in good health. Mrs. Agar desires me to present her best respects to you with those of, Sir, your very faithful and humble servant.”

Many other persons in high position in Dublin he counted among his friends, and in his great influence some even of his episcopal brethren found their chief protection against the insolence and hatred of would-be persecutors. It was not merely to his family position he owed the consideration

he received: his personal character was of the highest and most attractive. "This archbishop," wrote one, "I perfectly recollect at my father's, in his visitation of the archdiocese: a very neat, elegant little man in person and manners. No prelate was ever more revered and beloved."

It would have been easy for him to improve his people's condition, if they had been orderly and united. That they were neither was not, perhaps, entirely their own fault. All through that century the greater part of the Irish people stood on the very verge of famine: the least aggravation left them absolutely without resource. Their sufferings drove them into secret and lawless combinations, and in the decade preceding Dr. Butler's return to Ireland, between frenzied Whiteboys and scared magistrates, the peaceful inhabitants of Kilkenny and Tipperary passed through a real reign of terror. Soon after his return disturbances broke out anew in Kilkenny, and he had almost personal experience of their violence. His brother, Robert, incurred the enmity of the Whiteboys, because he had denounced and opposed them, and they openly threatened to attack and destroy his house at Ballyragget. Robert Butler was absent in Dublin: but his tenants, encouraged by the parish priest, established themselves in garrison in the house. They gave the assailants a warm welcome: and, after a sharp fight, chased them away with heavy loss in killed and wounded. In the end of the same year, the organization spreading into his own diocese, he published a solemn excommunication on all joining or assisting it. Much mystery hung round the body. Its members, of course, were Catholics—a fact on which the bigots put their own meaning—its leaders, evidently men of education and talent, were soon known to be Protestants. Memories of the reign of terror ten years before rose up in Dr. Butler's mind, and he remembered how even the highest dignitaries owed their safety alone to the firmness of the Government in withstanding the panic and rejecting tainted evidence. No wonder he was anxious to avoid all needless suspicions, and made some bitter comments on some of those who opposed the test: contrasting, for instance, in one of his Roman letters the position of his Grace of Dublin in the

safety and security of the metropolis with that of the bishops of Munster living in the midst of furious rioters, and under suspicious and despotic magistrates.

The troubles of 1775 subsided; but it was only a lull in the storm; they began again in 1786, and now the chief grievance was not rent, but tithes. The Irish tithe system was essentially unjust; managed as it was, it became a public nuisance and disgrace. When the evil had grown intolerable, the Whiteboys took it in hands. Their methods were rough, but decidedly effective. They specified the rates of tithe allowable, and swore every man in the country under fearful penalties against paying more. They waged war against tithe-farmers and proctors, and drew a rigid boycott around the crops which were seized and canted. Grievous personal violence was not uncommon, and in many cases the parsons themselves were attacked, and service in their churches prevented.

The Protestant clergy were in consternation, all the more as they met with very scant sympathy. They knew perfectly well that Protestants, some magistrates even, were leaders in the revolt, and were secretly urging and directing the Whiteboys, whom they had entirely seduced from the influence of the Catholic clergy. The outrages had certainly no religious origin or character, but they were cunningly made to assume it. Tithes were the keystone of the arch; they were attacked in order to bring toppling down the whole edifice of Protestant supremacy, religious and political. Pamphlets urging this view were poured out upon the public, and the foremost pamphleteer was Dr. Woodward, Protestant Bishop of Cloyne. A tolerant and friendly man gone mad, no calumny was beneath him. He did not attack individuals; indeed, he allowed that men were sometimes better than their tenets, and affected the profoundest astonishment when Dr. Butler wrote to him complaining of his injustice towards the Catholic prelates generally, and himself in particular. But Catholic tenets and principles! Nothing could be more pernicious or dangerous to society. All the old stories were retold, and the *Hibernia Dominicana* was ransacked for proofs of Catholic deceit and duplicity.

The country was in a ferment, and there were grave suspicions that the Government had a hand in the mischief. Mr. Orde, indeed, the Chief Secretary, assured Dr. Butler they did not hold Catholics accountable for the trouble; but some letters of his to England, lately published,<sup>1</sup> throw doubt on his sincerity. Dr. Butler was specially pained to see all he had done for the guidance of Protestant opinion utterly futile, or threatened with destruction. The public was being roused against them, violent laws were in agitation, principally against the chapels, as very hot-beds of sedition.

Lord Kenmare applied to him for an answer to Dr. Woodward's charges, and Dr. Butler addressed him a letter to be used privately in Dublin, and shown to members of the Government, or others who might wish to see it. Such was its effect, that Lord Kenmare urged its publication, which the Archbishop permitted. It was a short but decisive answer to all the accusations. It related their action in reference to the test and the *Hibernia Dominicana*, as proofs of their anxiety for peace and order—action in which the head of their Church had found nothing to blame—and it referred to documentary evidence in his possession of all he advances.

An interview was at once arranged between Dr. Butler and the Chief Secretary and Secretary of State. To these he submitted the documents cited; and, with the happiest effect, he obtained an immediate promise that some of the hardest measures proposed would be abandoned. "I really believe," he wrote, "that Woodward's attack on us will be a *felix culpa*. We may never have such an opportunity again to show our real principles. Let us not miss it." The Chief Secretary suggested the publication of the documents, which Dr. Butler, "on fire about this business," at once undertook. "I never desired more," he said, "to be a Bossuet." In a few weeks his *Justification* appeared. In it he not only enlarged on the subject of his letter, and gave the promised documents, but badly carried the war into the enemy's

country. Not Catholic principles, he said, but clerical extortion, had caused the tithe-war; and it would have been only justice in Dr. Woodward to remember that Catholic priests, and bishops also, trying to restrain the rioters, had suffered insult and outrage. Nor did the Catholic bishops, like the Bishop of Cloyne, retreating to a place of safety, pour out condemnation on the miserable people alone, ignoring their injuries, defending their oppressors and reviving buried enmities. On the contrary, at a meeting in Cork, they made the strictest inquiry into the abuses, reprov'd and removed any too exacting pastors, and did everything in their power to restore tranquillity. In that they but did their duty; nor did they fill the country with complaints when that duty exposed them to personal indignities. The whole pamphlet is a complete vindication of their teaching and conduct, and the bold suggestion runs through it that Dr. Woodward and his friends might do better in imitating the one and the other than in blowing upon the expiring embers of bigotry and intolerance. Of course he was attacked; but he had declared, with dignity, that he was at issue with Dr. Woodward alone, and any inferior authority was beneath his notice. Nothing is more remarkable than the respect with which the bitterest of his opponents treated him; they are forced to separate the man from his principles. Such a warfare was suicidal, and the attack became, indeed, a *felix culpa*.

From this forward till his death our information regarding Dr. Butler is more meagre. Catholic affairs were not in a good condition. Government was not so well disposed towards them, and their friends in opposition were divided on Catholic as well as on other questions. There was little therefore for him to do, and so we hear little about him. Of his private life, our details all through are the merest glimpses; but they show him zealously performing at home all the duties of a missionary priest, and we have many allusions to the long hours he spent in the confessional. We have frequent mention of visits contemplated or paid him by his episcopal brethren, and he is himself so constantly planning and making journeys to Dublin, Cork,

Limerick, and other places, that we might think him restless for such times if they were not generally on official or other important business.

Of his health and strength he was always prodigal, even careless; and increasing public and private labours wore out at last what one of his friends calls "the sterling metal of his frame, which defied both wind and weather." And he had to bear a great sorrow when one of his suffragans, his own relative, shamefully abandoned his diocese and religion. To a heart so affectionate and zealous the shock must have been bitter when the unhappy sinner remained obstinate and hardened in spite of every charitable device and effort. It is after this that we begin to find fatigue and illness mentioned in his letters.

Yet these last years were as full of work as the others, nor could any entreaties of his friends or his clergy prevail on him to take the needed rest. He even began to perform the visitation of his diocese in winter, when, he says, "the people can better attend, and one does not perceive oneself so exhausted from preaching." The end might be anticipated. Returning from Dublin in February, 1891, he was taken seriously ill at his brother's house in Ballyragget; and though he recovered sufficiently to reach Thurles, it was the beginning of the end. "I had some hopes," wrote one of his priests, "of being able to tell your Lordship that his Grace of Cashel, your dear friend, was in a fair way of recovery; but I could no longer delay from imparting to your Lordship the melancholy news that in a few days he will be no more." Six days later, on the 29th July, he wrote to announce his death.

The following estimate of him by a contemporary<sup>1</sup> will close my sketch:—

"Incessant and unwearied in the care of the trust committed to him, he was "a sleepless sentinel in Israel." The only hours which he abstracted from the duties of his episcopacy were those which he gave to the sanctification of his own life, in the practices of that fervent piety and saintly devotion, which, in a peculiar

<sup>1</sup> Fr. England, in his *Life of O'Leary*.

manner, marked his character. No man of his day in Ireland was more respected by every class of persons than he was. His friendship was courted by the distinguished members of every successive administration of the government of the country, and the dignitaries of the Established Church paid to him, in public and in private, that tribute of admiration and respect, which the sterling and unassuming virtue of his life and principles uniformly inspired. In the French Court his name was not unknown; and a marked regard was paid to his recommendations in the capital of the Christian world. As a prelate, Dr. Butler was the centre round which, at various distances, the bishops of the province moved; and their attachment to him was, in every instance, more the spontaneous tribute and respect for the virtues which adorned his character, than the measured and reluctant deference challenged by ecclesiastical authority. He entered into all their various feelings, whether of domestic afflictions or public suffering; his counsel, his friendship, and his influence belonged to them; and he appeared to feel that, as he advanced their respectability, comfort and security, he only added to his own personal pleasures and enjoyment. It can excite, therefore, little surprise that the premature death of such a man should be lamented with extreme sorrow by those to whom he was thus united in the bonds of valuable and interesting friendship; and that the letters which passed between them, after their good Archbishop was separated from them, should breathe sincere and melancholy regret."

His short life was fuller than most long ones, and if his death appeared to them premature and his loss irreparable, we can judge more truly seeing how it spared him the pain of those approaching years of strife and disaster, and the dejection and despair of disappointed hopes.

T. R. POWER.

---

## THE IRISH DIFFICULTY; SHALL AND WILL.

## IV.—INTERROGATIVE FORMS.

## § 1. FIRST PERSON.

**W**HEN asking a question, in the First Person, we must always use *SHALL*, never *WILL*: we must say *SHALL I*, *SHALL WE*; not *WILL I*, *WILL WE*. The reason is evident. In the direct statement, *I WILL* expresses my present will with respect to the future event; hence to say *WILL I*, would be to inquire from others about the present state of my own will. In like manner, we must say *SHOULD I*, *SHOULD WE*, and not *WOULD I*, *WOULD WE*.

This rule is so simple and so universal that it needs but little illustration: I append, therefore, only a few examples.

Where *shall* we find language innocent enough, how *shall* we make the spotless purity of our intentions evident enough, to enable us to say to the political Englishman that the British Constitution itself, which, seen from the practical side, looks such a magnificent organ of progress and virtue, seen from the speculative side sometimes looks a colossal machine for the manufacture of Philistines.

MATTHEW ARNOLD.

Scarcely among the packed scoundrels of Newgate could men be found for such a work; and *shall* we believe it of men like these?

FROUDE.

"*Shall* I pour your honour out a glass of sack to your pipe?"  
"Do, Trim," said my uncle Toby.

STERNE.

*Shall* I tell you, why I live so much in society—amongst my friends as you call them?

MALLOCK.

What *should* we do if Mr. Hoggins had been appointed Physician-in-ordinary to the Royal family?

MRS. GASKELL.

"*Should* I have to hand over?" said Noah, slapping his breeches pocket. "It couldn't possibly be done without," replied Fagin, in a most decided manner.

CHARLES DICKENS.

In Ireland, where WILL is treated simply as the ordinary auxiliary for the future tense, this rule, as we might expect, is almost universally violated by the less educated classes. When you take a cab in Dublin, and have arrived at your destination, the cabman comes to the door of the cab, and says very politely, "*Will* I knock, your honour?" But this usage is not entirely confined to the uneducated. Coming out from an concert, I heard a gentleman in evening dress say to his friend, "What train *will* we catch?" Here are a couple of typical illustrations, taken from Carleton's *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*.

Paddy, what on the livin' earth *will* we do, at all at all? Why we'll never be able to manage it.

C. T. S. i. 152.

Well aroon, here's fifteen pince for you, that we—*will* I tell him how we got it?

C. T. S. ii. 305.

There are one or two exceptions, or apparent exceptions, to this rule, which deserve a passing notice. If I say to a boy, "Will you have some bread and jam?" he may answer, "*Will* I have some bread and jam! Of course I will." Here, however, the boy is not really asking a question; he is only echoing the question put to him. A good example of this occurs in *Oliver Twist*; and it is interesting to observe that Dickens does not append a note of interrogation, but a note of admiration, showing that he did not regard the phrase as a question:—

"I should have such strength," muttered the robber, poising his brawny arm, "that I could smash your head, as if a loaded waggon had gone over it."

"You would?"

"Would I!" said the housebreaker. "Try me."

An expression used by Thackeray, in *The Newcomes*, looks more like a real exception to the rule. "We were as glad to get out of Newcome as out of a prison. . . *Would* we be lords of such a place under the penalty of living in it? We agreed that the little angle of earth called Fair Oaks was dearer to us than the clumsy Newcome pile of Tudor masonry." I would say, however, that WOULD is not used

in this passage, as an auxiliary, but as an independent verb. The meaning is: the question presented itself to us, Should we be willing to be the lords of such a place?

In like manner, a person musing with himself might say, *Would* I take vengeance on my enemy, even if I could? Here he is not asking another about the state of his own mind, but he is trying to ascertain, by reflection, what would be the state of his mind, in a certain contingency: Would it be my wish to take vengeance?

## § 2. SECOND PERSON.

SHALL YOU? is an inquiry about a future event, considered simply *as* a future event: *Shall* you be at the concert to-morrow? *Shall* you wear your diamonds at the ball? *Shall* you be angry if I do not come back to-night? The same principle applies to the conditional form, SHOULD YOU? Thus, for example: *Should* you like to be introduced to my friend? *Should* you be surprised to hear that your brother is gone to America?

WILL YOU? has two meanings. First, it is an inquiry as to the present will of the person addressed: *Will* you go up for your examinations this summer? *Will* you stay in Paris on your way to Rome? When the future event depends on the will of the person addressed, it seems optional to say either WILL YOU? or SHALL YOU? according as we wish to inquire about the present will of the speaker, or to inquire simply about the future event. Thus, in the examples just given, it would be quite correct to say: *Shall* you go up for your examinations this summer? *Shall* you stay in Paris on your way to Rome? The conditional form, WOULD YOU? naturally follows the same principle as the absolute form, WILL YOU?

The second use of WILL YOU? is to convey an invitation or a request: *Will* you come and dine with me to-day? *Will* you lend me your horse to ride? *Would* you be good enough to oblige me with a five-pound note? It is important to observe that SHALL YOU? can never be used when we wish to make a request, or to give an invitation: it implies that we wish to inquire simply about the future event.

WILL YOU? on the other hand, is ambiguous, and its meaning must be determined according to circumstances: *Will* you take lessons in music? may be an invitation to take lessons, or it may be only an inquiry as to the present will of the person addressed.

In Ireland, SHALL YOU? and SHOULD YOU? are hardly ever heard, even amongst persons of good education. I have thought it well, therefore, in the extracts I have selected, chiefly to illustrate the use of these forms. But I will begin with a few examples of WILL YOU? and WOULD YOU?

“ *Will* you let me ride on your horse to-day?” said Ben.

GEORGE ELIOT.

*Will* you promise me that you will have my secret strictly kept?

CHARLES DICKENS.

*Will* you return to this gang of robbers, and to this man, when a word can save you? What fascination is it can take you back, and make you cling to wickedness and misery?

CHARLES DICKENS.

*Will* you take yourself off, before I do you a mischief?

CHARLES DICKENS.

“ You’ll keep a quiet tongue in your head; *will* you?” said Monks, with a threatening look.

CHARLES DICKENS.

*Wilt* thou have this woman to be thy wedded wife?

MARRIAGE SERVICE.

*Wilt* not thou also accept this answer for what it is, an answer of grace?

ARCHBISHOP TRENCH.

Go down to him, *will* you be so kind, sir? and tell him I am sorry, and ask his pardon.

THACKERAY.

Oh! say, *wilt* thou weep when they darken the fame  
Of a life that for thee was resigned?

MOORE.

When you are a great man, *will* you forget us, Mr. Warrington?

THACKERAY.

*Would* you have this history compete with yonder book?

THACKERAY.

Would you ask what the husband's feelings were, as he looked at that sweet love, that sublime tenderness, that pure saint blessing his life?

THACKERAY.

"How *would* you test it?" said Mr. Stockton, with a slight curl of the lip.

MALLOCK.

"You'd like to be able to make pocket-handkerchiefs as easy as Charley Bates, *wouldn't* you, my dear?" said the Jew.

CHARLES DICKENS.

"*Shall* you wear these jewels in company?" said Celia, who was watching her with real curiosity as to what she would do.

GEORGE ELIOT.

You talk unreasonably. *Shall* you come down in the world for want of this letter about your son?

GEORGE ELIOT.

When *shall* you be at Cambridge?

BYRON.

*Shall* you ride when you come down?

SYDNEY SMITH.

"And when *shall* you come back again?" he said, with a bitter edge on his accent.

GEORGE ELIOT.

"What line *shall* you take, then?" said Mr. Chichely, the coroner.

GEORGE ELIOT.

"What *shall* you do in life?" said Dorothea, timidly. "Have your intentions remained just the same as when we said good-bye before."

GEORGE ELIOT.

"Well, you know, he may turn out a Byron, a Chatterton, a Churchill—that sort of thing there's no telling," said Mr. Brooke. "*Shall* you let him go to Italy, or wherever else he wants to go?"

GEORGE ELIOT.

"He has gone on with the cottages, Dodo. He will tell you about them when he comes. *Shall* you be glad to see him?" "Of course I shall. How can you ask me?"

GEORGE ELIOT.

*Shall* you see Mary to-day?

GEORGE ELIOT.

*Should* you call it bad news to be told that you were to live at Stone Court ?

GEORGE ELIOT.

"I hate grammar. What's the use of it?" "To teach you to speak and write correctly, so that you can be understood," said Mrs. Garth, with severe precision. *Should* you like to speak as old Job does ?

GEORGE ELIOT.

"*Should* you like eggs, sir?" "Eggs, no ! Bring me a grilled bone."

GEORGE ELIOT.

Little Georgy went up and looked at the Shetland pony. "*Should* you like to have a ride?" said Rawdon.

THACKERAY.

*Should'st* thou like to be a little soldier, Miley ?

THACKERAY.

"What *shall* you do now, Mary?" "Take another situation, of course, as soon as I can get one."

GEORGE ELIOT.

How *should* you like to grow up a clever man and write books, eh ?

CHARLES DICKENS.

Where *should* you think Bill was now, my dear ?

CHARLES DICKENS.

I should say she ought to take drying medicines, *shouldn't* you ?

GEORGE ELIOT.

A point of some uncertainty arises with respect to the use of WILL YOU ? and WOULD YOU ? in reference to an event which is not dependent on the will of the person addressed. Can we say, for instance, How old *will* you be on your next birthday ? *Would* you be afraid if you were left alone in the dark ? This is a question which seems not to be quite settled. If we were to argue from the use of SHALL and WILL in direct statement, I think we should be inclined to reject such forms as indefensible. But they seem, nevertheless, to receive some sanction from the usage of good writers. Take, for example, the following passage from George Eliot :—

"What *would* you think of me if I came down two hours after everyone else, and ordered grilled bone?" "I *should* think you were an uncommonly fast young lady," said Fred, eating his toast with the utmost composure.

GEORGE ELIOT.

Here the opinion formed by the person addressed, is not supposed to be dependent on his will, but to be determined by the circumstances of the case. And this is plainly implied by the first words of the answer, "*I should think.*" Nevertheless the question is asked "*What would you think?*" Again, I find in Thackeray:—

"Yes; 'tis all very well, my gargon," says he. "But where *will* you be when poor old Museum is superseded? . . . Thou wilt be kept in a sty like a pig ready for killing."

THACKERAY.

The event referred to here was certainly not dependent on the will of the person addressed, but was rather the fate supposed to be in store for him; yet the question is put, "*Where will you be?*"

A remarkable example of this practice occurred in the famous Tichborne trial. The present Lord Coleridge, who is generally acknowledged to be a very accurate speaker, and almost fastidious in the matter of idiomatic English, cross-examined the Claimant for several days, and frequently repeated the phrase, *Should* you be surprised to hear? But he put the question quite as freely, *Would* you be surprised to hear? As the point is of some interest, I will give the actual questions asked, on two days of the trial, as reported in *The Times* newspaper, June 15 and June 17, 1871, quoting them in the same order in which they occur in the report. It will be seen that, in the two day's cross-examination, *Should* you be surprised? occurs four times, and *Would* you be surprised? six times.

*Should* you be surprised to find that Hodder was always full of a class called the Noviciate?

*Would* you be surprised to find that there was a John McCann, prefect of the Philosophers, who left Stonyhurst at a moment's notice?

*Would* you be surprised to learn that Mr. Bird was one of the lecturers, and Mr. Paten the other?

*Would* you be surprised to learn that Mr. Roger Tichborne acted as a French student, with Mr. Radcliffe as another French student?

*Should* you be surprised to hear that, while you were there, Sir Edward Doughty fell backwards downstairs?

*Should* you be surprised to find you were not admitted to a tradesmen's ball, on the ground that you would not admit them to your balls?

*Should* you be surprised to learn that the first photograph is a view of Knoyle, your grandfather's place?

*Would* you be surprised to hear that Mr. Seymour, your grandfather, did not live at Knoyle, at all, but at Mrs. Hopkinson's house in Bath?

And *would* you be surprised to hear that Mrs. Hopkinson was Mrs. Seymour's mother?

*Would* you be surprised to hear that Mr. Seymour objected so much to smoking that you had to go to Alfred's room in the little cottage in the village?

It is evident, on a general review of the subject, that a good deal of latitude is allowed in the choice of SHALL YOU, and WILL YOU. There is a large number of cases in which it is perfectly good English to use either one form or the other. Some writers, amongst whom I would name George Eliot, seem particularly inclined to the frequent use of SHALL YOU; while others use it much more sparingly. Even George Eliot is not consistent in her practice, and uses sometimes SHALL YOU, sometimes WILL YOU, in exactly the same circumstances. Take, for instance, these two passages:—

You would like Miss Garth, mother, *shouldn't* you?  
You would like her to come, mother, *wouldn't* you?

The following rules may be found useful as a practical guide in this matter:—

I. If we want to give an invitation or to make a request, we must always say WILL YOU, or WOULD YOU.

II. If we expect an answer in the form I WILL or I WOULD, we must put the question in the form WILL YOU or WOULD YOU. If, on the other hand, we expect an answer in the form I SHALL or I SHOULD, then it is better to put the question in the form SHALL YOU or

SHOULD YOU ; but this practice does not seem to be strictly binding.

III. If we want only to make an inquiry, and not to give an invitation or to make a request, we can best convey our meaning by using SHALL YOU or SHOULD YOU, instead of WILL YOU or WOULD YOU. For example, *Shall* you subscribe to the fund for the new hospital? If I said, *Will* you subscribe? I might be supposed to be asking for a subscription. Or again: *Shall* you be at home at three o'clock? If I said, *Will* you be at home? I might appear to ask my friend to stay at home in order to meet me.

IV. When the event which is the object of inquiry is entirely independent of the will of the person addressed, it is decidedly better to use SHALL YOU and SHOULD YOU, than WILL YOU and WOULD YOU. It is better to say, *Shall* you be uneasy, if I don't come back to-night? than to say, *Will* you be uneasy? better to say, How old *shall* you be on your next birth-day? than How old *will* you be? Nevertheless, unquestionable authorities, as we have seen, use such phrases as these: *Would* you be surprised to hear? What *would* you think of me if I ordered grilled bone?

### § 3. THIRD PERSON.

WILL in the Third Person, is used interrogatively to inquire about the future event, considered simply as a future event. For example: *Will* he be able to get through all the work he has undertaken? *Will* there be a general election this year? *Will* your son go into the army? When *will* the eight hours question be ripe for discussion? What time *will* the sun rise to-morrow? WILL is also used, in the Third Person, to inquire about the present will of the persons addressed, with respect to their own action. Thus we say: Who *will* pack my portmanteau for me? *Would* any one here present hesitate to risk his life for the safety of his country? The following extracts will help to illustrate these two rules:—

If you told me the world will be at an end to-morrow, I should just say, *Will* it?

*Will* practical objects be obtained better or worse by the cultivation of philosophy?

NEWMAN.

Then thought the Queen within herself again,  
*Will* the child kill me with its foolish prate?

TENNYSON.

Who *will* not recognise in the Vision of Mirzah a delicacy and beauty of style which is very difficult to describe, but which is felt to be in exact correspondence to the ideas of which it is the expression?

NEWMAN.

*Will* anyone say that the Apollo Belvidere is not a conception patiently elaborated into its present perfection?

NEWMAN.

Who *will* deny that Oxford, by her ineffable charm, keeps ever calling us nearer to the true goal of all of us, to the ideal, to perfection—to beauty, in a word, which is only truth seen from another side?

MATTHEW ARNOLD.

SHALL, in the Third Person, used interrogatively, is not employed so much to ask for information as to submit a question for decision. It implies that the matter is, in some way, under the control of the persons addressed: and it is usually equivalent to some such phrase as the following: I want you to decide, I should like to know, I appeal to you to say. It is often used in a rhetorical sense, and conveys that a negative answer is expected. These meanings are illustrated by the following extracts:—

“Perhaps they will take something to drink first, Mrs. Maylie?” said the doctor; his face brightening, as if some new thought had occurred to him.

“Oh! to be sure!” exclaimed Rose, eagerly.

“Why, thank you, Miss!” said Blathers, drawing his coat sleeve across his mouth; “it’s dry work, this sort of duty.”

“What *shall* it be?” asked the doctor.

“A little drop of spirits, master, if it’s all the same,” replied Blathers.

CHARLES DICKENS.

All accents are pretty from pretty lips, and who *shall* set the standard up? *Shall* it be a rose, or a thistle, or a shamrock, or a star and stripe?

THACKERAY.

If accusation without proof be credited, who *shall* be innocent ?

JOHNSON.

Who *shall* accuse him of want of religious fear and true love, whose dawning is so beautiful ?

NEWMAN.

There is a march of science ; but who *shall* beat the drums for its retreat ? Who *shall* persuade the boor that phosphor will not ignite ?

CHARLES LAMB.

Mrs. Lambert knew little of what was passing in the man's mind (how *should* she ?), and so prayed for him with the fond persistence of woman. He was much better—yes, much better than he was supposed to be. He was a most interesting man. There were hopes, why *should* there not be, the most precious hopes for him still.

THACKERAY.

How *should* her ladyship know ? She did not marry Dr. Tusher until she was advanced in life.

THACKERAY.

One day as Mr. George and Miss Theo were taking a sentimental walk in Kensington Gardens, whom *should* they light upon but their cousin Maria, in company with a gentleman in a smart suit and handsome laced hat, and who *should* the gentleman be, but His Majesty, King Louis of Hungary.

THACKERAY.

So that she thought, " And who *shall* gaze upon  
My palace, with unblinded eyes,  
While this great bow will waver in the sun,  
And that sweet incense rise ? "

TENNYSON.

Who *shall* determine which of two friends shall *yield* ?

JOHNSON.

Who *shall* tell me that the fellow hasn't been living in Seven Dials, or in a cellar dining off tripe and cow-heel ?

THACKERAY.

Who *shall* say that our country does not do honour to the literary calling ?

THACKERAY.

Who *shall* analyse those tears, and say whether they were sweet or bitter ?

THACKERAY.

Who *shall* separate us from the love of Christ ? *Shall* tribulation, or distress, or famine, or nakedness, or danger, or persecutions, or the sword ?

ROMANS viii. 35.

A writer may sometimes address himself in the Third Person; and, in doing so, he may use the interrogative *SHALL*, in the same way as if he were addressing others. This is well exemplified in Moore's ode on the death of Grattan, where, in the first stanza, he submits to himself a question for decision, using *SHALL* interrogatively; and then, in the next stanza, gives the answer, expressing his decision, also by the auxiliary *SHALL*.

*Shall* the Harp, then, be silent, when he who first gave  
To our country a name, is withdrawn from all eyes?  
*Shall* a Minstrel of Erin stand mute by the grave,  
Where the first, where the last, of her patriots lies?

No! faint tho' the death-song may fall from his lips,  
Tho' his Harp, like his soul, may with shadows be crost,  
Yet, yet *shall* it sound, 'mid a nation's eclipse,  
And proclaim to the world what a star hath been lost.

Sometimes *SHALL* is used interrogatively, in the Third Person, for the purpose of proposing a question or problem that offers itself for solution, without suggesting for the moment what that solution is to be. Take, for instance, the following passage from one of Cardinal Newman's sermons:—

The Providence of God manifests itself in general laws, it moves forward upon the lines of truth and justice; it has no respect of persons, rewarding the good and punishing the bad, not as individuals but according to their character. How *shall* He who is Most Holy direct His love to this man or that for the sake of each, contemplating us one by one, without infringing on His own perfections? Or even were the Supreme Being a God of unmixed benevolence, how, even then, *shall* the thought of Him come home to our minds with that constraining power which the kindness of a human friend exerts over us?

NEWMAN.

A somewhat similar use of the interrogative *shall* is found in a passage from Charles Lamb, where it is employed simply to express, in the form of a question, a problem that frequently causes embarrassment:—

In houses where the grace is as indispensable as the napkin, who has not seen that never-settled question arise, as to Who *shall* say it,

CHARLES LAMB.

In connection with this branch of the subject, I may refer to an amusing incident related by Dean Alford, in his excellent little book on *The Queen's English*. He tells us that a Scottish debating society met to discuss the question, *Shall* the material universe be destroyed? This mistake brings out very clearly the idea that we can only use *SHALL* in the Third Person interrogatively, when the question at issue is referred, in some way, for decision, to the persons addressed. The question, as put above, implies that it was for the debating society to determine whether the universe was to be destroyed or not. Of course, what they intended to discuss was simply the future event, *Will* the material universe be destroyed?

### § 1. INDIRECT QUESTION.

By indirect question I mean a statement purporting to set forth the subject-matter of a question which some one is represented as asking or considering. The general rule for the indirect question is to use *SHALL* and *WILL* as they would be used by the person who is supposed to ask or to consider the question, if such person were himself putting the question in the direct form. For example: He asked me if I *would* join him in a trip to Australia; I am thinking whether we *shall* be able to recover our property; the Government were deliberating what course they *should* take. It will be observed, of course, that the tense is changed according to circumstances.

My lady was often indisposed or engaged when he called on her; her people did not press him to wait; did not volunteer to ask whether he *would* stay and dine, as they used in the days when he was the Fortunate Youth and companion of the wealthy and great [The invitation would have been, *Will* you stay and dine].

THACKERAY.

She wrote to beg I *would* come and pay her a visit next Tuesday [invitation].

MRS. GASKELL.

Miss Jenkyns asked me if I *would* come and help her [request] to tie up the preserves in the store-room.

MRS. GASKELL.

The next morning she asked me if I *would* go down to the shop with her [request].

MRS. GASKELL.

If a friend were to ask us whether we *would* advise him to risk his all in a lottery of which the chances were ten to one against him, we should do our best to dissuade him from running such a risk.

MACAULAY.

Meanwhile several of the Bishops were anxiously deliberating as to the course which they *should* take. [The Bishops would put the question, What course *shall* we take?]

MACAULAY.

My lady Warrington and my girls were debating over and over again [the question] how they *should* find an opportunity of making the acquaintance of your charming family.

THACKERAY.

There is no real opposition between excellence of style and excellence of matter. The only question that can ever arise is as to which *shall* have the preference when they are unhappily divorced.

FREEMAN.

There is hardly a gentleman of eight hundred pounds a-year and upwards, in this kingdom [Ireland], who would balance half an hour to consider whether he *should* live here or in England. [The gentleman would put the question to himself, *Shall* I live here or in England?]

SWIFT.

One night, in particular, came across his memory how a friend and he had ascended to the top of one of the many towers of Oxford, with the purpose of making observations on the stars; and how, while his friend was busily engaged with the pointers, he, earthly-minded youth, had been looking down into the deep, gas-lit, dark-shadowed quadrangles, and wondering [asking himself] if he *should* ever be a Fellow of this or that College which he singled out from the mass of academical buildings.

NEWMAN.

The day after my arrival at Cranford, I went to see her, much wondering what the house *would* be like without Miss Jenkyns.

MRS. GASKELL.

I only wondered what he *would* say or do next, and how Miss Matty *would* stand the joyful shock of what he had to reveal.

MRS. GASKELL.

I had wondered what we *should* all do if thus awakened and alarmed.

MRS. GASKELL.

We had doubts as to whether she *would* enjoy the little adventure of having her house broken into, as she protested she should.

MRS. GASKELL.

Poor Polly sighed: she thought what she *should* do if young Mr. Tomkins, at the surgery, who had put her timorous little heart into such a flutter that she was ready to surrender at once—what she *should* do if he were to die.

THACKERAY.

It is hardly necessary to say that, in Ireland, the indirect question is commonly expressed by WILL and WORLD. A striking example of this practice came under my notice lately. I was sitting in an office when a gentleman came in and said, I want to know when I *will* be paid. So glaring a mistake, however, is rarely made by persons of good education.

The rule which I have given for SHALL and WILL, in the indirect question, and which is sufficiently supported by the examples quoted, admits, of one exception. When the indirect question is in the Second Person, it is usually expressed by WILL and WORLD, in all circumstances. Take, for instance, the following sentence: You were debating with yourself, at that time, whether you *would* go to Paris next summer. Here the person debating with himself would say, *Shall* I go to Paris, not *Will* I go to Paris; and, therefore, the rule would require SHOULD in the indirect question. This case, then, is an exception to the rule. It will be observed, however, that sentences of this kind are of rare occurrence.

Even when the indirect question is in the Third Person, the rule is not always strictly observed. Good writers, in no way open to any suspicion of Irish, Scottish, or American tendencies, occasionally use WILL or WORLD, where the rule requires SHALL or SHOULD. On the whole, then, I would sum up by saying: (1) when the indirect question is in the First Person, the rule must be always strictly observed;

(2) when it is in the Second Person, the rule does not apply; (3) when it is in the Third Person, the rule is always a safe guide, but it may sometimes be departed from without error. In what precise circumstances we may lawfully depart from the rule, in this last case, cannot be exactly defined: it must be gathered from a careful study of the best English authors.

I have now brought to a close the general treatment of the Irish Difficulty of SHALL and WILL. I have not attempted to deal with the question exhaustively, but rather to select such points as I thought would be found most useful in practice. Those readers of the I. E. RECORD who have followed me thus far, will perhaps not be sorry to get a respite from the strain of pursuing a subject which they probably thought, at first, could be disposed of in a few pages of easy reading, but which seemed to get more and more complicated, the further we advanced. I purpose, then, to offer them and myself a holiday of a few months, so far as SHALL and WILL are concerned. At the end of that time, I hope to return to the question, and, according to the plan with which I set out, to submit a final paper on SHALLANDWILLIANA.

G. M.

---

## Liturgical Questions.

---

THE ECCLESIASTICAL CALENDAR.—VI.

---

THE EPACTS—(*continued*).

Owing to the lunar and solar equations, of which mention was made in the preceding paper, the Epacts must during the course of centuries travel through all the natural numbers from 1 to 30. Hence, in framing a perpetual table of Epacts, it is necessary to provide for this contingency. This Clavius has done in the extended table of Epacts which he

drew up from data left by Lilius, and of which the following is a copy :—

TABLE I.

Years.	Index.	GOLDEN NUMBERS.																				
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19		
1700 1800	C	*	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	7	18	29	10	21	12	23	4	15	26	7	18
1800 2000 2100	E	20	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	*	11	22	3	14	25	6	17		
2200 2400	A	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16		
2500 2600	G	27	8	19		11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15		
2900 2700 2800	F	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	*	11	22	3	14		
2900 3000	S	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13		
3100 3200 3300	T	24	5	16	27	8	19	*	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	2	13	24	5	16
3400 3500	Q	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	*	11		
3700 3800	D	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10		
3800 3900 4000	I	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	*	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9		
4100 4200	K	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8		
4300 4400 4500	L	19	*	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7		
4500 4600	M	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	*	11	22	3	14	25	6		
4700 4800 4900	N	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	1	21	2	13	24	5		
5000 5200	O	16	27	8	19	*	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4		
5100 5300	P	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	*	11	22	3		
5400 5500 5600	Q	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2		
5700 5800	R	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	*	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1		
5900 6000 6100	S	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	*		
6200 6400	T	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29		
6300 6500	U	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	*	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28		
6600 6800	V	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27		
6700 6900	P	8	19	*	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26		
7000 7100 7200	N	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	*	11	22	3	14	25		
7300 7400	M	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24		
7500 7600 7700	H	5	16	27	8	19	*	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23		
7800 8000	G	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	*	11	22		
7900 8100	F	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21		
8200 8300 8400	E	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19	*	11	22	3	14	25	6	17	28	9	20		
1500 1600	D	1	12	23	4	15	26	7	18	29	10	21	2	13	24	5	16	27	8	19		

A glance enables one to see the object of this table, and the method followed in its construction. The numbers 1, 2, 3, &c., in the first horizontal line are the Golden Numbers. In the space on the left are the century years from A.D. 1500, which is found at the bottom, to A.D. 8400, which immediately precedes 1500 in the next higher line. From this table it will be seen that in 8400—1500 years, that is, in sixty-nine centuries, the Epacts traverse the entire cycle of natural numbers from 1 to 30, but in a retrograde direction, beginning with 1 in the sixteenth century, and proceeding by 30, 29, 28, &c., back to 2, which will form the

Epact for the first year of the cycle in the eighty-third, eighty-fourth, and eighty-fifth centuries. The vertical line immediately to the right of the dates contains a number of letters, some capitals, the others in small characters. These are called the *Index Letters*, and serve only as a convenient appellation for the horizontal line of Epacts which stands opposite each. Thus, for example, the first horizontal line of Epacts, \*, 11, 22, &c., is called line C, or the C line of Epacts; and so on for the others. The letters omitted are those which might be mistaken for other characters, or which have another signification; thus L might stand for fifty, I might be mistaken for one, O for zero. The remainder of the table is taken up with the Epacts. Of these it will be seen there are thirty cycles, each cycle being contained in a horizontal line, and each Epact standing in the same vertical line with the Golden Number to which it corresponds. The first horizontal line under the Golden Numbers gives the cycle of Epacts at present in use. The Epact for the first year of this cycle is \* or 30; for the second year 11; and so on. The next lower line contains the cycle of Epacts for the three centuries immediately following the present. During those centuries the Epact of the first year of the lunar cycle will be 29. The line under the Golden Number 1 contains in retrograde order all the numbers from 30 to 1, both inclusive. Each time the lunar equation alone has to be made, the line of Epacts will be the one immediately above that last employed; each time the solar equation alone is made the line will be that immediately below the one last employed; while, when both equations are to be made together, the line of Epacts remains unchanged. The century years on the left stand opposite the line of Epacts which is employed during that century. Without this arrangement of the century years the proper line for any century can be found by noting the numbers of solar and lunar equations that should be made between the present century—whose line of Epacts is supposed to be known—and the century in question.

Having found the proper line of Epacts, and the Epact for the particular year, a cumbrous calculation is necessary

to find out the days of the several months of the year on which the new moons will fall. To save this labour Clavius drew up the following table of Epacts, called the *Gregorian Calendar of Epacts* :—

TABLE II.

Days.	January.		February.		March.		April.		May.		June.		July.		August.		September.		October.		November.		December.	
	E.	L.	E.	L.	E.	L.	E.	L.	E.	L.	E.	L.	E.	L.	E.	L.	E.	L.	E.	L.	E.	L.	E.	L.
1	*	A	1	C	29	G	18	B	27	F	15	D	25	C	23	E	22	A	21	D	20	F	19	G
2	1	B	2	D	28	A	17	C	26	E	14	C	24	B	21	G	20	E	19	F	18	A	17	G
3	2	C	3	E	27	B	16	D	25	F	13	D	23	C	20	A	19	F	18	E	17	B	16	A
4	3	D	4	F	26	C	15	E	24	G	12	E	22	D	19	B	18	G	17	F	16	C	15	B
5	4	E	5	G	25	D	14	F	23	A	11	F	21	E	18	C	17	A	16	G	15	D	14	C
6	5	F	6	A	24	E	13	G	22	B	10	G	20	F	17	D	16	B	15	A	14	E	13	D
7	6	G	7	B	23	F	12	A	21	C	9	A	19	G	16	E	15	C	14	F	13	B	12	E
8	7	A	8	C	22	G	11	B	20	D	8	B	18	F	15	F	14	D	13	G	12	C	11	F
9	8	B	9	D	21	A	10	C	19	E	7	C	17	G	14	A	13	E	12	A	11	D	10	G
10	9	C	10	E	20	B	9	D	18	F	6	D	16	A	13	B	12	F	11	C	10	E	9	F
11	10	D	11	F	19	C	8	E	17	G	5	E	15	B	12	C	11	G	10	D	9	F	8	A
12	11	E	12	G	18	D	7	F	16	A	4	F	14	C	11	D	10	A	9	E	8	G	7	B
13	12	F	13	A	17	E	6	G	15	B	3	G	13	D	10	E	9	B	8	F	7	A	6	C
14	13	G	14	B	16	F	5	A	14	C	2	A	12	E	9	F	8	C	7	G	6	B	5	D
15	14	A	15	C	15	G	4	B	13	D	1	B	11	F	8	G	7	D	6	A	5	C	4	E
16	15	B	16	D	14	A	3	C	12	E	31	C	10	G	7	A	6	E	5	B	4	D	3	F
17	16	C	17	E	13	B	2	D	11	F	30	D	9	A	6	B	5	F	4	C	3	E	2	G
18	17	D	18	F	12	C	1	E	10	G	29	E	8	B	5	C	4	G	3	D	2	F	1	A
19	18	E	19	G	11	D	31	F	9	A	28	F	7	C	4	D	3	A	2	E	1	G	31	B
20	19	F	20	A	10	E	30	G	8	B	27	G	6	D	3	E	2	B	1	F	30	A	30	C
21	20	G	21	B	9	F	29	A	7	C	26	A	5	E	2	F	1	C	31	B	29	B	29	D
22	21	A	22	C	8	G	28	B	6	D	25	B	4	F	1	G	31	D	30	C	28	C	28	E
23	22	B	23	D	7	A	27	C	5	E	24	C	3	G	31	A	30	E	29	D	27	D	27	F
24	23	C	24	E	6	B	26	D	4	F	23	D	2	A	30	B	29	F	28	E	26	E	26	G
25	24	D	25	F	5	C	25	E	3	G	22	E	1	B	29	C	28	G	27	F	25	F	25	A
26	25	E	26	G	4	D	24	F	2	A	21	F	31	C	28	D	27	A	26	G	24	G	24	B
27	26	F	27	A	3	E	23	G	1	B	20	G	30	D	27	E	26	B	25	A	23	A	23	C
28	27	G	28	B	2	F	22	A	31	C	19	A	29	F	26	F	25	C	24	B	22	B	22	D
29	28	A	29	C	1	G	21	B	30	D	18	B	28	G	25	G	24	D	23	C	21	C	21	E
30	29	B	30	D	31	A	20	C	29	E	17	C	27	A	24	A	23	E	22	D	20	D	20	F
31	30	C	31	E	30	B	19	D	28	F	16	D	26	B	23	B	22	F	21	E	19	E	19	G

In the vertical column on the left are the numbers from 1 to 31 inclusive. These stand for the days of the month, and refer to all the months. After this first vertical column there are twelve pairs of vertical columns. Each pair is concerned about one of the twelve months of the year, beginning on the left with January, and one of them contains the Epacts in retrograde order, the other the calendar or week letters. Opposite the 1st January stands the Epact \* or 30. 29 is opposite the 2nd January, 28 opposite the 3rd, and 1

opposite the 30th. The thirty Epacts having been now exhausted, the series is begun again by placing \* or 30 opposite the 31st January, 29 opposite the 1st February at the head of the next column, and so on continuously until the 31st December.

If the Epact and Dominical Letter for any given year after the Gregorian correction are known, the day of each month in that year on which a new moon falls, as well as the day of the week, can be at once determined by means of this table. For the day of each month opposite which the Epact of the year is found in the column of Epacts devoted to that month is the day of new moon, and the letter opposite the same Epact denotes the day of the week. The Epact for the present year, 1892, we have already found to be 1, and the Dominical Letter for the first two months we know to be C, since the 1st January was Friday; and, consequently, the letter for the last ten months is B. Now, looking at the table we find that our Epact *one* stands opposite the 30th January, the 28th February, the 30th March, the 28th April, &c., and also opposite the letters B, C, E, F, &c., respectively. Therefore the days of the week on which new moons fall this year are Saturday in January, Sunday in February, Wednesday in March, Thursday in April, &c. It must, however, be carefully borne in mind that in this whole question we are treating of the *Calendar* moon, whose phases and motions only approximate to those of the real moon.

There are certain artifices employed in the construction of this table which it is necessary to understand before using the table. It will be seen on inspecting the table that the Epact 25 sometimes appears with a mark over it, and sometimes without a mark, and that whether with or without the mark it is never permitted to stand alone, but has in the same line with itself either another 25, 24, or 26. Why is this? We will try to explain why.

The calendar lunations, as has been so often stated in these papers, consist alternately of thirty and of twenty-nine days. And the Epacts in this table are intended to point out the moon's age, as well in the shorter as in the longer

lunations. Consequently the series of Epacts, instead of all consisting of thirty, should consist alternately of thirty and twenty-nine. For the January lunation, for example, that is, the lunation which terminates in January, being a *full* lunation, exhausts, of course, the thirty Epacts. But the February lunation is a *hollow* one, or has only twenty-nine days: whereas the second series of Epacts, as well as the first, consists of thirty. And what is true of the February lunation, and its corresponding series of Epacts, is true also of all the *hollow* lunations of the year. Clavius might have drawn up his table of Epacts in alternate series of thirty and twenty-nine, but he preferred to make them all nominally of thirty, and to introduce an artifice which would make them in reality equivalent to alternate series. This he effected by placing the two Epacts, 25 and 24, opposite the same day of the month in six months of the year. Turning to the table, we find this double Epact opposite the 5th February, 5th April, 3rd June, 1st August, 29th September, and 27th November. Hence each series of Epacts in which this doubling takes place, though containing the numbers from one to thirty, has practically only twenty-nine Epacts. This explains why the Epacts 24 and 25 stand together in the same line, and also how successive series of thirty Epacts can be made to correspond with alternate lunations of thirty and twenty-nine days.

Two other peculiarities in this table need explanation. In the same series of Epacts in which 25 and 24 are printed together, another 25, with a mark, is placed beside 26 in the same horizontal line, and in the other series a similar 25 stands beside 25. This artifice had to be resorted to to prevent an inconvenient consequence arising from the artifice just explained. Since the Epacts 25 and 24 refer to the same day in six months of the year, it follows that, if in the same cycle of nineteen years there were two years having respectively 25 and 24 as Epacts, the new moons would occur twice on the same day of the month in the same cycle.

An example will help to make this clearer. As appears from Table I., the cycle of Epacts which will come into use in the year 1900, contains both the Epacts 24 and 25. The

former corresponds with the sixth year of the cycle, the latter with the seventeenth. Now, the rule for finding the dates of the new moons in a given year from the latter table, is to find the Epact of the year in question; and the days of the months opposite which this Epact stands are the dates of the new moons throughout the year. Suppose then we wish to find the dates of the new moons in the sixth and seventeenth years of the coming cycle; for instance, in 1905 and 1916. For the former year the Epact is 24; and, by referring to the table, we find this Epact opposite the 7th January, 5th February, 7th March, 5th April, &c. The Epact for the latter year is 25, which stands opposite the 6th January, 5th February, 6th March, 5th April, &c. In every month, therefore, in which the two Epacts 24 and 25 stand side by side, the new moons should happen on the same day in the sixth and seventeenth years of the cycle.

But, as a matter of fact, during the same cycle of nineteen years, it can never happen with regard to mean lunations, and but very rarely with regard to real ones, that the lunation of any month should begin on the same day of the month in two different years of the cycle. Here, then, is how this inconvenience is met.

In the same cycle of nineteen years the three Epacts 24, 25, and 26, can never occur. A glance at Table I. will show this, for in no one of the thirty horizontal lines of Epacts in that Table are these three numbers found. When, then, the Epacts 24 and 25 occur within the same cycle, the day which they have in common in each of six months of the year is given to 24, and to 25 is given the day opposite 26. Hence in the case already made regarding the years 1905 and 1916, the new moons are correctly indicated by the Epact 24 in the former year; but in the latter year they are indicated, not by the 25 which stands beside 24, but by the 25' which stands beside 26 in the months having *hollow* lunations. In these months, then, in 1916, the new moons are made to fall on the day preceding that on which they fell in the same months of 1905; that is, on the 4th February, the 4th April, the 2nd June, &c. Hence the reason for distinguishing 25 and 25'.

Looking again at Table I., we see that in all the cycles of Epacts in which 25 and 24 both occur, the 25 corresponds to a Golden Number greater than 11. This fact enables us to frame the following rule regarding the use of the Epact 25:—When the Epact of the year is 25, and the Golden Number less than 12, the new moons are indicated in Table II. by 25; but by 25' when the Golden Number is greater than 11.

Finally, with regard to this peculiarity of Table II., it may be said that there is no scientific reason for selecting 24 and 25 in preference to any other two contiguous numbers. The sole reason why these were selected would seem to be because in the old calendar of Golden Numbers the lunar equation was made about the same day to which these Epacts are given.<sup>1</sup>

Another peculiarity of Table II. remains. Opposite the 31st December, two Epacts, 19' and 20, are placed. The latter is the ordinary, the former the extraordinary, Epact for this day. The former is employed only when the Epact 19 concurs with the Golden Number 19. In other words, when the last year of the lunar cycle has 19 for its Epact, then the Epact for the 31st December is not 20, as in other years, but 19'. The reason of this is as follows:—In the last year of every cycle the last lunation of the year has only twenty-nine instead of thirty days. Now, when the Epact is 19, there will be a new moon on the 2nd December. For in Table II. the Epact 19 stands opposite the 2nd December. And since in the last year of the cycle this lunation is to consist of only twenty-nine days, another new moon will fall on the 31st December. But the rule for the use of this table is that the new moons fall on the days opposite which stands the Epact of the year. Since then a new moon must fall on the 31st December in the particular case we are considering, the Epact of the year must stand opposite that day. Hence the presence of the Epact 19'. This extraordinary Epact, however, will have

<sup>1</sup> Lilius, *Astronomia*, l. viii. c. 1590, who cites Clavius himself as his authority.

no practical concern for the human race for some generations to come, as the circumstances in which it is to be employed, that is the concurrence of the Golden Number 19 with the Epact 19, will not occur till after the year 8400.

One use of these tables is to find the dates of the new moons. The way in which they are employed for this purpose has been already pointed out. Suppose we wish to know the dates of the new moons of the present year. We first find the Golden Number. This is 12, as we have already found. Under the Golden Number 12 we find in line C, Table I., the Epact I. This is the Epact for 1892. Turning now to Table II., we find this Epact opposite the following dates:—

January 30,	July 26,
February 28, .	August 24,
March 30,	September 23,
April 28,	October 22,
May 28,	November 21,
June 26,	December 20.

These, then, are the dates of the calendar new moons during the current year.

Knowing the Epact of a given year, we can, by a very simple calculation, determine approximately the moon's age on any day of that year.

To find the moon's age on any day of the first three months, the Epact is added to the day of the month, and thirty subtracted from the sum, if possible; the remainder is the age of the moon. If the sum does not exceed thirty, then it represents the moon's age. In the remaining nine months the Epact is likewise added to the day of the month, but the sum must be increased by unity for each month that has elapsed from March to the month in question, both inclusive. In this case, too, the moon's age is represented by the remainder after thirty has been subtracted, or by the sum if it be less than thirty. This rule is easily remembered, and, though not very accurate, serves to indicate whether on a particular night moonlight is to be looked for. To illustrate the rule by an example, let us inquire what will be the

moon's age on the following feasts in the present year—the Feast of St. Patrick, March 17; Easter Sunday, April 17; the Feast of All Saints, November 1; and the Feast of the Nativity, December 25. According to the rule, the moon's age on March 17 will be  $17 + 1 = 18$  days; on April 17 it will be  $17 + 1 + 1 = 19$  days; on Nov. 1 it will be  $1 + 1 + 9 = 11$ ; and on December 25 it will be  $25 + 1 + 10 - 30 = 6$ .

D. O'LOAN.

(*To be continued.*)

THE FEAST OF THE SACRED HEART, AND THE "ORDO"  
FOR 1892.

"REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you please clear a doubt for me?

"In our 'Ordo' the Feast of the Sacred Heart is marked this year for the 25th of June, the Feast of St. William being suppressed.

"In the 'Ordo' of the diocese, I find that the Feast of the Sacred Heart is marked for the 27th; now, according to the *Decree* quoted in the beginning of the 'Ordo', it is to be celebrated on *the day after St. John*, when this great saint happens to take the Friday intended originally for the Sacred Heart.

"The Feast of St. William does not appear to be one of special importance, to prevent the Feast of the Sacred Heart taking the day assigned to it by the *Decree*.

"Would you kindly let me know about this, as I am asked to give a retreat, *to end on the Feast of the Sacred Heart*, and I made my arrangements for the 25th.

"RELIGIOUS."

Our esteemed correspondent is to follow his own "Ordo." By an oversight, as it would seem, the compiler of the "Ordo" for the secular clergy of Ireland has transferred the Feast of the Sacred Heart to the 27th June, although, according to the manifest meaning of the *Decree Urbis et Orbis* of June 28, 1889, to which he refers, it should this year be celebrated on the 25th June. The words of the *Decree* bearing on this point are as follow:—

"Idem festum (scil. SSimi Cordis Jesu) feria VI. post Octavam Corporis Christi, tanquam in sede propria, recolatur; et non nisi

Solemnitatibus ritus duplicis primae classis universalis Ecclesiae, nempe Nativitatis S. Joannes Baptistae ac SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, nec non Festis particularibus ejusdem ritus, seu Dedicationis, ac titularis Ecclesiae, locique Patroni, quando haec sub duplici praecepto fiant, locum cedat: quibus in casibus, *die immediate ea Festa insequenti, veluti in sede propria, reponatur.*"

According to this Decree, then, when the Feast of St. John happens to fall on the Friday after the Octave of Corpus Christi, the Feast of the Sacred Heart must be transferred. But it is not to be transferred according to the ordinary rules regulating the transfer of Feasts, but according to the special rules regulating the transfer of a few of the principal Feasts, and among others of this very Feast of St. John, when it occurs on the same day as the Feast of Corpus Christi. According to these special rules, when one of the Feasts which they regard is impeded on its own proper day, it is to be transferred to the day immediately following, which for that year is to be regarded as the *sedes propria* of the Feast.

What is meant by saying that the day immediately following is to be regarded as the *sedes propria* of the Feast, is very clearly pointed out in the rubric found in the breviary immediately before the Feast of St. John. This rubric says: -

"Notandum quod si sequenti die xxiv occurrerit solemnitas SS. Corp. Christi, agendum erit de praedicta solemnitate. Festum vero S. Joannes Baptistae tunc reponatur *in diem xxi. tanquam in sedem propriam translato quocumque alio festo duplici si alicubi occurrat, post octavam aut eo penitus omisso juxta Rubricas*; sed si fuerit vel i vel ii classis transfertur in primam diem officio duplici non impeditam infra eandem octavam."

According to this rubric, when the Feast of Corpus Christi falls on June 24, the following day, June 25, is to be regarded as the *sedes propria* of the Feast of St. John, even though that day should have been already occupied by a double of the first class. Now, according to the Decree of 1889, quoted above, June 25 is to be regarded as the *sedes propria* of the Feast of the Sacred Heart, when June 24 is the Friday after the Octave of Corpus Christi. Similarly, therefore, whatever be the rite of the Feast occurring on

June 25, in the circumstances just mentioned, it must yield to the Feast of the Sacred Heart, and must be transferred or omitted, according to its rite and quality. The Feast of St. William must, therefore, yield to the Feast of the Sacred Heart this year, and, being only of double rite, it cannot be transferred; while the Feast of the Sacred Heart, being a double of the first class, forbids its commemoration. Hence this year the Feast of St. William is simply omitted. We append the corrections to be introduced into the "Ordo" of this year up to July 8. The further corrections required will be published next month:—

JUNIUS, 1892.

24. Fer. 6. NATIVITAS S. JOANNIS BAPTISTAE dupl. 1 cl. cum Oct. (*Credo non dic. nisi in Eccl. S. Joanni, dedicata*). In 2 Vesp. com. seq. tant.  
*Festum S. Gulielmi hoc anno penitus omittitur.*
25. Sabb. FESTUM SSIMI CORPUS JESU dupl. 1 cl. Off. et mis. (*Egredimini*) e suppl. *Pro Aliquibus locis.* Nil de Oct. S. Joannis.  
In mis. dic. *Credo.* Praef. de Nativ. Dom. In 2 Vesp. com. seq. (*Ant. propr.*) et Dom. tant.
26. Dom. iii. post Pentec. SS. Joannis et Pauli min. dupl. Ll. 1. N. *Fratres debitores.* 9 l. hom. et. com. Dom. et Oct. S. Joannis in L. et m. *Credo* (propter diem Dominic.) Evg. Dom. in fin. Vesp. de seq. (m. t. v.) com. praece. Dom. et Oct. S. Joan.  
*In DD. Dublin. Tuam. Dromor. et Derrien.* In 2 Vesp. com. seq. § et Dom. tant. r.  
*In DD. Kildar. Elphin. Lismor. Ardferthen. Aghadonen. et Clonferthen.* In 2 Vesp. com. seq. (m. t. v.) et Dom. tant.
27. Fer. 2. S. Jarlathi, Ep. et C. (m. t. v.) dupl. maj. Omn. de comm. 1 loco (6 ult.) com. Oct. in L. et M. In 2 Vesp. com. seq. et Oct.  
*In DD. Dublin. Tuam. Dromor. et Derrien.* S. Barnabae Apost. dupl. maj. (ex 11 ult.) Offic. de comm. Apost. Ll. Nn. et Or. prop. In Mis. Cr. Praef. Apost. In 2 Vesp. com. seq. et Oct.  
*In DD. Kildar. Elphin. Lismor. Ardferthen. Aghadon. et Clonferthen.* S. Laseriani, Ep. et C. dupl. maj. (ex 18 Apr. (m. t. v.) Omn. de comm. 1 loco, com. Oct. in L. et M. In 2 Vesp. com. seq. et Oct.

28. Fer. 3. (Vigil). S. Leonis P. et C. semed. etc. ut in "Ordo" usque ad diem 3 mensis prox.

## JULIUS.

3. DOMINICA IV. post Pentec. *Indulg. Plenar. ratione 1 mæ Dom. mensis.* De Pretiosis. Sanguine D. N. J. Chr. dupl. 2 cl. Offic. prop. ut in Quadrag. 9 l. hom. com. Dom. tant. in L. et M. *Cr. Præf. de Cruc. Evg. Dom. in fin.* In 2 Vesp. com. seq. (m. t. v.) et Dom. tant.—r.

*In DD. Dublinen. Dromor. Derrien. Kildar. Elphin. Lismor. Ardferten. Aghadoen. et Clonferten.* In 2 Vesp. com. seq. (m. t. v.) et Dom. tant.—r.

4. Fer. 2. S. Colmani, Ep. et C. (m. t. v.) dupl. maj. e 7 Junii) Omn. de comm. 1 loco. In 2 Vesp. com. seq. et Oct. SS. Petri et Pauli.

*In DD. Dublin. Dromor. Derrien. Kildar. Elphin. Lismor. Ardferten. et Clonferten.* S. Jarlathi, Ep. et C. (m. t. v.) dupl. maj. (6 ult.) Omn. de comm. 1 loco. In 2 Vesp. com. seq.

5. Fer. 3. SS. Cyrilli et Methodii, etc.

6. Fer. 4. Octava SS. Petri et Pauli, dupl. Vesp. de seq. (m. t. v.) com. prae.

*In DD. Dublin. Tuam. Derrien. Kildar. Elphin. Lismor. Kerrien. et Clonfert.* Vesp. de seq. (m. t. v.) com. prae.

7. Fer. 5. S. Columbæ, Abb. dupl. maj. (m. t. v.) (e 9 ult. Omn. de comm. In 2 Vesp. com. seq.

*In DD. Dublin. Tuam. Derrien. Kildar. Elphin. Lismore. Ardferten. Aghadonen. et Clonferten.* S. Colmani, Ep. et C. dupl. maj. (m. t. v.) (ex 7 ult.) Omn. de comm. 1mo loco. In 2 Vesp. com. seq.

8. Fer. 6. S. Kiliani, Ep. et m. dupl. etc. et deinceps ut in "Ordo" usque ad 26 inst.

D. O'LOAN.

Correspondence.<sup>1</sup>

## CONSECRATION OF AN ALTAR.

"DEAR SIR,—I read with interest, but not with entire satisfaction, the question and answer taken from the *Ephemerides Ecclesiæ*, and published in the September number of the I. E. RECORD, concerning the consecration, &c., of an altar.

In the first place, the rev. respondent, although he admits and quotes decrees of the S. R. C., declaring that the altar stone should be one entire stone, and not made up of several stones, firmly and closely united by cement or otherwise, yet he goes on to give reasons to show that this is not *de validitate consecrationis*. But De Herdt (*luc. citat.*, i. 1761), quotes the same decrees, and seems not to have a doubt of the necessity *et validitatem consecrationis*, that the stone should consist of 'uno et integro lapide;' and I must say the reasons given for the solution do not seem sufficiently strong to shake our faith in the clear and positive words of the decree. That the declaration of the decree alludes to the *unity* of the stone, and not to the fact of the *corona liqua* or *cuna marmorea* by which they are bound together, is clear from the words added in the decree, '*Mentis ex integro lapide constituitur.*' These words, it seems to me, ought to remove all possible occasion of doubt or misunderstanding.

But a more important matter is that concerning the sepulchre. It seems to me the respondent has not taken in the gist of the Dubium at all, and answers a totally different question from that put in the Dubium. His whole argument turns upon a *broken* or *separated* stone. He says the consecration of the altar *in casu* is invalid, '*quia lapis disruptus est.*' He speaks of the two parts of the stone being joined by cement, but he says that joining is not such as to make the stone '*quid unum integrumque.*' Now, if I understand the case aright, it does not speak of a stone broken into two pieces, but of a sound and integral stone; but the square hole cut in the middle of it for a

<sup>1</sup> We received a long letter on the question of the *Benedictio in Articulo Mortis*, from "Sacerdos Duldicensis" at a date (27th of May) too late for its publication in this issue of the I. E. RECORD.

We have reason to believe that our subscribers are satisfied that the question has been fully and ably discussed in the recent numbers of the I. E. RECORD, and that no useful purpose can be served by continuing the controversy.

We therefore close our pages to any further discussion of the subject.  
—ED. I. E. R.

sepulchre for the relics is cut right through the stone (like the hole for the handle of a grindstone) instead of being only cut half or part of the distance through the stone. The words are:—*‘Hujus vero lapidis pars media, ubi sepulchrum extabat pro recondendis Reliquiis per totum erat excavata seu perforata.’* The relics being placed in this cavity did not rest upon the altar-stone itself, but on the stone or brickwork on which the stone was laid, and the hole was covered with cement, *‘quod (operculum) cimenti ope optime clausum fuit’* (not two separate parts joined with cement).

“The rev. respondent seems to have been misled by the words *‘pars media,’* which in Latin is ambiguous, meaning either ‘the half’ or the ‘middle part. Hence the question put is not answered at all. If I might be permitted to give an opinion I might say the altar *in casu* is not validly consecrated, for two reasons:—

“1. The *Pontificale* says the relics are to be *included* in the altar, *‘includenda in altari.’* In the case in question this does not seem to be verified. They are not included in, but surrounded by, the altar.

“2. The sepulchre should be closed or covered, not by cement as in the case, but by a piece of stone. The *Pontificale* says:—*‘Pontifex . . . accipiens lapidem seu tabulam cum qua debet claudi sepulchrum . . . ponit et coaptat tabulam seu lapidem super sepulchrum claudens illud.’*”

“Before concluding I would respectfully ask:—

“1. Is it necessary that this stone or slab to cover the sepulchre should be of the same material—viz., marble—as the altar, or would slate or any other stone do?

“2. Is it necessary to have more than one relic in each altar? *i. e.*, would one relic suffice; and if not, would two or more relics of the one saint suffice, or should there be one or more relics of *different* saints in each altar? The *Pontificale* all the time speaks of the relics in the plural number, but the rubric would seem to signify that more than *one* saint’s relics are necessary. *‘Illi quorum Reliquiae includuntur;* and in the beginning of the Mass we say: *‘Per merita sanctorum tuorum quorum Reliquiae hic sunt.’*”

“Begging to be excused for trespassing—I remain, sincerely in Christ,

“M. D. HOWLEY, *Pref. Apoc.*

“SANDY POINT, BAY ST. GEORGE,

“WEST NEWFOUNDLAND.”

## OUR CATECHISMS.—MOST REV. DR. O'REILLY.

The catechism generally in use throughout the Northern Province before the introduction of the Maynooth Catechism was that bearing the title "A Catechism of the Christian Doctrine, divided into four parts, by the Most Rev. Dr. Reilly."

A few biographical notes of the author of this well-known catechism may have an interest for many readers of the *I. E. Record*. Dr. Reilly was a native of the diocese of Kilmore, and County of Cavan. The name would point to East Breffni. His full name was Michael O'Reilly. He was Vicar-General of his native diocese before 1736. Subsequently he became rector or parish priest of Drogheda, and was recommended for the vacant see of Derry, by King James, on the 10th of April, 1739. It is hardly necessary to say that this King James ("Jacobus Rex") was son of James II., and commonly called the "Old Pretender," who died at Rome in 1766.

Dr. O'Reilly's Brief of appointment to the vacant see of Derry bears date April 24th, 1739. In the following year, 1740, we find Dr. O'Reilly one of the assistant bishops at the consecration of Francis Stuart, a Franciscan Bishop of Down and Connor.

Brady, in his *Episcopal Succession*, tells us that Michael O'Reilly was translated from Derry to Armagh, by Brief, dated January 23rd, 1749. The recommendation of O'Reilly, by "Jacobus Rex," was dated Romæ, Die 23 Decembris, 1748.

The Right Rev. Edmund Derry, who was Bishop of Dromore in the early years of the present century (1801-19), and who has written short sketches of the successors of Primate Hugh MacMahon, speaking of Dr. Reilly, says:—

"He published two catechisms, one in Irish, the other in English; and though there have been many others written and printed since that period, his work (particularly in Ulster) has the ascendant. He was a most rigid disciplinarian, and it was often his practice to surprise the priests on Sundays, whom, if he discovered that the children committed to their care were not instructed in the catechism, or that the sacerdotal vestments or ornaments of the altar were not in that decorous state in which he would wish to find them, he publicly rebuked with unfeeling severity. His residence was in the parish of Turfegin, near Drogheda, in a farmhouse, where he died about the year 1758, and was interred in the burial-ground called the Chord, on the outside of Laurence's Gate, Drogheda."

J. D.

## Notices of Books.

---

CHRISTIAN ANTHROPOLOGY. By Rev. John Thein.

New York : Benziger Brothers. 1892.

THIS volume fills a great void in Christian philosophical literature. All students of philosophy for many years back must have experienced considerable difficulty in the study of anthropology from the want of a reliable book dealing fully with the subject as it stands at the present day. Of course we have many scholastic treatises, but they are too scholastic, and almost useless as regards developments of the present age. And although the origin of life, and, consequently, the origin of man, has been, especially during this century, the great argument used against the necessity of God, the struggle has been almost entirely one-sided, and our adversaries have had the field undisturbed to fight amongst themselves about details. This has arisen more or less from that certain security with which Catholics lean upon their old unchanging faith regardless of new errors or old errors in new forms. Yet these new forms of error are appearing every day in such seductive surroundings that it is necessary, in order to save the unthinking, that they be warned of the error, and saved from its bane. Most attractive volumes of history, travels, and geology, have recently been written in a popular style, all using the same instrument to dethrone God, the origin of species. The knowledge of Christian anthropology is most necessary, therefore, just now. "It is especially the priest," as the preface says, "who should possess a more or less thorough knowledge of these scientific subjects, which are so often and so vigorously debated nowadays . . . the priest who knows only his dogmatic and moral theology may be surprised and confounded by objections formulated in entirely new language, supported by pretended fact, or by a discovery wrongly interpreted."

Father Thein's book is written in a very nice, clear, light style, a style that would win one to read it to the end when once commenced—a most essential thing for an English scientific work. To a priest it will be engaging reading, at the same time that it is imparting knowledge most useful and necessary. Everything connected with modern anthropology is dealt with in detail. All the different systems of our adversaries are fully explained and refuted as far as consonance with dogmas of faith requires that they should

not be supported. Here and there we find long extracts from Haeckel, Darwin, Huxley, Tyndal, &c., which make it easier for us really to understand their mind on the subjects under discussion. It is consoling to find also a liberal spirit running through the pages. There is no shaking of the faith, which makes it seem so opposed to new discoveries in science. And to this matter there is embarrassment equal to refutation for opponents when they discover, after working out long systems of arguments against imagined Catholic doctrines, that these doctrines are not defined by the Church at all, and that many Catholic scientists hold to the same arguments.

Father Thein, on the matter of the age of man, thinks mankind over eight thousand years old. Recent discoveries in Egypt would make one imagine that Father Thein has been even moderate in estimating eight thousand; for, although there is force in the discovery that the lists of dynasties overlap one another, yet to an ordinary inquirer, reading an account of them, the conviction would be that the human race is very much older. On the subject of Darwinism we have a broad field of inquiry without wandering into unbelief; for we know that Darwinism, restricted within certain limits, is not necessarily in conflict with the Bible. As far as the body is concerned, certainly we can be Darwinians, if we like, without being infidels. At the same time, we must avoid to the sentiment of the author's remarks in his chapter on "The Antiquity of Man and Geology." "It is curious to note the readiness of men to accept anything new and startling, and to efface and destroy the old landmarks of time and history, merely because somebody has said they are foolish. Men have even been more rebellious against religious dogma than in our days, and yet they have never bowed with more humble submission to assertions put forward in the name of science by self-styled savants. When we are told 'Science has spoken,' the case is settled. Everything must give way to science; everything must have her seal and approbation. But has science spoken? Are we sure that these misguided sceptists, infidels and materialists, do not err in their speculative theories, like many other weak and diseased minds which trespass on the domain of theology? . . . We call scientists to the bar of judgment; we shall try them before an unbiassed jury; and we are willing to submit the verdict to the intelligence of our readers." What wide fields of interesting inquiry are opened up in this volume, and all traversed in a most interesting and complete way.

Nothing is passed over. The Bible is searched, the earth is searched even to the mention of the Laurentian-Eozoon as an organism or not; the different parts of the races of men are examined and brought together for the specific unity of mankind. As is evidenced, Father Thein has given to the study of anthropology "years of study and research." The result has been a real masterpiece of its kind, and cannot fail to meet with the approbation not only of junior philosophical students, but also of the old and tried in the ways of modern science.

CHRISTIANITY AND INFALLIBILITY ; BOTH OR NEITHER. By the Rev. Daniel Lyons. London : Longmans, Green, & Co. New York : 15, East Sixteenth-street.

THIS is a handsome 8vo volume, of some 280 pages, printed in clear, bold type, on strong superfine paper. The author deserves to be heartily congratulated on having done a really good work in the cause of religion, and for having done that work well. In his preface he sets forth in a few well-chosen sentences the importance of the subject he undertakes to handle, especially at a time like the present, when "the course of religious thought is every day bringing into clearer light the truth which the Catholic Church has ever insisted on—viz., that Christianity, to maintain its rightful hold on the reason and conscience of men, needs a living, infallible witness to its truths and principles; a living, infallible guardian of its purity and integrity; and a living infallible interpreter of its meaning."

The book is substantially made up of five chapters. We say substantially, because the appendices, treating respectively of the "Happiness of Converts," of "Some Facts relating to the Vatican Council," and of "Pontifical Decrees and the Obedience due to them," are not very intimately, if at all, connected with the main subject of discussion. In the first chapter the author explains the meaning of the Catholic doctrine of Infallibility. He first tells us very exhaustively what it is not, and then in clear precise language defines its true meaning. The second and third chapters are taken up with the development of the arguments in support of the Catholic doctrine. The arguments made use of by Father Lyons are of two kinds—first, those that show the *necessity*; and secondly, arguments chiefly taken from the inspired writings, that establish the *fact* or actual existence in the Church of an infallible teaching authority. Nothing could

be better than this portion of the work, the learned author's arguments being all closely reasoned, forcible, and convincing. In the fourth and fifth chapters the leading objections that have at various times been brought by non-Catholic writers against the dogma of Infallibility, are carefully examined, and answered in a full and masterly manner.

It can be easily inferred from the foregoing observations that *Christianity and Infallibility* is a valuable addition to our stock of popular theological literature, and that it will amply repay all who make a study of its pages. The volume bears intrinsic evidence of having been written principally for the instruction and benefit of non-Catholic readers: and this, we take it, is the reason why the author has, with a few exceptions, made all his quotations from the Authorized or Protestant Version of the Scriptures. Yet it may fairly be doubted whether the end had in view would not have been as fully secured had the texts been cited from the Catholic version; or whether a non-Catholic reader, who should refuse to be convinced by arguments based on Scripture testimonies, as found—say, in the Douay Version—will be likely to yield to the arguments, however conclusive in themselves, as drawn by Father Lyons.

There is one statement contained in this book to which we cannot agree. We do not believe that the action of the Holy Spirit, in the case of infallibility, is always "wholly negative." On the contrary, we are convinced that it rarely, if ever, is so; and we think the teaching of Catholic theologians on this point is more accurately conveyed in the studied and guarded language of the late Mr. Proctor, quoted on page 225, than in the phrase, "wholly negative."

We also notice that at page 176 there is what seems to be a slight confusion of ideas, and a consequent inaccuracy of expression, that the author would have done well to have guarded against. The following is the passage referred to:—"There is no species of tyranny that can reach the mind and compel its assent. The consent of the will may be extorted, but the assent of the intellect—no." Surely it is not contended that the mind or intellect is more free than the will: or that, if the consent of the will could be extorted, the assent of the intellect could not also be extorted or compelled. Liberty, we should think, is intrinsic, not to the intellect, but to the will, the liberty of the former faculty being extrinsic—borrowed from and imparted to

it by the will. These remarks, however, in no way affect the truth of the author's main contention—viz., that the assent of faith is perfectly free and voluntary.

R. O.

THE STORY OF A PARISH. By the Very Rev. Joseph M. Flynn. Morristown, N. J. 1892.

THIS is the history of the parish of Morristown from the foundation of its first church, in 1847, to the present year, 1892. A fuller history of the parish could scarcely be possible. The minutest details are entered into: even lists of subscribers' names are recorded. It is a pity, indeed, that every parish should not have its history told in some tangible form. We could not expect it to be done in the perfect way of Father Flynn. But there are so many parishes even here in Ireland where a stranger might find the utmost ignorance existing of its antecedent history, and this mostly from want of a little care in preservation of documents, &c. Father Flynn's book errs, if anything, on the side of perfection. It is beautifully bound and illustrated. To the people of Morristown it must be an interesting memorial of their parish. An authentic but less detailed history, together with the safe-keeping of important books and papers, would be a most desirable thing in every parish.

THOUGHTS AND TEACHINGS OF LACORDAIRE. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son. 1892.

All lovers of Lacordaire, and, indeed, of our holy religion, must feel glad at the publication of this volume. The extracts lead us so much more into the heart of Lacordaire, and we see there the attractions which won it back to the faith, and held it firmly at anchor to the end. Too little seems to be known to us of Lacordaire; and too much could not be known of him in this age, when the lives of most youths are a repetition of his youth, and when youth needs so much the bright example of his repentance to stimulate good efforts to rise above sin. The "masculine religion" of the quotation from Newman seems thoroughly exemplified in those *Thoughts and Teachings*. They are evidently Thoughts and Teachings for masculine minds, minds not imbued intuitively, as it were, by soft religious feelings, and nourished by sensible devotion; but hard, stern, inquiring minds that need to be met "squarely" and honestly. The issues are put plainly without any self-assumption. He is a great theologian and a

great philosopher, and yet he will at times leave both theology and philosophy aside to remind his hearers that these things of themselves are unable to bring faith to the dead soul. Here his honesty exposes his humility, for it requires something more than an ordinary effort of humility for a man of Lacordaire's intellect to acknowledge that in many cases he can argue, but not convince; that his knowledge of philosophy and theology may supply him with fine arguments, but that conviction must come to the soul "as the gentle rain" from heaven, the effect of God's grace. He had felt this too plainly in his own conversion, not to put it plainly before others. "It is impossible," he says, "for me to say on what day, at what hour, and how, my faith, which was lost during ten years, reappeared in my heart as an inextinguishable torch. Theology teaches us that there is a light other than that of reason, an impulsion other than that of nature, and that this light and this impulsion, emanating from God, operate without our knowing whence they come or whither they go." "The Spirit breatheth where He will."

Another acknowledgment which any experienced person feels, but does not like to confess to an opponent, is this: "The existence of God has, indeed, been philosophically demonstrated: but this demonstration, beautiful as it is, will never unite two men together." In these *Thoughts and Teachings* Lacordaire constantly places himself in the position of the unbeliever, and argues from that position, and we may well think he was then repeating what went on originally in his own soul in the days of his unbelief. The chapter on "Negation" must have been one of those self-revelations. He wonders at his own stupidity in denying everything so readily without the slightest proof of these negations: and, no doubt, in his own mind he was comparing himself to the child when he says: "Should a child rise up in the midst of the people, and deny the existence of God, think you that it would be necessary to demonstrate it to him? For my part, I think not. I think that it is for him to prove that there is no God." In the next chapter he ridicules the credulity of unbelief, from the fact that unbelievers will be ready to believe anything which the opponents of Christianity put forward, no matter how silly or unproved the theories be.

The book is invaluable as an exemplar of true and most attractive forms of argument, and is enhanced by our knowledge of the great holiness of its author. The stern fidelity to the law of

God and the humble submission to His Divine will, the characteristics of Lacordaire's latter life, can be read through every page. Lacordaire was a great prophet raised up by God for the salvation of France. It is a pity he was not heeded more. How far deeper France has sunk into materialism since. We might fancy we still hear its great reproach as we have it in this book, and with as much truth :—

“ The incomprehensible is the soul of the Christian ; it is his light, his strength, his life, his respiration. You say it is his foolishness. . . . For sixty years you have endeavoured to do without this folly, and to preserve the benefits of Christianity, while repudiating its dogmas ; it is for you to say whether you have succeeded.”

THE LITTLE GRAIN OF WHEAT, AND OTHER SUGGESTIONS OF DEVOTION. Compiled by F. A. Spencer, O.P. Boston: Thomas Noonan & Co. 1891.

THIS is a nice little devotional book containing prayers and pious thoughts extracted from several valuable sources. *The Little Grain of Wheat*, a translation from the French, is a series of meditations likening the soul to the grain, subjecting it to the different influences of God's providence, represented by the flail, the fan, the mill, &c. Then follows two other allegorical series under the headings *The Field, the Village and the Castle*, and *The Advent of the King*. *The Hour before the Blessed Sacrament* are well-known meditations on the humanity of our Lord, and most suitable for a visit to the Blessed Sacrament. Amongst all the other collections of lovely aspirations and meditations contained in this book, it is hard to pick and choose for comment. Henry Suso's *Baptism of Blood and Maxims of the Interior Life*; *Jesus' Psalter*; *The Holy Hour*; *Songs of the Heavenly Country*, from the *Devotions of St. Gertrude*; *Three Ways of Hearing Mass*, from *St. Leonard of Port-Maurice*; and a beautiful explanation of the Rosary under the title of *The Crown of Roses*, are sufficiently attractive to pious souls to draw admiration on this compilation of Father Spencer.

# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

---

JULY, 1892.

---

## UNITY OF FAITH.

“Non habet charitatem qui dividit unitatem.”—ST. AUG.

JESUS CHRIST came down upon earth, and walked among men, to teach them the truths of eternal life, and to instruct them in all things necessary to salvation. And before quitting the world He bade His apostles and disciples continue this great work which He had begun, and to go forth over the face of the whole earth, and teach all nations. He furthermore added, that whosoever accepted His doctrine, and believed, should be saved; whereas whosoever believed it not, should be condemned; or, in plain English, should be damned for all eternity.

The apostles were commissioned to teach others the truth which Christ had taught them, and to make it known throughout every land. Now, truth is one and the same in all places and at all times. It has none of the properties of the chameleon. It cannot change its form or complexion to suit the conveniences of men. This may be asserted of all truth, whether secular or religious. That a straight line is the shortest distance between two points; that the whole is greater than a part, &c., is as true this century as last, and on the south of the equator as on the north; nor can climate, or position, or surroundings ever make true false, or false true.

Hence, to say that Christ came to establish the reign of truth, is the same thing as to say that He came to bind all men together in one and the same belief—in a word, to

found a Church, wide as the world, co-extensive with mankind, every member of which was to profess identically the same doctrine. Hence, according to the intention of God, every mind was to bow in humble acknowledgment of the same divine faith.

To appreciate the gigantic difficulty of the task undertaken by Christ, it will be useful to take a brief survey of the nature and character of men. Consider what an innate propensity there is to differ among themselves. What endless diversity of opinion exists upon every possible subject under heaven. What a countless multiplicity of views are constantly expressed in the press and in society upon every topic, from the greatest and most momentous down to the least and most trivial. For, though all men possess reason, yet their reason being finite and extremely limited, the same truth seems to present itself to different minds in different ways, and none seem able to grasp any truth in its entirety. In this respect the mind's eye may be said to resemble in some measure the material eye. Things appear differently to the eye according to the difference of the point of view. The sun and the moon appear to a spectator on earth to be about the same size, though one is many million times the bulk of the other; so, too, they appear to be pretty equally distant from the earth, although we know *aliunde* that while one is tens of millions of miles away, the other is but tens of thousands. So, again, an object which looks perfectly straight when lying on the dry ground, seems to be crooked and bent when half-immersed in the water. A similar remark may be made with regard to colours. When viewed by gaslight they appear to be of one tint, and of quite another when viewed by daylight. So, too, what is clearly seen by a man with normal sight will be obscure, or altogether invisible to one who is short-sighted, and so on, and so on.

Now such strange diversities so often observable in the material world, have their counterpart in the spiritual, moral, and intellectual world. No observer can have lived for many years with men without being struck by this strange fact. Whether it be due to differences of education, or of training, or of surroundings, or of habits of thought, or

what, men will see the selfsame things in a totally different light.

Let me illustrate my meaning by one or two very common examples:—A trial is about to take place. Twelve jurymen are summoned. They are men of mature age, of average ability, of fair education, and with a reputation for sound sense. In neither of the contending parties are they particularly interested. And, what is more, they honestly and conscientiously resolve to set aside all prejudice, personal feeling, and bigotry, &c., and to be guided in their judgment simply and solely by the merits of the case as it is set before them. Yet, incredible as it may appear, it often turns out that even this handful of men cannot agree upon a verdict. Consider the whole circumstances carefully. All twelve jurors have assisted at the trial; all have carefully watched the proceedings from the opening of the case; all have listened to the pleadings of the counsel for the plaintiff and of the counsel for the defendant; all have gazed on the countenance of the judge, and heard his summing up and final instructions and remarks. Precisely the same words, sentences, intonations, looks, and gestures have come under the notice of each of these twelve men. There is no information afforded to one which is not afforded to all, and yet they cannot agree. Here is a clear proof that the same evidence affects some in one way, and some in another. One jurymen deems the prisoner innocent, another rests quite satisfied that he is guilty. One would pronounce the death sentence with perfect equanimity, the other would set the accused forthwith at liberty.

Here then we have a dozen men, of a like station in life, living in the same age, in the same city, and amid the same surroundings, unable to agree upon one definite point concerning which all have had the same evidence. If this be true, what chance, let me ask, in all fairness, would there be of getting *the entire world* to agree upon *any single article* of faith! How practically impossible it would be, by mere argument, to persuade all men to agree upon *the whole summary* of truth which goes to make up Christian faith! It would certainly be wholly impossible by any force of mere reasoning and argumentation.

Or, take a somewhat different example. Say politics. Here, within the single town of London, living side by side, are men of the most divergent views. Within a circumference of twelve miles we find that men of the same education, possessing the same information, with access to the same sources, who watch the course of events with the same eagerness, and who read and study history with equal interest and avidity, draw the most opposite conclusions, and advocate the most opposite policy. They are Whigs or Tories, strict Conservatives, advanced Liberals, or violent Radicals. They denounce and condemn one another; and from platform and rostrum they openly declare, and probably sincerely believe, that their opponents are enemies of their country; that their policy is subversive of all order and prosperity; and that, if followed, would drive England to the dogs. Yet, while one reproaches the other in the bitterest terms, each may very easily be following his own deeply-seated and honest convictions. And so it is with almost any question that may be suggested. Ask, *e. g.*, an Englishman, a Prussian, and a Frenchman to give you the true historical account of the battle of Waterloo. What a contrast there will be in the three different pictures, though all are supposed to be painting the same scene! With what a partial hand will they apportion the blame and the praise, the shame and the glory of that memorable day! Or discuss with an Italian and a German the relative merits of Dante and Goethe. Ask which poet is really the greater. The German will give you twenty reasons for preferring Goethe; the Italian will discover or invent just as many for preferring Dante.

Men split up and divide upon every subject. If we set aside mathematical and axiomatical truths, we may safely say that there is hardly any one subject upon which they are absolutely agreed. On questions of music, painting, and architecture; of history, literature, and poetry; how extraordinarily man differs from man. Who will persuade all men to agree upon the best systems of government, the best methods of education, the best means of fortifying a city, attacking a square, razing a redoubt, or prosecuting a campaign, or for the matter of that, even the best way of cooking an egg or boiling

a potato? On almost every subject that can engage the mind of man, there is disagreement, opposition, and constant dissension. So much so, indeed, that *Quot homines tot sententiæ*; as many men, so many judgments, has become a common proverb in every language.

Innumerable other examples might be given; but I think enough has been said to show how little men are disposed to agree, and how extremely difficult it is to find, I will not say any one race, or even any one nation, but any one county, town or city, in which all the inhabitants are united upon any one point.

Some years ago a well-known London daily paper put to its contributors the question: "*Is marriage a failure?*" There were thousands of published replies, but all different. Every writer modified and qualified his (or her) answer by conditions and considerations of his own. Another paper requested its contributors to amuse themselves and the public during the silly season by mentioning the ten most distinguished men in history, and collocating them in order of merit; and, of course, with a similar result. In fact, though God has conferred the gift of reason upon all, yet even in the same country, and in the same age, there will be found to exist many opposite and contradictory views on the most homely and familiar subjects.

Bearing this fact in mind, we shall be in a better position to estimate the enormous difficulty of the task undertaken by Jesus Christ. For what did He propose to do? To efface all differences in matters of supernatural faith, and to draw together in a bond of perfect religious unity not one race or country, but all races and all countries; and not merely all men living at one period or century, but all races, tongues, nationalities, and peoples who should ever be born to the end of time. He resolved to make it practically possible to reduce to harmony the religious beliefs of hundreds of millions—or, if we include those still unborn, of millions of millions of men of every age, character, constitution, condition, education, race, and colour, and to put them in a position to know and to accept the whole body of revealed truths; truths, be it observed, most difficult, most

abstruse, most unintelligible to mere reason, and wholly above the mind of the wisest man to unravel and explain; such as the mysteries of the Blessed Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Holy Eucharist. Rich and poor, old and young, learned and ignorant, lords and labourers, masters and slaves, were to obtain eternal life by accepting the same revelation. The words are most clear and categorical: "Whosoever believeth, shall be saved; whosoever believeth not, shall be condemned."

Yet what vast differences exist in the mental condition of different persons. Contrast the highly-educated academician, fresh from the university, with the decrepid old street woman, whose thoughts scarce ever soar beyond her apple stall or steaming tray of roasted chestnuts; or the simple lay brother, ripening for heaven within the peaceful cloisters of some monastic retreat, with the soldier bold, ready for carnage, bloodshed, and tumult, quick, testy, and impatient for the fray, and with the rude blast of war blowing in his ears; or again, the old judge, slow, serious, and solemn, pronouncing in muffled tones the sentence of death, with the country maiden, all blushes and smiles, dancing and coquetting with her companions on the village green. Marked, indeed, is the contrast; yet these, and all others from the king upon his throne down to the king's humblest subject and meanest slave or bondsman, have to subscribe and to assent to the same dogmas and articles of faith.

Such contrasts as the above are to be met even within the walls of the same city, and are few and unimportant as compared to others that exist within the broader circumference of the world-wide Church. Here we are confronted not only with different individuals, but with different tribes and peoples; peoples as far removed from one another in character and disposition as in latitude and longitude. On one side we have the highly-cultured European, on the other the degraded Australian black; while between these two extremes innumerable different races and characters take their stand: *e.g.*, the woolly-headed negro, toiling in the sugar plantations beneath a scorching tropical sun; the undeveloped Esquimaux, drinking train oil in the land of perpetual ice

and snow; the Beduin, traversing the sandy deserts of Arabia; the Chinaman, plucking the tender leaves in the sunny tea groves of his own country; the venturesome Mexican, fishing along the banks of the Orinoco; and the Neapolitan Lazzarone, sleeping and basking in the broiling sun.

Every man, woman, and child throughout the whole earth, even though separated from one another by habits, customs, traditions, language, occupation, interest, and antecedents, are commanded to unite in professing the one true religion taught by Jesus Christ. As to our Lord's intention, there can be no shadow of doubt. He came to teach the *whole* world, and to teach the truth; and truth is essentially *one*. He even prayed that this unity might always subsist. In the solemn hour preceding His bitter passion He addressed a prayer for unity to His Eternal Father: "Father, keep them in Thy name . . . that they may be one, as We also are one" (John xvii. 11). And again: "Not for them only do I pray, but for those also who through their word shall believe in Me, that they *all* may be one, as Thou Father art in Me, and I in Thee" (John xvii. 21, 22). St. Paul, when writing to the Ephesians, refers to this fact in very remarkable words. Christ, he tells them, "Gave some apostles, and some prophets, and other some evangelists, and other some pastors and doctors, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ, *until we all meet into the unity of faith*, and of the knowledge of the Son of God," &c. (chap. iv. 11, 12); for there can be but *one faith*, just as there can be but one supreme Lord (Ep. iv. 5).

It is clear from reason, and from the explicit teaching of Holy Scripture, that the Incarnate God desired unity of faith among men. He wished that all in every place and in every age should profess the same eternal truths; and He wished this sincerely and efficaciously, and imposed it upon mankind as a most serious obligation.

But it would be inconsistent not only with the known goodness and benignity of God, but even with His wisdom and His justice, to command a unity so contrary to nature,

so impossible to unaided reason, so difficult even to the best disposed, unless He at the same time provided some really sufficient means of maintaining it. He who knows so well the clay of which we are formed, and the weakness and imbecility of our nature, would not, and could not in justice, expect or exact union, unless He established some simple, practical, and efficient principle of union, easy to work and easy to apply.

This principle exists nowhere save in the Catholic Church, and is no other than the principle of authority. The Church of God, which is spread throughout the world, is held together by an infallible Head. In all matters of doctrine and morals the millions of the faithful are dependent on their pastors and priests; the thousands of priests are dependent upon their bishops and archbishops; and the hundreds of bishops and archbishops are dependent on their sovereign lord, the Pope. The Pope, as Vicar of God and Vicegerent of Christ upon earth, is the centre of a vast organism, which branches off in all directions as the spokes of a wheel branch off from the hub, and has its ramifications in every country, and extends to the furthest ends of the earth. As every one of the radii of a circle meets at and is connected with the centre, so every member of the Church is kept in touch with the centre of authority at Rome. Having thus connected every member of the Church through a series of ascending gradations to one head, the only thing needed to secure and maintain perfect union of doctrine is the infallibility of that head. The recognition of the Sovereign Pontiff's absolute immunity from all error in faith and morals when teaching the whole Church, "*urbi et orbi*," would ensure a perfect union throughout the whole body of the faithful. This God in His infinite wisdom promised, and in His infinite power secured. He imparted this stupendous gift first of all to St. Peter, and then in turn to all those destined to succeed him in the government of His Church. "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it," &c. (Matt. xvi. 18). And again: "I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not; and

thou being once converted confirm thy brethren" (Luke xxii. 32).

The wisdom displayed in this wonderful contrivance is truly divine. No one considering it can fail to be impressed. Indeed, one hardly knows which to admire more—its marvellous simplicity or its extraordinary efficacy. It is at once the most practical method of attaining the desired end, and the easiest to work, and reminds us of some of those beautiful contrivances in nature which fulfil a most complicated purpose by the simplest possible means.

Ten thousand streams, all of which are supplied from the same fountain-head, must all be the same ; so ten thousand peoples and races, all of which derive their doctrine from one infallible source, must ever profess the same doctrine, and thus enjoy perfect unity of belief.

So long as a man has humility enough to obey the authority of the Vicar of Christ, which is no other than that of Christ Himself ("who heareth you heareth Me"), so long will he remain in the unity of faith. When disputes arise, when differences of opinion are expressed, no breach is formed, for the matter is referred to Rome, and the Pope decides the question, and puts an end to the dispute. For the disputant either accepts the decision or proudly resists. In the first hypothesis he remains a dutiful child of the Church, and in the second hypothesis the Church simply casts him out of her communion as a rebel. The unhappy man may be a cause of scandal for a week, and of comment for a month ; but a few years pass, he dies, and in a short time his very name is forgotten ; while the Church moves gloriously on, invulnerable, immutable, the bride of Christ, and the glory of her children.

At the present moment the Catholic Church, though spread throughout the entire world, remains ever one integral organic whole. And why is this ? Because the selfsame divine voice that spoke through Peter in the council chamber of Jerusalem nearly two thousand years ago still speaks through Leo XIII. All Catholics recognise him as the mouthpiece of the infinite God, and when he pronounces a decree or defines a doctrine, two hundred

millions of loyal subjects bow in cheerful grateful obedience before him, and accept his ruling and his authority. He watches over the whole flock. He has been appointed pastor by Christ Himself. All are bound to listen to him as to Christ in person, and who despises him despises Christ (Luke x. 16).

While others are tossed about on the pathless sea of error, and are carried hither and thither by every wind of doctrine, we are at peace. What a contrast between the Church and the sects! Who, but the stone-blind, can fail to distinguish the work of God from the work of man?

What is the bond of union among Protestants? Where is their infallible authority? The Bible. But is the Bible, when left to each one's private interpretation, a principle of unity? History and experience prove it to be precisely the reverse. It is a most prolific principle of disunion, of discord, and dissension. So soon as ever the principle was introduced, men split up into different sections, according to the different interpretations they gave to the various passages. And when they differed among themselves, who was to settle their disputes and to adjust their difficulties? Who was to preserve unity? There was no one. They recognised no infallible voice. Each felt himself to be as good a judge as his neighbour. What was the result? Chaos! In a word, endless divisions, and the formation of a heterogeneous assembly of persons known by the extraordinary name<sup>1</sup> of Protestants, not really united in one organic whole, but each following his own guiding light—constituting an assemblage to which courtesy extends the name of Church, but which is about as much like the Church of God as a heap of loose stones is like a cathedral.

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

<sup>1</sup> Webster defines a *Protestant*—"a Christian who protests against the doctrines and practices of the Roman Catholic Church." Can one conceive any form of religion more inane, empty, and unattractive than one which is based and founded upon protests!

## THOMAS DE BURGO :

AUTHOR OF THE "*HIBERNIA DOMINICANA*," AND BISHOP OF  
OSSORY.

**I**N his *Collections of Irish Church History*, Dr. Renchan says, in reference to a certain incident in the life of De Burgo, that "if any man had a claim to be spoken of with reverence by Irish ecclesiastics, it was the amiable and learned author of the *Hibernia Dominicana*. That admirable work presents not only an accurate history of his Order in Ireland up to his own time, but is so enriched with other historical details not found in any other work, that it has been largely used by all who have since that time written an Irish ecclesiastical history. Yet the production of that work, great as it is, and brought out under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, does not constitute his sole claim to our respect. His fame as a historian has obscured in a great measure his merits as a theologian and canonist. Altogether, while thinking of him as the learned De Burgo, as he is called, our respect for his learning should be mingled with a large share of that tender regard we feel for all those ministers of the Gospel whose hard lot was cast in the penal times, and who kept unflinchingly at their work, though the terrors of the law were for ever hanging over their heads.

Though he was born in Dublin in 1709, his family came originally from Galway. It is a strange thing and a pity that he should be commonly known now by the Latinized form of his name, De Burgo, though his real name was Burke. He was Father Thomas Burke when he was attached to the convent in Dublin, and Dr. Burke when Bishop of Ossory. *Venerabili Fratri Thomæ Burke*, says the pontifical diploma appointing him to the mensal parish of St. Mary's, Kilkenny. After that who will deny that it is as great an incongruity to call him De Burgo, as to speak of the contemporary Archbishop of Cashel as Dr. Butlerus. If we had a record, however slight, of his early years, it would help to lift the thick veil that covers the lives of the Irish Catholics of that

period, the end of Anne's reign and the beginning of George I., the worst and least hopeful of the penal times. In what "Popish school" he stealthily received the elements of knowledge, in what chapel he heard Mass on Sundays, when he was confirmed by Dr. Edmund Byrne, what were his relations with the Dominican Fathers, who had already returned from exile and were living in Bridge-street—all these are details we could lovingly dwell upon.

One only reminiscence does he give us of those years, an incident which certainly must have made a life-long impression on his mind. He was just nine years old when the Portuguese Jew, Gorsia, by representing himself as a priest, got into the confidence of the Catholics of Dublin, and succeeded in delivering over seven priests to the authorities. There were two Jesuits among them, three secular priests, a Franciscan, and Father Antony Maguire, the Provincial of the Dominicans. The terrors of the law had evidently little effect on these devoted men, for though shipped out of the country, and threatened with the severest penalties if they returned, they were all back again before long at their respective posts. This is only one out of many instances of which all record has been lost. For the priest-catchers were abroad, looking for their prey, and in spite of the execration they were held in by all classes, being stoned through the streets whenever they appeared, by both Protestants and Catholics—a scene Dr. Burke testifies he often witnessed when a child—were spying into private houses, trying to gain an entrance into private chapels, on the lookout too for private schools, as they could get their reward for the Popish schoolmaster as well as the Popish priest. The Catholics were crushed, and courted concealment—poor suffering serfs, reduced to a common level by their relentless persecutors, harassed in every relation of life, yet bearing their wrongs with silent heroism—alas! that no record has been left of those noble sufferers, whose lives deserve to be written in letters of gold. We have knowledge of the times we could well dispense with, knowledge *ad nauseam* of Jonathan Swift and his circle, of the intolerant, persecuting Protestant ascendancy party, who were lords of

the soil, and held every office in the towns and boroughs. What interest can we feel in Swift's patriotism, in the contests between Whigs and Tories, and the clamour about Wood's halfpence, when we reflect that the men who were posing as Irish patriots were keeping the Irish nation in bondage?

Dr. Burke's early education must have been carefully attended to, in spite of penal edicts, for otherwise he could not have entered so young as he did upon his theological course. He was only fourteen when, bidding adieu to home and friends, he set out for Rome to be clothed in the white habit of the Order of St. Dominic, under the eyes of his grand-uncle, another Father Thomas Burke,<sup>1</sup> who had been driven into exile, and was then apostolic penitentiary at St. Mary Major's. What may we not think of the ardent spirit of the young boy who was devoting himself to the priesthood, when we call to mind the fact that the very year he set out for Rome, a new bill against the Irish priesthood, so inhuman and atrocious that the pen refuses to describe it, was debated in the Irish Parliament, and passed both houses. Fortunately, pressed by the French Government, the English Parliament refused to sanction a bill which, in spite of the fact that it never became law, has left an indelible stain on the history of the Irish Protestants.

We must now follow our young neophyte to the City of the Popes, which is to be his home for the next twenty years. For twenty years to bask in the sunshine of religious freedom; to walk about in his religious habit; to see the ceremonial of Holy Church carried out with becoming splendour, and be on terms of intimacy with the highest heads in the Church; that, surely, was a privilege to one who

<sup>1</sup> There were several remarkable men of the name belonging to the Order in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Father Thomas Burke, of Limerick, a man of great talent, taught for many years at Louvain, and died there in 1614. Father Thomas Miles Burke, killed by the earthquake in Lisbon while saying Mass, 1755, author of an English Catechism, Father Thomas Burke, of Athenry, thrown out of his convent by the soldiers in 1698, but, being too old and infirm to bear transportation, left to die. Father Thomas Burke, of Galway, born in 1692. Father Thomas Burke (jun.), of Athenry, exiled in 1698, grand-uncle of Dr. Burke.

had been brought up in the close, stifling atmosphere of persecution, had served God by stealth, and had lived in daily dread of the insolent Protestant boys of his own age. We can well imagine the old exile, his grand-uncle, who had seen hard days, shedding tears of joy as his young relative knelt down to be clothed in the white habit. What more had he now to live for; he had done his own part nobly, saving souls undeterred by danger and persecution, and in his young relative who knelt before him he saw a successor who would carry on the work and perpetuate the religious traditions of the family to which they both belonged. In one short year after this joyful event, his aged eyes were calmly closed in death, and his bones were laid to rest among his brethren in Rome.

The two Convents of St. Sixtus and St. Clement, in possession of the Irish Dominicans since the middle of the preceding century, were the gift of the Master General of the Order, and were intended to serve both as a refuge in times of persecution and exile, and as a seminary out of which the Irish mission might be supplied with a constant succession of well-trained missionary priests. The two convents were under one superior. In Dr. Burke's time there were four professors and generally about twenty students. The course, the usual one from time immemorial all over the Order, embraced two years' philosophy, one year's preparatory theology, and four years' study of St. Thomas. By special dispensation, Brother Thomas was allowed to study—most likely to make up his classics—during his first year's novitiate, under Father Thomas Vincent Kelly, of Kilkenny. In 1725 he began his philosophy, while he studied for two years under Father John Brett,<sup>1</sup> of Sligo, who had just been appointed professor, and who, doubtless, was delighted to have such an intelligent pupil to begin with. He began his theological studies in 1727, and continued them for five years.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nominated by Benedict XIII. for Killala, and consecrated at Rome, 1743; translated to Elphin, 1748.

<sup>2</sup> A copy of Gonet's *Manuale Thomistarum*, preserved in the library of the Black Abbey, Kilkenny, has this entry:—"Ad usum F. Thomae de Burgo, Hiberni; Ord. Praed. Die 16 July, 1727." The entry, in different handwriting, of "F. T. V. K." would seem to point out that it was a gift to him of Father Kelly's.

The students in his time evidently had their hands full of work, for besides the usual classes, they had two *circuli* daily : that is, private theses propounded and defended. In addition to these family affairs, as we may call them, they often had public disputations at St. Sixtus, and on one occasion Brother Thomas made a great display in the Church of St. Clement's, that large church being used for the purpose, when a greater concourse of people than usual was expected.

But the dry routine of his studies was interrupted by many a joyful event. The year after his arrival in Rome, he had the happiness of seeing a member of his Order raised to the highest dignity of the Church, when Cardinal Orsini became Pope, under the title of Benedict XIII. How lovingly he dwells, in the *Hibernia Dominicana*, on the *urbanissimus Pontifex*, as he calls him, on his constant visits to his Irish children whom he prized so much ; his solicitude for the improvement of their convent of St. Sixtus ; painting the church, and putting up new altars ; and after the catastrophe of 1727, when a great part fell down in the night, restoring it all at his own expense, and coming every week to see how the work of restoration was progressing. Then there was the joy of seeing Father M'Egan in Rome, the indefatigable Irish Provincial, to whom were due the foundation of the house and chapel in Bridge-street, and the setting up of the Dominican nuns in Chammel-row, after their flight from Galway. Though he had now come to Rome merely to make his official visitation of the two convents, before his departure he was raised to the see of Clommacnoise, and was consecrated bishop by Benedict XIII. in the Quirinal Palace. And then, three years later, there was the consecration at the Vatican by the same Pontiff of Father Michael M'Donogh, one of Brother Thomas's professors, who before his departure for Kilmore remained for a year with his brethren in Rome. We can easily pardon our historian for dwelling with such minuteness in a great historical work, on the retreat which Benedict made at St. Sixtus, as it brings vividly to us even at this distance of time such a clear picture of the loving familiarity which

existed between the Supreme Pontiff and the Irish brethren. How he was always present in choir ; received the discipline like the others in the evening ; would not be treated with any special distinction in the refectory ; and how—and this Brother Thomas recounts with [pardonable pride—how he himself was the one appointed to wait on the Pontiff from morning till evening, and never left his side except in the afternoon when the Pope insisted on his going, mind you, to the plays at the Minerva, where, like the other colleges in Rome, they were got up at carnival time, and with special instructions one evening to bring the Master General of the Order back to supper, and on another evening the Prior of the Minerva. And lastly, how, when the retreat was over, the Pontiff recommended him strongly to the good graces of the Master General, and made him a present of a precious rosary beads, which he was determined to keep as a relic to his last hour.

He was made *lector artium* before ordination, and taught philosophy and theology for the next two years, passing through the usual grades of the Order, holding the office of regent of studies for six years ; and finally, in 1742, receiving the degree of master of theology. It increases our admiration of him to know that in spite of the constant labour and attention of mind which a professorship of theology involves, he found time to perfect himself in the Spanish tongue, and translated a moral theology into Latin from the Spanish of Father Larraga, a Spanish Dominican ; but he so changed it in the translation, and added so many dissertations, that, according to the title-page, it might be considered an entirely new work.<sup>1</sup>

Nor was his mind devoted wholly to theology. It was, doubtless, in Rome he first acquired the taste for the historical studies on which his fame principally rests. His friendship with Pietro Pollidori, the historian, *mihi amicissimo*, could not but exert an influence over him. He was in Rome when Clement XII. gave a great impetus to

<sup>1</sup> "Ita ut jam recenseri possit *opus nostrum*, universam Theologiam Moralem complectens, omnibus suis numeris absolutum."

archæological studies by founding the Museum of Roman Antiquities, and sending the learned Assemani to the East in search of manuscripts. Dr. Burke made a minute study of the history and antiquities of the two churches with which he was connected, and wrote a long account of them while still in Rome, which he afterwards incorporated into the *Hibernia Dominicana*.

A petition he drew up on some pecuniary affair relating to St. Clement's, brought him prominently under the notice of Benedict XIV. He also formed a lasting friendship with a Franciscan friar<sup>1</sup> who was destined years afterwards as supreme Pontiff to play no unimportant part in the history of the Church. While Dr. Burke was regent of studies at St. Clement's, Frater Ganganelli occupied a similar position in the Convent of the Twelve Apostles. Besides the friendly feeling which always existed between members of the two orders, similarity of tastes and occupation would naturally draw these two men together, and the public disputations over which it was their duty to preside, would tend to throw them a good deal into one another's company.

No small debt of gratitude is due to Dr. Burke from the Irish Church for his work (now forgotten) in connection with the *officia propria* of almost all the diocesan festivals celebrated in Ireland. Whether the festivals of these Irish saints were celebrated before his time in Ireland at all, or whether their offices were read from the *commune sanctorum*, it is hard to say from the words of the decree: but, on either supposition, it was rather a disgrace to the Irish Church that more should be made of their saints in distant and unknown dioceses in Europe than in their own country. However an easy explanation of this apparent neglect of centuries will be found in the policy of the English rulers even in Catholic times to suppress everything, even in religious matters, distinctively Irish. And history tells it was not till the eighteenth century, not until after much sorrow and oppression, that the old Irish and the Catholic English settlers were welded into one nation. It was through the hands

<sup>1</sup> *Mia animæ Viri acerbissimi qvæ Patris Laurentii Ganganelli*

of his old professor, the Bishop of Kilmore, that Dr. Burke received the commission from the Irish bishops and clergy. It involved constant personal solicitations on his part to the Sacred Congregation of Rites for the space of eight months; and the matter would have been protracted much longer, *juxta praxim Urbis*, as he very pointedly says, if he had not obtained from Benedict XIV. the nomination of the learned Dominican, Cardinal Gotti, to the work. Having at last obtained the desired decree, he sent it on to Dr. John Lenigar, the Archbishop of Dublin.

In 1743 he returned to his native city after an absence of nearly twenty years. We shall not accuse him of want of love for his native land, if he shed tears of regret on leaving the City of the Popes. He might leave it, but he would never forget it; as long as he lived Rome, the centre of Christendom, would ever remain fixed in his heart. The influence of his Roman education can be distinctly traced through his subsequent career. Devotion to the Holy See could not be a mere dry theory to a man who had been personally acquainted with three Pontiffs. Theology may be learnt in any country, but an accurate knowledge of Canon law and the procedure of the Roman courts can naturally be acquired with much more facility in Rome than in any other place. During his long absence the persecution had quieted down in Ireland; and in spite of charter schools, defection from the higher classes and foreign enlistment, the Catholics were holding their own, and, according to some, were increasing in numbers. Numerous chapels and Mass-houses had been built in which Mass was said without fear of interruption, the religious orders had settled down near the sites of most of their old convents, and had taken either houses in the towns or farms in the country. The priest-catcher was almost a thing of the past. But this state of things was rudely interrupted by the outbreak of 1744, and Dr. Burke was destined to witness the last dying stroke of persecution. An alderman, acting on the injunctions of Parliament to enforce the Popery laws with greater rigour, burst into the chapel of St. Paul's on the north side of the city, while a Father English was saying

Mass, and just allowing him time to take off the sacred vestments, carried him to prison in a vehicle which was waiting outside. He then went to the chapel of the Dominican nuns, and arresting the two Dominican fathers, their chaplains, sent them off to the same prison. Dr. Burke at that time was doing duty for the Archbishop at St. Paul's Chapel, and only a few days previous had made an exchange with Father English regarding the hours at which they said Mass.

The raid which was made soon afterwards on the Dominican house in Kilkenny and the dispersion of its inmates, was but a sample of the spirit of fierce persecution which burned through the country for the following year. Priests crowded into Dublin from all parts of the country, thinking they could hide more securely in a large city than in small towns and villages where every man knew his neighbour. The caves and the secluded glens in the country, and the stables and back-rooms in the towns, had to be once more brought into requisition for the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. At last, the catastrophe in Dublin, when a priest and several of his congregation were crushed to death by the falling in of the floor, just as he was in the act of giving the last blessing after Mass in the top story of a ruinous old house, created such a sensation that it put an effective stop to the persecution. All the public chapels were opened for Divine worship on St. Patrick's Day, 1745, and have never been closed since.

Doctor Burke now settled down to the ordinary work of the fathers in Bridge-street. There was no interruption now to the work of preaching, hearing confessions, and visiting the sick, except that through motives of prudence the evening sermon was omitted during the Parliamentary Sessions. The daily public recital of the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin and that of the Holy Name was practised and has continued down to the present day. It strikes us now as curious that the sermon at the seven o'clock Mass should have been preached in Irish. One part of the work of the fathers, which seems to have been pretty general in the first half of the last century, was the conversion of Protestants, and their reception into the Church.

In 1745 he received a second commission from the Irish bishops to obtain a decree for the *officia* of fourteen other Irish saints in addition to the ten saints whose *officia* he had already secured. As he was now living in Ireland, it would have been very difficult for him to bring the matter to a successful issue unaided, and he was very much indebted to the kind assistance of Father John Lynch of Galway, who had succeeded him at St. Sixtus and Clement's, and through his efforts he obtained the decree after two years' negotiations. The two decrees having been obtained at last, his next task was to collect the *officia propria*. Not indeed an easy one, for it involved for three years a multitudinous correspondence with many distant dioceses in every part of Europe, with the result, however, that in the end he succeeded in discovering them all, except those of St. Colman and St. Celsus. These he composed himself, and they are distinguished from the other offices by being in *italics*.<sup>1</sup>

Two years after this, when he was preparing the *Moral Theology*, to which we have already referred, for the press, his labour was suddenly cut short by his being appointed by the Provincial Chapter then sitting in Dublin, historiographer of the province. He speaks rather regretfully of the work having been interrupted—*mihi magis jucundum foret*—and we can share his regret to a certain extent when we reflect that the original Spanish work had already passed through twenty editions, and that his compilation had already received the authorization of the Order. However, we must admit that his *Moral Theology*, whatever good it might have done in his own day, would have been, in the ordinary course of things, superseded by other works. We will gladly take the *Hibernia Dominicana* in exchange—a work which if unwritten in his time would have left a gap in Irish Church history impossible to fill up afterwards.

<sup>1</sup> "*Officia Propria Sanctorum Hibernia ab omnibus utriusque sexus quæ ad Horas Canonicas leantur, tam in memorato regno, quam in conventibus et Collegiis extranationalibus sub Ritu Duplici Majori recitanda, in Vini Duplicis Decreti Sacre Rituum Congregationis, ut duæ priores pagina indicabunt. Procurante A. R. P. Thomæ de Burgo, Dublinicensi, Ordinis Prædicatorum, S. Theologiæ Magistro et Promotario Apostolico.*" Dublinii, 1751, in 8vo.

The law passed at the General Chapter of the Order a few years previous, making it imperative on every province to appoint its historiographer, was made at a very opportune time. The persecutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had desolated many of the provinces of the Order in Europe; the fathers had been expelled, the archives of the convents scattered to the winds, and the convents themselves either razed to the ground or allowed to go into ruin, and all trace would now be lost of the former glories of the Order in these places, if steps were not taken at once to collect the information that remained.

Dr. Burke then threw up the work he had on hands, and set himself with vigour to his new task. He leaned for support on his brethren at first, but when the repeated letters he sent to the superiors of the various houses, asking for information, remained unanswered, he found that he was to rely solely on his own efforts. We can heartily sympathize with him as he shakes his head over the proverbial apathy of the Irish in historical matters.<sup>1</sup> And judging from the way that even, in these enlightened days, antiquarians will be treated by their friends, we shall not be wrong in supposing that the brethren had many a good-natured laugh at his determined zeal in rooting out and verifying the records and traditions of the past. For, not content with mere hearsay, Mr. Father O'Heyne,<sup>2</sup> a previous writer, living in a foreign country, he set to work on the manuscripts and printed historical works in the public and private libraries in Dublin. We may congratulate ourselves that the unanswered letters forced him to undertake journeys, in the true spirit of an antiquary, to the sites of all the old convents of

<sup>1</sup> "Antiquis penitus etiam nimirum notis Hibernigenarum Idise in rebus Ignavis rebus inquit verbo."

<sup>2</sup> Father John O'Heyne, O.P., of Athenry. He opened a large school near Galway for the children of those who were driven into Connaught by Cromwell. In 1680, he had to hide, and was driven out of the country. Having returned, he remained eight years in Connaught, till the general exile of 1698, in which he was included. It was during this second exile he wrote his work *Epilogus Chronologicus, caputis sacrethe Comaratus et Enucleatus Sacri Ordinis Predicatorum in Regno Hibernia, et Nomina patrum quorundam Illustrum Filiorum Clushe Provincie, qui viderunt quoniam in Exilio aut Domi viventium*.—Lovanii, 1716, in 4°.

the Order. In this way, during the four years that he was engaged in the work, he travelled over the whole country, seeing with his own eyes, and noting down whatever remained of the past. We can imagine his disappointment when, after a long and difficult journey—for travelling was far different in those days to what our experience leads us to believe—to find, instead of striking and imposing ruins which were known to exist even in Father O'Heyne's time, nothing but a few crumbling walls almost level with the ground. Alas! the increasing population had ruthlessly torn down the relics of former days, inscriptions had been defaced, stone tombs had been turned into cattle troughs, walls had been thrown down, and the stones carted away for building purposes. Out of forty convents hardly a vestige remained of more than three or four.

The writing of the book, he tells us, was done at intervals, in the midst of arduous missionary labours, an hour now and an hour then, *successivis horis*. These duties were by no means light in those days, when priests were so few. In addition to his duties in the Dominican Chapel, he appears to have been vicar of the Dominican nuns for most of the time he was in Dublin, an office which gives a certain power of supervision over the internal arrangements of the convent. At this time there were only eight or nine convents of nuns in the country. Four of these were Dominican, under the Provincial of the Dominicans, who appointed the vicars. The Dublin community had been driven from Galway by a petty persecution in 1717. Eight nuns, amongst them Catherine and Mary Plunkett, nieces of the martyred prelate, took up their abode in a small house in Fisher's-lane, on the north side of the Liffey. After remaining there a few months, they changed their residence to a little back street called Channel-row. Time went on, and as they increased in numbers, they were able to rent the house next to them, throw it down, and build a fine new house on the site. In Dr. Burke's time, the community generally numbered about thirty, not including several ladies who lived in the convent as lady-boarders, and generally about twenty young girls, who were educated by the nuns.

We cannot but admire the persevering industry of our historiographer, which enabled him after four years of incessant toil to present such a complete and accurate work to the fathers again assembled in Dublin for the Provincial Chapter of 1757. Dr. Burke was of an independent turn of mind, and in his preface gives sound advice to the critics and *carillatores*, as he calls them, who, he foresaw, would be picking holes in the fabric he had reared at the cost of so much labour. “*De suo meliora proferant, antequam judicent de alieno*,” he says; and his advice is of universal application. It is easy to criticise, but hard to create. The fathers assembled in Chapter received his work with the gratitude due to a man who had done a great service to his Order, a feeling of gratitude heightened by the fact of his having performed the labour without any assistance. Having read the work, and given it their approbation, they ordered it to be transmitted to Rome for the approbation of the heads of the Order. The preservation of his treasure now imposed on Dr. Burke the task of writing out in full a new copy with his own hands, for a trip on the Continent just at that time, while the Seven Years’ War was raging, was an unpleasant and dangerous journey, even for a book.

If we are surprised at the amount of geography the book contains—for instance, that Kilkenny is so many miles from Dublin, so many miles from Mullingar, &c.—we must bear in mind that the book was intended for the use of the whole Order, many of the members of which, living in distant countries, might well be supposed to be ignorant of such important facts. The general history of the Order in Ireland is followed by a particular history of each house in Ireland, and the foreign convents of Rome, Louvain, and Lisbon. The Irish Dominican nuns are not forgotten, and each house gets its historical notice. This is followed by a series of Irish Dominican bishops, writers, prior provincials, martyrs, and others eminent for sanctity. The *Digressio Necessaria*, chapter vii., which caused such unnecessary comment eighteen years afterwards, is an account of the state of Ireland from the beginning of the reign of James II. up to Dr. Burke’s own time. As it would not

have been prudent, owing to the state of feeling in Ireland at the time, to publish historical matter of this kind as coming from himself, it is taken entirely from the second edition of Father Porter's *Ecclesiastical Annals*.

While the *Hibernia Dominicana* was on its way to Rome, he wrote an appendix to a historical work, which was going through a new edition, in which he gives a short historical notice<sup>1</sup> of all the religious houses suppressed in the time of Henry VIII.

AMBROSE COLEMAN, O.P.

## NAPOLÉON'S DIVORCE.

THE year 1809 marks the height of Napoleon's glory, and the beginning of his downfall. After a series of campaigns such as the world had never seen, he had overthrown all the Powers of Europe. Austria had succumbed in 1805, at Austerlitz; Prussia, in 1806, at Jena; Russia, the mightiest of all, in 1807, at Friedland; while, in 1808, the English had been driven out of Spain, and a fresh attempt on the part of Austria, in 1809, had led to fresh disaster at Wagram. The whole of Europe now lay at his feet. His own dominion extended far beyond the Rhine and the Alps: his creatures ruled in Spain, in Italy, in Germany; his influence was bounded only by the sea. But there were dark clouds overhanging all this glory. The English overran the seas with even greater impunity than he overran the land: the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius VII., had nobly refused to shut his ports to English vessels, and had been carried away into captivity; and lastly, the mighty conqueror himself was without a child. Napoleon had all

<sup>1</sup> Historical Collections, out of several eminent Protestant historians, concerning the changes of religion and the strange confusions following, in the reigns of King Henry VIII., King Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; an Appendix setting forth the abbeyes, priories, and other religious houses dissolved in Ireland; and a historical account of each. Dublin: 1758.

the natural craving for that sort of immortality whereby a man's existence is prolonged in his posterity. When he had been rudely asked who were his ancestors, he had proudly answered: "*Moi, je suis ancêtre.*" He was now forty. What availed the magnificent empire which he had reared with so much genius, if, at his death, it was to go to pieces? Nay, he felt that his own glory was incomplete, and his dominions insecure, until he should have entered into the charmed circle of sovereigns, by contracting a matrimonial alliance with one of the ancient royal families. Thus he would unite in himself order and progress. His rule would command all the respect due to what was venerable, while still possessing the vigour of youth; his name would gather to itself all the glorious memories of the past, and all that was brightest in the hopes of the future. But Napoleon had long been married. Josephine, whose first husband, *Vicomte de Beauharnais*, had perished during the Terror, had captivated the youthful general, and had shared his anxieties during the Directory and his triumphs during the Consulate and the early years of the Empire. He himself had placed the crown upon her head on the memorable day when *Pius VII.*, the representative of the oldest dynasty in the world, took part in the coronation of the leader of the Revolution. But she was older than her husband, and was now past the time when she could have any hope of offspring. Napoleon loved her dearly, but he loved his "glory" more. Josephine was accordingly divorced in December, 1809, and in the following March, *Marie Louise*, the daughter of the head of the ancient house of *Hapsburg*, became the bride of the upstart conqueror of her country.

According to Catholic principles, this second marriage would, at first sight, seem to be no marriage at all. Hence we find that most Catholic writers treat it as such. But about five years ago, the letters of *General Berthier* (who had charge of *Pius VII.* at *Savona*) were discovered. The General says in one of these, written in the early months of 1810, that the Pope was indignant that no application had been made to him in the matter, but that he nevertheless

recognised the new marriage, and afterwards was even pleased with it.<sup>1</sup> This testimony, is, of course, by no means conclusive. It may, however, arouse sufficient doubt to induce us to examine the question ; and, fortunately for our purpose, we have now access to documents which were refused to historians during the Second Empire. M. Welschinger has made a careful study of these, and has published the result of his labours in a work entitled *Le Divorce de Napoléon*. While acknowledging my obligations to the materials collected by him, I must here point out that he is in no way responsible for the opinions expressed in the following paper.

For the purpose of clearness, it will be well first to give an account of the two inquiries before the religious tribunals, and afterwards to examine how far their decisions were justified. The reader should note that the word "divorce," in the present connection is a misnomer. The judges were not called upon to break the marriage bond, but to decide whether there had been any valid marriage at all. The same remark applies to the case of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Aragon. It is usual with non-Catholic historians to reproach the Popes with sometimes granting divorces, and at other times refusing them, as if the result merely depended upon the whim of the Popes ! When they have granted the so-called divorces, they have, in fact, merely declared that the pretended marriage was originally null and void, or they have dissolved a true marriage which had never been consummated. No instance can be produced of their having dissolved true and consummated wedlock.

On December 22, 1809, Cambacérès, the Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, sent for the two canonical officials of Paris and the two promoters, and informed them that, in consequence of the civil dissolution of the marriage between the Emperor and Josephine, he was authorized to ask them to declare the religious marriage null and void, so that His Majesty might espouse a Catholic princess. The officials at

<sup>1</sup> *Le Pape Pie VII. à Sarone, par H. Chotard*, pp. 187, 188. See also page 83.

once protested that such a case must go before the Supreme Pontiff. Cambacérès replied that he was not instructed to apply to the Holy See: indeed, under the circumstances, it was impossible to do so;<sup>1</sup> the Emperor and Empress, therefore, submitted their case to the tribunal of the diocese to which they belonged. The grounds of the invalidity were that the so-called marriage in 1804, before Cardinal Fesch, had been celebrated without the presence of the parish priest and witnesses, as required by the Decree of the Council of Trent; and that, moreover, Napoleon had looked upon the ceremony as a matter of form, without any binding effect. The officials again expressed their doubt as to their competency to examine the case, and thus the interview terminated.

Ten days afterwards the formal application, in writing, was presented. In this document greater stress was laid on the want of consent than had been done at the verbal request. The officials, still doubting their powers, at once consulted the Ecclesiastical Commission at that time sitting in Paris, composed of two cardinals, an archbishop, and four bishops. This body decided that the case should be tried first in the Diocesan Court, then in the Metropolitan Court, and that a final appeal should be made to the Primate's Court of Lyons. Accordingly, the diocesan official, the Abbé Boileve, appointed January 6th for the opening of the inquiry. Four witnesses were examined. The first of these, Cardinal Fesch, was the only one whose evidence was of much weight. His deposition shall therefore be given in full:—

“ Her Majesty the Empress often begged me to use my influence with the Emperor to bring about the blessing of their marriage; but it was only on the day before the Coronation, at about one or two o'clock in the afternoon, that the Emperor sent for me, and told me that the Empress insisted on receiving the nuptial blessing, and that to pacify her he had decided to summon me. He required that there should be no witnesses, and that the whole affair should be kept as secret as confession. I was obliged to reply: ‘No witnesses, no marriage.’ But seeing that he persisted in refusing to have witnesses, I told him that I must get a dispensation, and, going at once to the Pope,

<sup>1</sup> Pius VII. was at this time a prisoner at Savona.

I explained that I should very often have to ask him for dispensations, and, therefore, I begged him to grant me all that would be required to enable me to fulfil my duties of Grand Almoner.<sup>1</sup> When the Pope granted my request I at once returned to the Emperor with a Ritual to give the nuptial blessing to their Majesties, which was done at about four in the afternoon. About two days afterwards the Empress asked me for a certificate of the blessing, but as she herself did not doubt that it had been granted to her to calm her conscience, and that it must remain an inviolable secret, I made her understand that I could not possibly comply with her request.

"Nevertheless, when she assured me that the Emperor agreed that she should have a certificate, I thought it my duty to give her one. To my surprise, when I told the Emperor, he blamed me severely, and revealed to me that all that he had done was for no other object than to soothe the Empress and to yield to circumstances; and he declared that at the moment when he was founding an empire he could not give up the prospect of a lineal descendant."

Berthier, the next witness, testified that the Emperor had refused to avail himself of the nuptial blessing at the time when the other members of the imperial family received it from Cardinal Caprara; that the ceremony on the eve of the coronation had taken place without witnesses, by the express wish of the Emperor; and that his Majesty had often said in his presence that he had no intention of binding himself, and did not consider himself bound by the act.

Duroc's evidence was to the same effect.

The fourth and last witness was Talleyrand. The ex-Bishop of Autun made the same declaration as the others, adding, however, that both before and after the pretended marriage he had heard the Emperor state that circumstances might require the sacrifice of his personal affections for the interest of his crown.

After the evidence had been given, the diocesan promotor, the Abbe Rudemare, drew up his report. Before presenting it, he submitted it to three learned canonists

<sup>1</sup> Je lui representai que très souvent j'aurais besoin de recourir à lui pour des dispenses et que je le priais de m'accorder toutes celles qui me devenaient quelquefois indispensables pour remplir les devoirs de grand aumônier.

who, as he affirms, approved of his conclusions.<sup>1</sup> Only one of the witnesses, he said, had testified to any marriage ceremony at all. The Cardinal's evidence proved that this had taken place, but also proved that the requisite conditions were wanting. But the question arose whether this defect had not been made good by Papal dispensation. The promotor was of opinion that as his Eminence had only asked for the dispensations required for his duties of Grand Almoner, and had not specified the extraordinary function which he was about to perform, the Pope had not granted this particular dispensation. The question of the Emperor's consent was so subtle that the promotor preferred to rest his case on the former impediment. As to the further question, whether the parties should not be required, in accordance with the usual practice of the court, to renew their consent, he submitted that grave reasons of State seemed to demand that this usage should not be insisted upon. Hence he came to the conclusion that the so-called marriage was null and void on account of the absence of the parish priest and witnesses, and that the parties should be declared free to contract any other marriage.

The Abbé Boilesve, the diocesan official, now pronounced judgment in accordance with this report, premising, however, that he did so on account of the difficulty of having recourse to the visible head of the Church, to whose cognizance such extraordinary cases had always belonged. An appeal to the Metropolitan Court was immediately lodged.

No time was lost in proceeding to the second trial. On January 11th, the Abbé Corpet, the metropolitan promotor, advised the rejection of the appeal. He, too, was of opinion that the Pope had not granted the dispensation as to the presence of the parish priest and witnesses. The duties of Grand Almoner did not extend to curial functions; hence it had been the custom to summon the

<sup>1</sup> The Abbé Emery, the venerated Superior of Saint-Sulpice, was one of these. He subsequently explained that he merely agreed that the tribunal was competent to try the case. See *Le Divorce de Napoléon*, pp. 114, 136.

parish priests of the parties when such functions were performed by the Grand Almoners. As he considered this as sufficient ground for his decision, he refrained from entering into the question of consent.

The final judgment was then given by the Abbé Lejeas, vicar-capitular and metropolitan official,<sup>1</sup> confirming the decision of the diocesan court. The question of consent, which had presented such difficulty, was now decided in the negative both on the ground of the direct evidence of the witnesses and as an obvious inference from the conduct of the Emperor in insisting on the absence of the requisite conditions.<sup>2</sup> No appeal was made to the primatial court of Lyons, perhaps, because Cardinal Fesch himself was archbishop of that see.

When the preparations were being made for the celebration of Napoleon's marriage with Marie Louise, the Archbishop of Vienna insisted on the rigorous examination of the competency of the tribunal of Paris, and the grounds of its decision. To remove his scruples, Cardinal Fesch sent him an authority to proceed with the marriage, thereby showing his own agreement with the decree of invalidity. After some further objection the Archbishop submitted, apparently on the ground that the Pope had been deceived. The marriage by proxy took place at Vienna in the presence of the Austrian Emperor and Empress, and the Archbishop and several bishops. Cardinal Fesch afterwards gave the nuptial blessing at the Tuileries, this time in the presence of the Curé of the Madeleine and two bishops as witnesses. Thirteen of the cardinals who were in Paris refused, however, to attend the ceremony.

The news of the marriage soon reached Pius VII. in his prison. It was the deathblow to his hopes of assistance from Austria. But, as we have seen, he appears to have recognised it as valid.

<sup>1</sup> The see of Paris was vacant at this time. Maury was nominated to it by Napoleon in the following October, but Pius VII. refused to grant him canonical institution.

<sup>2</sup> The text of the judgment will be found in *Le Divorce de Napoleon*, p. 126, *seqq.*

So far I have tried to tell the story of the divorce without note or comment. The canonical value of these proceedings will now be examined. First, we shall consider the competency of the courts, and afterwards the validity of the marriage with Josephine.

The Council of Trent decreed that matrimonial cases should be tried in the bishop's court.<sup>1</sup> The method of procedure was laid down by Benedict XIV. in the constitution *Dei miseratione*. According to this instruction, a *defensor matrimonii* (corresponding to the Queen's Proctor in English divorce courts) should always be appointed whose business it is to uphold the validity of the marriage, and to prevent collusion between the parties. If the bishop should decide against the validity, the defender must appeal. Of course either of the parties may appeal until the final decision is given in Rome. Such is the practice when the parties are subjects. But where it is a question of the validity of marriage between royal personages, the case must be tried in the Papal courts alone. Thus Louis XII. applied to Alexander VI.; our Henry VIII.'s case was laid before Clement VII.; and Clement VIII. dissolved the marriage between Henry IV. of France and Margaret of Valois. The reason of this practice is obvious. It would be unbecoming for a prince to be tried by his subjects; and, besides, the judges might be influenced by the fear or favour of their sovereign. In Napoleon's case the force of these precedents was recognised; but, at the same time, the judges considered that the circumstances of the case justified them in falling back upon the general rule that matrimonial cases should be tried in the diocesan courts. The Pope was a prisoner; it was not easy to gain access to him; any decision issued by him would be given under duress, and therefore would be open to suspicion. And, it might be urged, that the cases cited were not on all fours with the present one. Alexander VI. had himself instigated the dissolution of Louis XII.'s marriage with Jeanne of France; Catherine of Aragon had appealed to Rome, and her nephew, the

<sup>1</sup> Sess. xxiv., cap. xx., *De Ref.*

Emperor Charles V. had insisted on the case being tried there; Margaret of Valois, too, had recourse to the Sovereign Pontiff; whereas Josephine herself consented to the dissolution of her marriage, and was willing to abide by the decision of the diocesan tribunal. The Abbé Emery, who cannot be accused of truckling to Napoleon, admitted that the bishop's court was competent, under the extraordinary circumstances of the case.

It should be noted that no defender of matrimony appeared in the trial, though the promotor duly made the appeal. Perhaps this defect may have arisen from the fact that the constitution of Benedict XIV. was of comparatively recent date, and had not been followed in French canonical procedure.

We come now to the evidence of the nullity of the marriage. That the ceremony took place without the presence of the parish priest and two witnesses, may be looked upon as certain. The current story that Berthier and Talleyrand were present, is clearly untrustworthy. It probably arose from the fact that they were summoned as witnesses at the trial. As we have seen, their evidence makes no mention of their presence at the ceremony, while Fesch distinctly states that there were no witnesses. *Prima facie*, then, the marriage was null and void. But here we are met with the dispensation sought and obtained from Pius VII. Did this cover the case? Fesch seems to have been anxious to get the required dispensation, yet without distinctly mentioning it in his application to the Pope. Hence he made use of a general request, which he considered to include this particular dispensation. But this opinion of his cannot affect the matter. According to the general rule, a concession, when not expressly limited or amplified, is co-extensive with the terms of the request. The Cardinal asked for all dispensations which might be required for the fulfilment of his duties as Grand Almoner; but, as the Abbe Corpet pointed out, these duties did not extend to acting as the parish priest of the parties in matrimony. Hence the wily conduct of the Cardinal defeated his own object. Had he taken the Pontiff into his confidence,

as surely he ought to have done, the subsequent muddle would have been avoided. The two promoters and the two judges all agreed that the dispensation had not been granted; and I think it will be admitted that there is much to be said for their decision.

The question of Napoleon's consent does not seem so difficult as the Abbé Rudemare thought it. M. Welschinger ridicules the Abbé's subtleties in the matter, and makes light of Napoleon's word, and of the value of the testimony of such men as Berthier and Talleyrand. The mere assertion of one of the parties, that he or she had not consented, is not, of course, sufficient ground for a dissolution. The court, without deciding this question of fact, would order the parties to renew their consent. It is the conduct of the parties which is the best of all evidence. Their acts do not lie, even if their words do. And here the point raised by Lejeas, the metropolitan judge, seems to me decisive. The absence of the parish priest and witnesses, even if covered by dispensation (which is at least extremely doubtful), is conclusive evidence that Napoleon did not consent to the marriage. In other words, the first ground of nullity (clandestinity), if not sufficient in itself, proves conclusively the second ground (non-consent). If Napoleon had really intended to bind himself to Josephine, he would have acted in the same way as his other relatives at the time of the coronation, and would have been re-married by Cardinal Caprara. By going through the ceremony privately, without the necessary conditions, he clearly showed that his object was to pacify Josephine, and leave himself free.

This view of the nullity of the marriage is confirmed by the conduct of Cardinal Fesch and the Archbishop of Vienna, both of them sincere prelates, anxious to act up to their religious duties. Even the absence of the thirteen cardinals does not prove that they held the marriage with Marie Louise as bigamous. When the Emperor reproached them with endeavouring to bastardize his hoped-for offspring, Consalvi indignantly repudiated this accusation, and asserted that the real reason of their absence was to protest against the exclusion of the Pope from the matter. So, too, Pius VII. was justly offended that his rights were set at nought; and

moreover, at this time, he was rightly protesting against having been dragged away from his dominions, and detained in captivity. Nevertheless, as far as one can judge from the story of his prison life at Savona, he does not seem to have looked upon Marie Louise's marriage as null and void.

Whichever way the case is decided, Napoleon's conduct must be condemned. As far as he was concerned, the marriage with Josephine was at an end as soon as he and she had agreed that it was so. Had he espoused a Russian princess, as indeed he was inclined to, we should probably have heard nothing about any religious examination of the case. But the crafty Metternich, and Talleyrand, Napoleon's evil genius, were successful in luring him into an Austrian alliance. It was the severely orthodox Court of Vienna that required that the religious tribunals should declare Napoleon to be free to unite himself with a daughter of the House of Hapsburg.

Napoleon had always expressed the greatest confidence in his "star," while Josephine had insisted that it was *her* "star" that had given him his triumphs. During the quarter of a century that he lived with her, his career was one of unbroken success. After they parted, disaster dogged his steps in spite of the most brilliant exertions of his genius. His friendship with Austria made Russia his foe, and when Russia overwhelmed him, Austria contributed to his ruin. Marie Louise's child was the phantom emperor of a few hours. Josephine's grandson, Napoleon III., ruled over France for twenty years.

T. B. SCANNELL.

---

## THE MYSTICAL SENSE OF SCRIPTURE.—III.

THE theory of types and of the mystical sense they contain, which was set forth in the preceding articles<sup>1</sup> will be better understood when the instances in Holy Writ on which that theory is based have been considered. Their adequate treatment will furnish at once its confirmation and illustration; while as regards ourselves, according to the great Roman rhetorician, the way to acquire knowledge of any kind is—*breve et efficax per exempla*.

In this section, then, passages quoted in the New Testament, and therein either explicitly or implicitly affirmed to have a mystical sense, will be treated of, so far as this may be done, under the guidance of approved commentators. For, with a few exceptions, some of which will be mentioned in their place, the typical meaning of the Old Testament is, so far as we know, first revealed in the New.<sup>2</sup>

It seems, indeed, right that this should be so:<sup>3</sup> on the

<sup>1</sup> I. E. RECORD, Aug. and Dec., 1890.

<sup>2</sup> It makes, of course, no difference as regards authority, whether such [divine] interpretation be embodied in the written word or handed down as part of the oral teaching; both together form the *depositum fidei*; but for sake of clearness and convenience in our study of the subject, Scripture will be taken up before Tradition.

<sup>3</sup> In the absence of positive proof, no one is justified in asserting that before the Christian era the typical signification of many portions of the Old Testament was commonly understood. That such meaning was included in certain parts—those, for instance, regarding the Levitical sacrifices—must have been known to some at least; but its actual apprehension was far from being clear and extensive, or it was not learned exclusively from the canonical books. The import of a type is necessarily limited, and awaits an interpretation that can in the ordinary course be furnished only by the antitype. Even if we accept as portions of pre-Christian revealed tradition all the relevant passages in the Rabbinical writings collected by Raymond Martini, Sixtus Senensis, Schoettgen, Lightfoot, Drach, &c., the total shows that the ancient Jews knew that there was a hidden meaning, rather than that they understood what that meaning really was. (Their position in this respect was somewhat similar to ours at present in regard to the Apocalypse.)

There existed, indeed among them, many anticipations of what the Messiah would be, and what He would do, and these correct anticipations, all founded on the prophecies, and all more or less definite, were what St. Matthew had in mind when he so carefully showed that his Master had fulfilled them.

one hand, that the more sublime truths of God should for a while be hidden, because the Law had only the shadow of the good things which were to come ; and on the other, that when the fulness of time arrived, and He appeared of Whom Moses and the prophets wrote, *then* the mystical or inner meaning, which had from the beginning been contained in certain parts of the Old Testament, should be manifested to His Church by the Author of Scripture.<sup>1</sup> This divine arrangement or "economy" in the gradual increase of revelation is in complete harmony with the whole plan of Redemption, because a type is "an institute or act appointed by God to symbolize a religious truth, and to prefigure by means of analogy or resemblance those facts in the mediatorial work of Christ on which these truths rest." (M'Clintock's *Encycl.*) The Fathers have repeatedly drawn attention to this fundamental truth, and their teaching on the point has been summed up by St. Augustine in the well-known canon of exegesis : "In veteri testamento novum latet, in novo vetus patet."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The reader is not hence to infer that it was disclosed then for the first time to any person, because here he has no grounds for certainty. The mystical meaning may or may not have been understood by some individual who lived centuries before. For instance, the ancient writer himself may have been aware that there was this secondary or spiritual sense in his own words, and he may have been further enlightened so as to understand it. Theodore of Mopsuesta denied the *fact* (Kihn's, *Theodor von Mopsuesta und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten*, page 156); and, owing to Theodore's peculiar system of hermeneutics, of which something will be said later, his denial merits a passing notice ; but then the history of the first of the "Three Chapters" shows what kind of an interpreter Theodore was. Many would be inclined to make the opposite assertion.

It may be well, at all events, to remind some readers that the mystical meaning lies in the subject-matter, not in what is said about it ; it is a *real*, not a *verbal* sense. And where sacred history is silent, we would call attention to this truth, the only one on which certainty can be had *a priori* ; that since the sense in question was the product of inspiration bestowed not on him to *write*, but on others to *act*, the ancient author *as such* (Moses, for instance, in his *literary* office) need not have known it ; it lay outside his inspiration, and it may have lain outside his revelation.

<sup>2</sup> A few Catholic interpreters (Tirinus, Huet, Calnet), and many non-Catholic writers, say that in the very first quotation in the New Testament there is a mystical sense ; that the words of Isaias, "Behold a virgin shall conceive," &c. (repeated Matthew i. 23), were primarily and directly spoken of a (woman) contemporary of the prophet's, who was a type of the Blessed Virgin. Needless to say, this hypothesis is opposed to the teaching of nearly

18. The first example of this development of revelation occurs in a quotation made in the very beginning of the New Testament ("Out of Egypt have I called My Son," St. Matthew, ii. 15), where He who of old spoke by the prophet Osee now manifests His higher meaning through His Evangelist. This fifteenth verse, which implicitly records the return of the Divine Infant from Egypt, expressly states that it took place in order that the prophet's words might be fulfilled. Now if we look at the passage indicated

all the Fathers, and of the vast majority of orthodox commentators. It appears to have been devised in order to escape from a certain difficulty inherent in the text; but the attempt is futile; and what is assumed in order to remove a difficulty, only creates a *greater* one. See among Catholic commentators those of Le Hir, or Knabenbauer; or, what is better still, the extensive discussion of the subject in Reinke's admirable monograph, *Die Weissagung von der Jungfrau und vom Emmanuel*, Münster, 1848.

There is another opinion, absolutely untenable, the one—namely, maintained by the unbelievers that assert that the prophecy does not refer in any sense to the Blessed Virgin and her Divine Son. Passing by in silence Jews and Rationalists, we come to a Catholic who on account of his misinterpretation of this all-important prediction has got an unfortunate notoriety—J. L. Isenbiehl, a priest and professor of Scripture in Mayence. His *Neu-Versuch, &c., Monti*, 1778, in which he contradicted the traditional interpretation of the passage, was censured by the theological faculties of Mayence, Heidelberg, and Strasburg, and finally condemned by Rome. It had been written under correction, and Isenbiehl subsequently retracted (December 25th, 1779). The words of the Decree: "Divina Christi," Pius VI., 20th September, 1779, which make to our purpose, are as follows:—"Maxima vero se prodidit Catholicorum offensio, cum prædicari audierunt propheticum oraculum de divino Emmanuelis ortu ex Virgine non ad virginem Deiparæ partum, quem omnes prophetae annuntiaverunt, non ad verum Emmanuelem Christum Dum, *alio sensu sive liberali sive typico* pertinere; cumque S. Matthæus insigne istud vaticinium in illo prætatis sacramento adimpletum expressis verbis testetur, hoc tamen ipsum non ut oraculi adimplementum, sed ut adnotationem meram, vel allusionem a sancto Evangelista memorari." The latter part reaches far beyond the occasion which called the denunciation forth, and promulgates a law of Catholic interpretation. It confirms an axiom or guiding principle in exegesis of the best scholars, namely, that quotations in the New Testament which are introduced by the formula "that it might be fulfilled," must antecedently, or in virtue of it, be regarded as relevant; *i.e.*, that words thus quoted are repeated not in an *accommodated* sense, or in a sense different from that in which they were originally used, and that the formula itself is the infallible mark of the *fulfilment* of a prophecy.

Let us take, for example, that prediction of Osee which is the subject of the present article. In it God declares by means of His inspired servant, that God Incarnate would return from Egypt to the Holy Land. He who foretold was He who fulfilled. In His return, He executed His *own* eternal designs, and kept His *own* word. Surely, Christians of ordinary intelligence do not need the caution, that when reading Scripture

(Osee xi. 1: "As the morning passeth, so hath the king of Israel passed away. Because Israel was a child, and I loved him: and I called my son out of Egypt," *Douay*), it will at once be evident from the immediate context that in their primary signification the words above quoted refer to the people of Israel, not to the Messias, and that they are *history*, not *prophecy*. Osee is speaking literally of the departure from the house of bondage. Osee's inspired interpreter, however, declares that the words have

they must not infer from the solemn formula in question, that God set Himself to carry out the purposes of *man*. Yet a respectable commentator gravely remarks: "Ut, eventum, non causam significat; nec enim in Egyptum fugit, ut prophetia impleretur, sed ex fuga evenit ut impleretur prophetia." The writer's reputation precludes the notion that his observation is due to a superficial acquaintance with theology, or to a shallow, inaccurate view of inspiration, whatever we may think of the observation itself. But how superior to it, and how true are the words of Lucas Brugensis: "Qui predixerat quia facere statuerat, facit quia predixerat, ut verax sit." The obvious meaning of the formula is the true one. This is plain to plain people; but some interpreters have managed to make it difficult by ascribing another and a very different meaning to the corresponding phrase, *να πληρωθῇ*, so often used to introduce Messianic prophecies in the original text. They say it signifies, sometimes at least, that what follows may be used with truth of the event to which the quotation is applied, because the event, if not itself foretold, is a virtual or equivalent accomplishment of the prophecy. In technical language, the meaning for which we contend is called the "telic," and theirs the "ecbatic," the one implies design or purpose—hence the occurrence narrated in the New Testament took place in order that the prophecy might be fulfilled; the other implies consequence or coincidence; that is, the occurrence verified the prophecy to all intents and purposes, just as if it had been predicted. Do those who speak so, forget the words addressed to Peter: "How then shall the Scriptures be fulfilled, that so it *must* be done?" St. Matt. xxvi. 54; or those in St. Luke xxii. 37, xxiv. 44: Christ declares elsewhere that He came to fulfil the law, and that "not one jot or tittle shall pass from the law, till all be fulfilled"?

The founders of Rationalism directed their first attacks against the Old Testament, because they knew well that to deprive it of authority would be the speediest and surest means of subsequently getting rid of the New. One Testament is the counterpart and correlative of the other. Their inspiration and authority is the same.

The distinctive subject-matter of the Old may be less holy than that of the New, but Christ is signified throughout (though in different degrees) from Genesis to Apocalypse. He is the beginning and the end of both dispensations, and His Church declares that she "*Omnes libros tam Veteris, quam Novi Testamenti, cum utriusque unus Deus sit auctor, pari pietatis affectu, suscipit et veneratur.*" (Trent. Sess. iv.)

All grammatical commentators of the Greek New Testament discuss the precise force in various passages of the adverb *να*; some (Grimm,

reference to Jesus Christ, and attain their fulfilment in Him; hence we learn that the event they describe had a mystical sense—namely, that in their going forth from Egypt and coming back to Palestine, the people prefigured the Incarnate Word—that their Exodus was a type of His Return.

19. Before we examine the meaning of the passage in Osee, it must be observed that St. Matthew gives it as it still stands in the Hebrew text, and does not as usual quote from the Alexandrine or Septuagint version. A few words

Winer, Mayer) hold that the idea of design is inalienable, while others of equal fame maintain that in several places the “*ecbatic*” sense is the only one admissible (Moulton’s *Winer*, page 573, 9th ed.); and Evans in a very able article, *Expositor*, June, 1892, lays down a threefold meaning—definitive, telic, and subjectively ecbatic. A far higher authority than any of these, Beelen, shows that *wa* is really “telic” in texts where some regarded it as “*ecbatic*,” and that the former is the proper meaning of the word. (*German. Grace. N. T.*, pages 478, 481.) But whatever opinion about *wa* in itself be true (for here we merely allude to the controversy between Greek scholars), it appears certain that in cases such as that now under consideration (quotations advanced as proofs, quotations accompanied by explanations) the phrase *wa*  $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\omega\theta\eta$  is telic *de jure*, or signifies divine purpose or design. What else could such emphatic language mean? To explain it “*ecbatically*” is to explain it away, in a word to make the inspired statement *negatory*. An inspired author states that an event took place in order to a certain purpose: an *ecbatic* interpreter dares to say that it *did not*—but that it answers the purpose just as well as if it *did*! Away with such trifling. Let us take the Word of God as it is, and respect it. An evangelist expressly affirms that the event was foretold in the passage he quotes: and if there be degrees of intensity in inspired declarations, this is pre-eminently the case of St. Matthew’s Gospel, its special object being to convince the Jews that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah, *because* in Him were fulfilled the Messianic prophecies.

Reinke, in his *Die Messianischen Weissagungen*, iii., pp. 109-118, might seem to say that Osee xi. 1, is referred to merely in an accommodated sense by St. Matthew, whereas in reality he states the very opposite, page 112. There is, however, some risk of the learned writer’s meaning being misunderstood at first sight, because in the course of his remarks he quotes with implicit approval on the use in general of the phrase, “that it might be fulfilled,” passages from Cardinal Wiseman (page 113) and Maldonatus (page 117) which might perhaps appear to contradict his own teaching on the text in question. That of the great Cardinal has, in fact, been mis-apprehended by some. It occurs in his tenth lecture on *Science and Revealed Religion* (pp. 400-406, ed. 1866). The whole subject will repay attention. Michaelis, a German Rationalist (*ob.* 1791), rejected the first two chapters of St. Matthew’s Gospel, because forsooth they contained references to the Old Testament that did not correspond literally with the events to which they are there applied—that nevertheless could not be regarded as adaptations on account of the strong forms of introduction, “that it might be fulfilled.” &c. (We may add that Michaelis rejected

will suffice to explain the reason of the Evangelist's choice in the present instance. Osee says: "When Israel was a child I loved him, and *out of Egypt I called my son*;" but this version has instead: "For Israel is a child, and I loved him, and *out of Egypt I called his children*." Mansel remarks (*Speaker's Bible*), that "The Alexandrine translator, who knew nothing of the typical sense of the passage, seems to have felt that there was some strangeness in the expression 'my son,' used simply of the people of Israel, which he

the mystical sense: in his note on Lowth, "De sacra poesi Hebræorum," praelect xi., De allegoria mystica, he says: "(Locus) Mihi quidem totus suspectus, atque ab aliis etiam sollicitatus)." No examples, he observed, could be brought forward of any phrase so strong being used to introduce a mere adaptation of a text. This observation, Wiseman refuted with characteristic wealth of illustration. He pointed out several instances of the usage in the earliest Syriac writers, and thus deprived Michaelis's argument of all its vaunted force. The refutation was direct and unanswerable. The Rationalist was met on his own chosen ground of philology; and that ground was cut from under his feet. At the same time, Wiseman took care to make it evident by a few passing remarks (page 403) that he by no means admitted—how could he?—that the Gospel quotations might not be proved accurately applicable to the events they described. Those who fancy that he thought otherwise, miss the drift of his words, and mistake the appropriate reply to an objection for the proof of a thesis. Wiseman was engaged in disproving an untrue statement; he was not called on to declare what he himself held; and, as all accurate men, when speaking on one thing, he did not speak of another.

Now it is due to the memory of one of the greatest Biblical scholars of the age, to show that an injustice has unwittingly been done to his masterly refutation of Michaelis, and not by a sciolist whose words have no weight, but by an author whose noble work, *Institutio de Interpretatione Bibliorum*, contains, as his *cofrère* Father Cornely remarks, the best exposition of "mystical sense" that has appeared in modern times. So many are under obligations to Father Patrizi's book that it is only an attempt to pay one debt of gratitude, to point out a blemish which will certainly be removed from it to the advantage of many students. On page 177 (2nd ed.) where Father Patrizi defends the correct view of "ut impleretur," and its teleological import, the following statement in reference to it occurs: "Quanti facienda sit haec sententia, nemo non videt, ut sane mirari subeat fuisse atque etiamnum esse viros apprime Catholicos, qui re aut verbo eam in dubium revocaverint: Jansen. Gandav., *Concord.*, c. xi., Maldonat. in Matth. ii. 15; Vasquez in Thom. i., q. i., disp. xiv., c. 5. Wiseman Dodici conferenze, &c., conf. x., in fine.

The same allegation in reference to the Cardinal is made by the Abbé Trochon, *Introduction Generale*, page 554. The mistake is perhaps owing to the Italian and French translations which these authors may respectively have used. It seems that no one defends Jansenius Gandav. in this matter. As regards Maldonatus, in the passage referred to by Reinke and Patrizi, he lays down laws for the interpretation of the phrase "ut impleretur," which occurs, he says, in four different senses:

therefore, avoids here and in Exodus iv. 22, 23 ('Israel is my son,' 'Let my son go'), to which Osee probably alludes." A Lapidé excuses the Alexandrine translator and the Chaldee (Targum) for their use of the plural, on the supposition that they translated *ad sensum*, or read the original as "his sons," instead of "my son." It is worthy of remark that other Greek versions, those namely of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, have the singular. (Field's *Hierapla*, vol. ii., pp. 957, 958.) So, too, the Peschito (Lee's

transl. tells, accommodated, and cumulative (he uses the word on Matth. ii. 17, viii. 17, and xiii. 3). His theory may cause surprise, but its salient points are toned down in practice. For instance, he says that the prophecy of which he is actually treating (Osee xi. 1) is fulfilled in the second and third sense of the above-mentioned division; and elsewhere, in his commentary on Jeremias he speaks of what he calls "mystical accommodation." On St. Matthew, what he calls "accommodated sense" in one place, he calls "mystical sense" in another. The great commentator is, however, mistaken when he quotes St. John Chrysostom and St. John Damascene in defence of the *ecbatic* sense of *να πληρωθη*. Anyone who reads the passages in the works of the former, referred to by Maldonatus, will see that they treat of *να*, not of *να πληρωθη*. He names no passage in St. John Damascene; but perhaps the best for his purpose would be that in *De Fide Orthod.*, iv., c. xix., *εθος τη Γραφη, τινα εκβατικως οφειδοντα λεγειν, απολογως λεγειν*—still this is not about *να πληρωθη*, but about *να* in the sixth verse of the fiftieth Psalm.

Father Cornely says, in reference to Vasquez: "Dubitare quis possit cum alia formula 'tunc adimpletum est,' vaticinia pro accommodatis accipere permittat, at nisi verbis vim inferre velimus, illa quoque formula ita comperata dicenda est, ut accommodationem excludat. Duo autem sunt vaticinia que Vasquez ita in sensu accommodatitio recipienda censet, ut a literali non multum distet, imo ex illo ita mirabili quadam ratione deductur, ut non parum habeat energiae contra Iudaeos, quibus hypocrisin et cordis duritiam Christus exprobat, Matth. xiii. 14., xv. 17. Quamvis autem concedendum sit, Isaiam utroque in loco proxime et directe suos auditores alloentum esse de iisque verba fecisse, nulla est ratio cui ejus verba simul etiam prophetiam fuisse negemus: altera formula certe tam determinata est, ut veram accommodationem excludat, prior autem potest sensu latiori explicari, ut lex quam Isaias promulgat non solum patres sed etiam filios attingit. (Act. xxviii. 25, Matth. xiii. 14.) Quare nullum omnino vaticinium accommodari in Evangelio dicendum videtur." *Introd.*, vol. i., p. 545.

Another remark, indispensable to our subject, must conclude a note which has already run to an undue length.

The name of Theodore of Mopsuesta, is inseparably connected with that of the "ecbatic sense" of Scripture. In fact, his perverse doctrine on the subject, *i.e.*, the Messianic prophecies, was one of the counts of the anathema pronounced on his writings in the Fifth Ecumenical Council. See the condemned passages in the Acts, Mansi, ix., page 211, Nos. xx. xxi., and page 212, n. xxii. It must, however, be observed that his peculiar use of the word *εκβασις* has given rise to a certain misapprehension. Kihn

ed., page 560), which, moreover, is free from an ambiguity which exists in the original. (Hebrew adverb, *temporal* or *causative*, "when" or "because;" Syriac, *temporal*.) St. Jerome has "Dum," v., *infra*, No. 26, "quum adhuc puer esset Israel" (Gesenius, *Thes.*, page 680, s. v.): but the four named Greek versions have *οτι*.

Furthermore, it is impossible to understand the second half of this verse of Osee, when taken in connection (as many readers would naturally take it) with what is now its immediate context in the Vulgate. The division of chapters in our authorized Latin Bibles, made apparently by Stephen Langton, in the thirteenth century when biblical lore was scant, and, strange to say, afterwards adopted in copies of the Greek, Syriac, and other versions, is here incorrect. Instead of forming the latter part of verse 1, chapter xi., our passage, "When Israel," &c., should be the beginning of that chapter: and what there immediately precedes it, should become the

remarks (Theodore, &c., page 139) that in hermeneutical treatises it is commonly stated that Theodore regarded Messianic prophecies as fulfilled in Christ only *κατ' ἐκβασιν*, or as *vaticinia ex eventu*; in other words, that the New Testament writers quoted Old Testament texts in an accommodated sense, or gave them a new meaning to suit their own purpose. But Kihn shows (Nos. 141 to 143) by several examples from commentaries themselves (on Joel ii. 28, Zach. ix. 9, &c.) that this error is not precisely the error of Theodore. He held that the Old Testament writers used hyperbolic expressions (*supra modum*) in reference to contemporary persons, "Nam propheta quidem supra modum ipsam ponit circa populum providentiam dicens," xxi. "Quoniam quod supra modum dictum fuerat prius a David propter illata ei mala," xxii. Mansi. l. c., which were justified and were verified only in Christ. "Quoniam autem hoc verum et ex ipsis rebus eventum accepit in domino Christo," xxi. "Hoc ex operibus evenit in domino Christo," xxii. The New Testament writers applied or accommodated to Christ what *if* it had been said of Him would have been strictly true, when first altered. Here and elsewhere Theodore denied prophecy as such: it is true that he admitted types, but then he should have admitted their reality. He was, however, far from being a Rationalist in the modern acceptation of the term. Many of this class hold that the Old Testament passages were true of contemporary events, but assert that in them they received their entire fulfilment: hence it is only by "accommodation," or an undue extension, that they are made to cover events in the life of Christ: whereas Theodore says in effect that the events saved the passages from being exaggerations. Of all the Antiochene school he was the most opposed to the Alexandrine or "mystical" exegesis; in modern times, Grotius and Paschal, according to Kihn, agree with his system of misinterpreting the Messianic prophecies.

end of chapter x. (Reinke, Knabenbauer, S.J.) This is the only intelligible division; it is that of the Masorets.

20. A few remarks on the first half (*in the Vulgate*) of the verse just referred to may prove not unacceptable; indeed without them the scope and force of the prophet's utterance cannot be explained. The Hebrew really means, "*As the dawn, so shall the King of Israel be cut off.*" "Sicut in aurora, succidendo succisus est rex Israel."—*Sanctes Pagninus* : "Destroyed, destroyed shall be the king of Israel." (*Hengstenberg*, Eng. translation.) "At daybreak shall the King of Israel be utterly cut off." (*Anglican Revised Version*.) The Masoretic text has, it is true, "In the morning" (so too the Syriac and the Greek, *ορθρον*), but a few Hebrew MSS. (De Rossi) have "As the morning," thus agreeing with the Vulgate in what appears the better reading. The monarch here alluded to is Osee, the last of the kings of Israel. In low latitudes like that of Palestine, the aurora or dawn is of extremely short duration: hence its mention here and in vi. 4, xiii. 3, to represent what is but fleeting; the pomp and pride of King Osee, are as transient as the resplendent vapours of daybreak. His sudden downfall is also foretold, x. 7, in another figurative expression: "Samaria hath made her king to pass as froth upon the face of the water." Samaria, his capital, was besieged by Salmanazar, then taken by Sargon, and the king himself put in chains. Schrader (*Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. ii., p. 140), who is followed by Knabenbauer, thinks that the Salmana (Shalman) of verse 14, chapter x., is the contemporary Moabite King Salman, whose name occurs in an inscription of Teglatphalasar. Salman had laid waste Beth-Arbel (Baal, Vulg.) before he was subjugated by the Assyrian monarch. "Hæc vastatio recenter facta omnibus erat horrore: ita modus loquendi facile fluit, et cur Salman Moabite nullam honoris significationem exhibet," &c.—Knabenbauer. In Bethel, mentioned in the next verse (15) as the cause of the ruin of the kingdom of the ten tribes, Jeroboam had placed one of his two golden calves (3 Kings, xii. 28, 29). "The calf of Samaria," Osee viii. 5, 6; "of Bethaven," x. 5. The original one which Aaron made at Horeb was proclaimed thus: "These are thy gods,

O Israel, that have brought thee out of the land of Egypt ;” and it appears from our passage, and from xiii. 2-5 (even if we had not Jeroboam’s proclamation), that seven centuries afterwards, the prophet Osee had to raise his voice against the same blasphemous error, and to claim the glory of the Exodus for Jehovah. We are at length in the position to see the antithesis, and to know where the sense requires the division of the chapters ; broadly speaking, the tenth chapter would depict man’s wickedness, and the eleventh God’s goodness.

21. Now for the meaning of the passage itself. We must remember that it was in Palestine, the land which God showed him, that Abraham became the father of the chosen people. His immediate descendants, the “seventy souls of the house of Jacob,” who in the famine time went down into Egypt, were the nucleus of the nation, which increased and multiplied, till, strong in supernatural might, it returned to the Promised Land. This era in the nation’s history is the subject of the present verse. The pathetic appeal in Osee, of Israel’s Heavenly Father to be loved, opens with an allusion to His own tender care of His ever-wayward child. In its infancy, the Israelite people was sent by *Him* into Egypt for preservation (Gen. xlv. 3). There it was kept till the danger of perishing by famine had passed away, thence with “a mighty arm” was it brought forth, and then at length conducted back to the land of its patriarchs, under the visible protection and guidance of Heaven. We are all familiar with the history of that miraculous deliverance which displayed to the greatest kingdom of the world, the paternal love and the irresistible power of the God of Israel : but whose unaided intelligence could at the time have pierced the veil of the future, could have seen that these amazing occurrences were fraught with prophecy, and that the actors in that real drama were instrumental in expressing the deeper thoughts of the Allwise and Almighty ? That history was to be repeated, and though in itself sublime, in comparison it would dwindle into almost nothing. One of the most memorable events in the history of a nation was to be the mere shadow of what would be, so to speak, a

comparatively unimportant occurrence in the life of a Child.

22. The mystical signification of the departure of the people is now unfolded to us by the Evangelist. The young nation, "God's son" (Exod. iv. 22, 23), was in this series of wonderful events a type or figure of Him, Who is—SON OF GOD. Jesus Christ, the well-beloved of His Father, when Herod sought to take His life, was by His Father's command carried into Egypt for safety, and there He remained till the danger passed away.

23. Let us listen to St. Jerome, whose doctrine we have been following all along:—

"Exponit beneficia quæ in ipsum contulit Deus. Dum, inquit, esset puer et parvulus, et captus teneretur in Egypto, in tantum eum dilexi, ut mitterem servum meum Moysen, et ex Egypto vocarem filium meum de quo dixi in alio loco (Exod. iv. 22): *filius primogenitus Israel*, &c. Pro eo quod nos diximus: 'Ex Egypto vocavi filium meum.' Septuaginta transtulerunt: 'Ex Egypto vocavi filios ejus' quod in Hebraico non habetur: nullique dubium est, Matthæum de hoc loco sumpsisse testimonium juxta Hebraicam veritatem. Ergo qui detrahunt nostræ translationi, dent Scripturam de qua Evangelista hoc testimonium sumpserit, et interpretatus sit in Domino Salvatore, quando de Egypto reductus est in terram Israel. Et cum invenire non quiverint, desinant rugare frontem, adducere supercilium, crispare nates, digitis concerepare. Hunc locum in septimo volumine Julianus Augustus quod adversum nos, id est Christianos evolvit, calumniatur et dicit; quod de Israel scriptum est, Matthæus Evangelista ad Christum transtulit, ut simplicitati eorum, qui de gentibus crediderant, illuderet. Cui nos breviter respondebimus. Primum, Matthæum Evangelium Hebræis litteris edidisse, quod non poterant legere nisi hi qui de Hebræis erant. Ergo non propterea fecit ut illuderet ethnicis. Sin autem Hebræis illudere voluit, aut stultus, aut imperitus fuit: stultus, si apertum finxit mendacium; imperitus, si non intellexit de quo hæc dicerentur. Stultitiam ipsum volumen excusat quod prudenter ordinateque compositum est: imperitum non possumus dicere, quem ex aliis testimoniis Scripturarum scientiam Legis habuisse cognoscimus.

"Superest ut illud dicamus quod ea quæ *τεπικως* præcedunt in aliis, juxta veritatem et adimpletionem referantur ad Christum: quod Apostolus in duobus montibus Sina et Sion, et in Sara et Agar fecisse cognovimus. Neque enim non est Sina mons, et non est Sion: non fuit Sara, et non fuit Agar; quia hæc

Apostolus Paulus ad duo retulit testamenta (Gal. iv.). Sic igitur quod hic scriptum est: 'Parvulus Israel, et dilexi eum, et ex Egypto vocavi filium meum,' dicitur quidem de populo Israel, qui vocatur ex Egypto, qui diligitur, qui eo tempore post errorem idolatriæ quasi infans et parvulus est vocatus; sed perfecte refertur ad Christum. Nam et Isaac in typo Christi fuit quod futuræ mortis ligna sibi ipse portaverit (Genesis xxii.); et Jacob quia Lia dolentem oculos, et Rachel pulchram habuit uxorem (Genesis xxix.). In Lia quæ major erat cæcitatem intelligimus synagogæ, in Rachel pulchritudinem Ecclesiæ: et tamen qui ex parte fuerunt typi Domini Salvatoris, non omnia, quæ fecisse narrantur, in typo ejus fecisse credendi sunt. Typus enim partem indicat, quod si totum præcedat in typo, jam non est typus, sed historiæ veritas appelland est." *Comment. in Osee.*

24. Before the appearance of St. Jerome's version (cir. A.D. 390) some of the Greek commentators are said to have thought that Numbers xxiii. 22, Θεὸς ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἐξ Αἰγυπτου (Balaam's prophecy), was the passage referred to by St. Matthew. This was only a conjecture. (See also Brev. Feast of Holy Innocents, 8th Lesson.) It is, perhaps, not generally known that Jansenius of Ghent agreed with Julian the Apostate, that the Evangelist *accommodated* the prophet's words, for which temerity, Jansenius is justly blamed by Suarez and others. Orthodox commentators are unanimous about the mystical sense of the text. Of course, Kühnol, Strauss, Kuener, &c., deny that the passage of Osee is applicable to Christ in any sense; but we do not mind what Rationalists, *as such*, assert; it is sufficient to remember that the converse is of necessity the truth.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

(*To be continued.*)

## EAST VERSUS WEST, IN THE SANCTUARIES OF THE HOLY LAND:

OR THE EASTERN QUESTION IN ITS RELIGIOUS ASPECT.

**T**HE troubled and unsatisfactory state in which Eastern Europe as well as the Ottoman Empire have lain during the past fifty years has been, and is at the present moment, a matter that has, so far, baffled the keenest minds of European diplomatists as to how it should be finally settled. In fact, it may be safely affirmed that it is only within the past half century that the so-called Eastern Question has come to maturity; but to affirm that the germs of that Question have, as it were, but arisen and sprung up into life during that same period, is hardly just, or in accordance with the facts of history.

At present it is usual with those who have but superficially read the pages of history to attribute the Eastern Question to two causes each acting and reacting on the other: viz., to Russian ambition and greed, on the one hand; and to the enfeebled state of the Moslem Empire, on the other. A better acquaintance both with the facts, as well as the causes which are still in active operation, would dispel such an illusion, and show that these two so-called causes are but effects. The causes lie below the surface; and only the student of history can give any clue as to their real nature. They have their origin in events and facts that hardly come within the domain of the mere politician; and hence it is, that the more they are known the greater will seem the problem as to how they may be, once for all, finally settled. In a certain sense, it may be truly said that these same causes ever creating the so-called Eastern Question may have reached a climax in the disastrous war of the Crimea; and for this reason, that the spirit which has been in active operation for centuries during these years showed all the malignity that had up to then been hidden, or, at least, so exposed that it escaped the eyes of the public of Western Europe. To think that a war like that of the Crimea, where the lives of hundreds of thousands were ruthlessly sacrificed

on the field of battle for sake of such trifles as to whom belonged the right to repair the cupola of the Church of the Sepulchre on Calvary; whether Franciscan monks or Greek Popes should have charge of a key belonging to a church in Bethlehem; and, apparently equally important, as to whether a so-called garden where there is nothing, nor was there ever anything worthy of notice—no tradition ever having been connected with it, pointing it out as a spot worthy of reverence—whether it should be administered by a monk or a Pope, appears to be beyond human comprehension, if one overlooks the spirit underlying all these disputes. Yet, at this present moment, it is the same spirit that is keeping alive the Eastern Question, which at any moment may force all Europe into the horrors of war. But of this more anon. The object of the writer of these pages is to endeavour to throw a little light on the causes which have produced the Eastern Question; and at the same time to show the readers of the *I. E. RECORD* how intimately have been woven up with these same causes the rights which the Latin or Catholic Church of the West has ever claimed over the sanctuaries of the Holy Land, particularly over those in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, as well as in a few places of note around Jerusalem.

At the present moment the Eastern Question exists in all its intensity. The only apparent guaranty of temporary peace lies in the conviction impressed on the mind of the Russian Government, that the moment its troops cross the Turkish frontier either in Asia Minor or in the Balkan Peninsula, all Europe may be aroused to arms. Whence this tendency, this aspiration, on the part of Russia is at present, in a great measure overlooked by many; but such as have read the history of the causes which led to the war of the Crimea, who have taken the trouble to wade through the Blue books published by the British and French Governments during the years 1853 and 1854, cannot fail to have been deeply impressed as to the share which the envied possession of the chief sanctuaries of Christianity, in the hands of Catholic Europe, had in bringing that war

about. More or less at the present moment the possession of the sanctuaries seems thrown in the background ; though unfortunately for those whose duty it is to uphold rights which date back from centuries, until their origin is lost in the mist of ages, this withdrawing more or less of the subject of the sanctuaries from the attention of Europe leaves them to fight out the battle of justice, and indeed religion, against wile, fanaticism, and the most intense religious bigotry that could disgrace the sacred name of religion. Indeed it is merely the bare truth when it is stated that the Eastern Question is essentially a religious question—not as of yore between the Crescent and the Cross, but between Christian and Christian ; between the Church and Churches of the East and those of the West, especially the Church of Rome. The violent disputes which have been waging over the sepulchre of Christ during the past few centuries have been between Christians alone. Fain would a liberal and tolerant mind overlook such bitter antagonism between two great Christian bodies ; but it is impossible to do so : it is impossible to feel impartial with such scenes of violence, fraud, and religious bigotry before one's eyes as have occurred over and over again during this century in Jerusalem. Impartiality is base when the question of justice, and not mere sentiment, is at stake.

Now in order to lay before the readers of the I. E. RECORD the present *status* of the sanctuaries of the Holy Land, in as far as they form an important item in the Eastern Question, so that they may be the better able to appreciate the intimate connection between political disturbances created or connived at by Russia in the Turkish Empire, and the question as to whom the common shrines of Christianity shall in the future belong, it is well to begin at the beginning, by giving a brief sketch of the events that have brought about their possession in the hands of their present guardians. The following is a brief and succinct account of the holy shrines, as far as can be gleaned from the works of writers who have visited them during every century, from almost that which closed with the passing away of those who were living

witnesses of the events that have created, as it were, the sanctuaries.

It is quite clear that before the reign of Constantine the Great, no matter how well the Christians in Jerusalem and the surrounding country might have preserved the traditions, pointing out every spot hallowed by some event of Christ's life—anything like a formal possession, or the enclosing of any of them by a church or other such building, was out of the question. There are traditions of a chapel having been erected, either over or near the grotto in Bethlehem, as early as the second century; but it is at most doubtful. With the victory of Constantine over Licinius (323), the eyes of Christendom naturally turned towards Palestine, in the hope to render immortal every hallowed spot connected with some event in the life of its Founder. Their administration, as may be gathered from many facts related in history, belonged to the Patriarch of Jerusalem. The century had not closed ere a movement on the part of Western Europe towards Palestine had set in. Saint Jerome is amongst these early pilgrims; and in a few years afterwards, convents and monasteries for the representatives of Western Europe, or, more properly speaking, of the Latin<sup>1</sup> Church, sprang up around the chief shrines in Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

History throws little or no light upon the kind of feeling with which the Catholics of the East regarded this tide of Western Christianity. It is certain, however, that up to then and for centuries afterwards, the sanctuaries were governed and administered by the Patriarchs of the Holy City. Neither schism nor heresy had yet arisen to mar the beautiful unity of faith binding East and West. The Church was one, and her worship, whether performed with all the solemnity of which

<sup>1</sup> Latins, *i.e.*, that part of the Catholic Church which follows the Roman Liturgy. Though the word has been used all through these pages to signify the Roman Catholics in the Holy Places, it is hardly correct when used in contradiction to Greek Orthodox. Here it is not a question of differences of liturgy, but of faith. The word has, however, been retained because it is generally used, and because it is true, even now, that the Catholic Churches of the East do not enter in these disputes with the Greek "Orthodox."

the Eastern liturgies are so full, or with that sublime simplicity so characteristic of the Catholic Church, equally breathed but one and the same spirit before God's throne.

The taking of the city by the troops of Omar, in 637, did not change, at least materially, the condition of the sanctuaries, nor alter their administration. A fact worthy of notice, and related by both Christian and Moslem authorities, in the Life of Omar is, how after he had captured and solemnly entered the Holy City, he was brought by the Patriarch Modestus to view the tomb of Christ in the church on Calvary, and upon being requested by some one present to pray there before Christ's tomb, he refused, saying that he would pray elsewhere, lest his followers, regarding as hallowed the spot where he should pray, should for ever deter Christians from entering there again. Thereupon, the story goes, Omar asked Modestus to point out to him a spot in the Holy City where he might pray without harm thereby befalling the Christians; and forthwith Modestus led the conqueror to the site of the Temple of Solomon on Mount Moriah. How far this story may be true or otherwise cannot now be determined; at any rate, the fact is beyond doubt, that the possession of the sanctuaries was practically unchanged upon the taking of the Holy City by the troops of Omar: at least there is no record of any change having been made for upwards of a century afterwards. In fact, the treatment accorded to the Christian population of Palestine, and especially to that of Jerusalem, as well as to Christians coming there under the caliphate of the celebrated Haroun-el-Rascid forms a brilliant page in the history of that monarch's reign. It appears, however, that it was during this period that the guardianship of the sanctuaries passed out of the hands of the Eastern Church into those of the Latin or Western Church. Historical documents exist which prove that to Charlemagne was conceded by the above-mentioned Caliph a right of patronage over the Holy Places. The following century was one of war and persecution. The Fatimites of Egypt overthrew the power of the Caliphate of Bagdad in Syria, and took possession of Jerusalem in the year 969. The horrors perpetrated in the

Holy City during these years, the tales of suffering told by pilgrims who had gone there, aroused all Europe.

The First Crusade was the outcome ; and with the fall of Jerusalem into the hands of the Crusaders, the Greek Church in Jerusalem was forced to look on a helpless spectator, while within every shrine were established representatives of the West. Thus in the Holy Sepulchre the Canons of St. Augustine were established by order of Godfrey of Bouillon. And so complete was the change of hands that then took place, that at the present moment there is scarcely a sanctuary throughout the length and breadth of Palestine that does not bear witness to the presence of the Norman. From Hebron to Nazareth, in every hallowed spot where the foot of the pilgrim may stray, the Norman arch, the clustering columns, the very ruins of Norman carved capitols, show how complete was the possession of the Church of the West in the sanctuaries.

The fall of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, in the year 1187, did not for the moment alter the condition of the custody of the sanctuaries. Though the city was in the hands of the Crusaders for about a quarter of a century afterwards, viz., 1229-1241, it is quite clear that the old order of things was undisturbed ; and not till the final abandonment of Palestine, in 1291, did the Canons of St. Augustine, or Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, as they were called, cease returning every now and then from Ptolemais, to chant in the choir of the Holy Sepulchre. The Franciscans, led by St. Francis himself in person, came to the Holy Land in the year 1218 or thereabouts. Notwithstanding their humble condition and the circumstances under which it appears they lived for years after they had gone there, and settled as well as they could in huts around or near the leading shrines, especially those in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, they seem to have been in complete possession of the Holy Sepulchre and of the Church at Bethlehem almost directly the Crusaders had abandoned Palestine. Thus the possession of the sanctuaries in the hands of the Latin Church remained unbroken. Even during the brief period in which after the first taking of

Jerusalem in 1187, the sanctuaries were abandoned by those to whose charge they had been confided by the Crusaders on their taking of the Holy City, there exist<sup>1</sup> firmans granted to the children of St. Francis by the Sultans of Egypt,<sup>2</sup> dating as far back as the first quarter of the thirteenth century. In 1271 a firman was published in which the possession of *all* the sanctuaries in Palestine by the Franciscans is recognised and confirmed. Other firmans exist, dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century; but there is no need to refer to them, as they merely recognised old rights. What is worthy of remark here, is that during all these centuries, from the eighth to the beginning of the sixteenth, or rather to its close, the Greek Church seems to have felt no sympathy with the Church of the West in its struggle to keep the sanctuaries from falling into desecrating hands. It is, at any rate, certain that no opposition whatever to the possession of the sanctuaries by the representatives of the West came from the Eastern Church before the sixteenth century.

The first tokens of any such opposition coming from any part of the Eastern Church appear, as far as can be ascertained, to have been made about the year 1494. About that time, the Georgians<sup>3</sup> endeavoured to obtain possession of one of the chapels within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but they did not succeed. It appears that the Franciscans had been driven out of the Holy City a few years previous, owing to

<sup>1</sup> A list of all the firmans of which copies now exist either in the Archives of Jerusalem or in those of Constantinople, and which were issued on behalf of the Latin ownership of the sanctuaries, has been published by Monsignor Antonio, late Bishop of Rignano, Italy. The reader may also compare *Rights and Privileges of the Latin and Greek Churches in Turkey*. Published by Her Majesty's Government. London: 1854.

<sup>2</sup> Syria and Palestine passed out of the possession of the Caliphate of Bagdad in 760, and finally in 969, from which period, down to the reign of Selim I., of Constantinople, they were under the authority of the Sultans of Egypt.

<sup>3</sup> The Georgians are a branch of the Eutychiean Church. The origin of the name *Georgian* has been variously interpreted. In all probability their title is geographical, those in Palestine being descendants of natives of Georgia who emigrated from their country, and coming into Palestine did not mingle with any of the other races around them. They are nearly related to the Copts, at least in liturgy,

some defeat which the Turkish armies had met with in Europe ; and as a kind of retaliation they had driven out the Latin guardians. This was the usual mode adopted by the Turks ; and, after all, it appears a natural one, if foolish.

The time was, however, fast approaching when a new order of things were to exist in Jerusalem. Up to the middle of the sixteenth century it appears to be beyond all doubt the Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem had more or less been in union with the Church of Rome. Notwithstanding the disastrous effects which the Photian Schism (857) produced in splitting into two hostile camps the Christian Church, still, so many attempts were made by both sides, between the ninth and the sixteenth century, towards the effecting of a reunion, that it is impossible to say that up to then there was anything like the wide chasm which now parts them asunder. Witness the attempts towards a reunion made at the Council of Lyons (1274), and again at that of Florence (1439). The Greek Patriarch of Alexandria was one of the most zealous of prelates present at the Council of Bale (1431-39) in the work of restoring peace and unity to the Western Church. It was but natural, therefore, that no matter how the children of one and the same true Church should be divided as regards liturgy and other non-essential matters, East and West would be united in bonds of Christian love over the tomb of Christ, the Saviour of both East and West. However it cannot be denied that jealousy of the Western Church was ever, from the beginning, a feeling cherished and nurtured unfortunately in the hearts of their flocks by the hierarchy of that Church. From the days of Nice down to the Photian Schism, Council after Council was divided more according to East and West rather than according to the merits of the questions for which the Christian hierarchy was there assembled. Hatred and distrust of the West even in the days of unity was almost a capital article of the dogma of the Eastern Church, as it has been and is now since the final parting of both. To quote the words of a writer in *The Quarterly Review*—one who spent many years in the East, and was intimately acquainted with all parties there:—"The Greek religion is a great enfranchisement" (*sic*) "from all

restraint; united with an intense, a more than Byzantine, hatred of *Latins* and *Latinism*.”<sup>1</sup>

Now it was this element that was in a great measure wanting in the attitude of the members of the Eastern Churches in Palestine towards those of the West, prior certainly to the opening of the fifteenth century. It is impossible at present, to give anything like an accurate account of the condition of the other branches of the Eastern Church, besides the Greeks, such as the Armenians, Syrians and others, either previous to the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem or during its existence. It seems pretty certain, though it must be confessed not very clear, that the *entire* holy sepulchre remained in the possession of the Latins, ever after the departure of the Crusaders, at least up to the middle of the fifteenth century. At that time the names of the Eutychian Armenians, Syrians, and Copts are first met with, as beginning to dispute the right of possession held by the Latins over the sanctuaries, especially the Holy Sepulchre. De la Brocquière who travelled in Palestine about the year 1430, mentions the names of some of the Christian sects who even then had gathered around the Church on Calvary; but at that time, none except the Latins who possessed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Greeks who some time previous to those had been able to seize upon the large choir where formerly the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre officiated, had any right to officiate *within* the precincts of the sacred edifice. Indeed the middle of the sixteenth century when the Patriarchate<sup>1</sup> of Jerusalem, absolutely and finally fell away from union with the Western Church, may be set down as marking the period when there began to take place even over the tomb of Christ, those painful scenes which have made thinking moslems ask themselves, ‘How these Christians do *hate* one another!’ as well

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Quarterly Review*, London: July, 1869.

<sup>2</sup> The Patriarchate here mentioned is that of the Greek rite. A Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem was established in the Holy City upon its being taken by the Crusaders. The last *resident* Patriarch, *i.e.*, Latin, left with the last of the Crusaders, when Acre fell into the hand of the Moslems 1291, after that time the title was merely honorary, until Pius the Ninth appointed Monsignor Valerga in 1847.

as of those burning questions which even now more or less menace the peace of Europe. Christian Europe has humiliated and almost crushed the Moslem ; but if the fear of Crescent has passed away, Europe ever sees a war-cloud that may burst at any moment, hanging over Eastern Europe. What the student of history cannot fail to record, with regard to the falling away from union with the Western Church of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, is this : that from that moment every dispute as to rights and possession in the Sanctuaries, and in and around Jerusalem, became a dispute between the two great bodies into which Christianity was riven ; and for the same reason impregnated with all that distrust, that jealousy and hatred which has from the beginning characterized the conduct of the Greek Church in all its dealings with the Latin or Western. All this will be seen further on ; for the moment it is necessary to relate the important—important inasmuch as they underlie many of the items of Eastern diplomacy even at present—events in which East and West clashed over each other's claims to the absolute possession of the sanctuaries.

Upon the taking of the Holy City by Selim I. it does not appear that the Turkish troops usurped and desecrated any of the sanctuaries. On the contrary, there exists a firman granted by the same Sultan, acknowledging the rights of the Latin Church over all the sanctuaries. The firman is dated 923 of the Hegira—1518. From that time down to the year 1630, the annals of the sanctuaries record nothing but continual disputes between Latins and Greeks ; these latter generally aided by all the other branches of the Eastern Church. The Catholics of the Greek and other rites, who were resident in Jerusalem during all these disputes, never seem to have been numerous enough to lend any material aid to their brethren in the Latin Church ; or, perhaps, their real sympathies went with the schismatical Church of the vast majority of their fellow-countrymen. At any rate, in no instance does it appear that the West ever appealed to Catholic Greeks or Armenians for help, in order that the sanctuaries might remain the hallowed possession of the one true Church, from which schismatic Greek and

Armenian were but cast-away branches. At any rate, in the greater number of these disputes, the old rights of the Latin Church were generally upheld. The Latins were at this time in *exclusive* possession of all the sanctuaries, both within Jerusalem as well as elsewhere, that were of any importance. For instance, the Holy Sepulchre itself, the Tomb of the Virgin, the Grotto and Basilica at Bethlehem, as well as a number of others, the possession of which is still undisturbed in the hands of the Latins even to this day—all these were in the hands of the Latin Church at the period above mentioned.

The storm was, however, gathering when the innate hatred and jealousy of the Greek Church—a hatred now tenfold more intense than ever, owing to the consciousness that the Latin Church now regarded it (*i.e.*, the Greek) as beyond the pale of the true Church of Jesus Christ—broke out in all its fury. In 1637, the Latins are forcibly driven out of the Holy Sepulchre; both the chapels on Calvary, which are within the precincts of the present Basilica, are taken possession of by the Greeks; the Basilica and Grotto in Bethlehem are likewise seized; in fact, it seemed as if Western Christianity was to be for ever excluded from worshipping according to its liturgy within the common shrines of East and West. Such, indeed, seemed the outlook at that time;<sup>1</sup> and sad must have been the hearts of those whose duty it was to keep possession of the sanctuaries on behalf of the Catholic Church in Western Europe—nay, throughout the world. The tidings of these losses soon reached Europe; but, owing to the troubled state in which the entire Continent then lay, no effective protest could be made by the French Government. This practice of appealing to France for help, so that her influence would be able to prevent the Moslem Government from persecuting the Latin guardians of the holy sanctuaries, or from violating old rights, appears to have been usual from the

<sup>1</sup> It must be here remarked that at the time here mentioned, two important sanctuaries had already been taken possession of by the Moslems, viz., the Church of the Ascension on Mount Olivet, as well as the Cenacle or Supper Hall, which was lost in 1548.

eight century; though, it must be confessed, oftener without avail than otherwise. At any rate, during the seventeenth century the glory of the Crescent was on the wane; and the Moslem could not in every case, and openly, defy the vigorous protests of such a monarch as Louis Le Grand.

The result of several successive appeals to France, made by the Franciscans, after they had been driven out of all the above-mentioned sanctuaries, was that Louis, through the French Ambassador at the Turkish Court, Mon. Castagneres, succeeded in obtaining a firman, whereby it was decreed that the *status quo* should be restored, and that *all* the sanctuaries should be given up by the Greeks, Armenians, and others, and restored to the Latins. Thus the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre as well as all the others within the precincts of the Basilica on Mount Calvary, with the exception of the choir looking into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; the Tomb of the Virgin; the Basilica and Grotto in Bethlehem, as well as a number of others from which they—*i.e.*, the Franciscans—had been driven out in 1637, were restored to them in 1690. From this latter year down to 1757, appears to have been the sole period of any considerable length during which the possession of the sanctuaries was undisputed and undisturbed. The treaty of 1690 was a second time ratified by both Governments in the year 1740; and the firman addressed to the Latins is still preserved. Later on will be seen how binding that treaty was regarded by Europe, and how slightly the Turkish Government heeded its stipulations, when interest—its own interest—was concerned. This Treaty of 1740 will be referred to later on.

This period of peaceable possession of the sanctuaries came to a close in the year 1757. During that year the Greeks drove out violently the Latin clergy from the Holy Sepulchre, smashing, in their anger and blind passion, all the sacred utensils belonging to the altar. The same occurred in the sanctuary of the Tomb of the Virgin and in Bethlehem, from both of which places the Latins were driven out apparently for ever. As to the Tomb of the Virgin, the present church is wholly the work of the Franciscans. The French

ambassador, Mon. de Vergennes again protested; but to no purpose. Bribery and violence had done their work.

An account of the disgraceful scenes that took place on those occasions may be found in the learned and interesting work of Eugène Boré—*La question sur les Saints Lieux*. The reply which was given, and, be it remarked, *for the first time*, to the protests of Mon. de Vergennes, is quite characteristic of the insolence and want of faith in the Turk. “*Ces Lieux*,” wrote the Vizier, Regyb Pascia, “*appartiennent au Sultan, mon Maître; il les concède à qui il lui plaît, et quoiqu’ils aient été jusqu’à ce jour entre les mains des Francs (sic), Sa Hautesse veut que désormais ils soient aux Grecs.*” This certainly was a startling principle, and one which could be justified in no wise except on that of force and violence, against justice. In 1802 the Latins were able to recover, through the influence of General Brune, the sanctuary where tradition marks the spot on which the wondrous event recorded in the Gospel—*i.e.*, the Bloody Sweat—took place. In 1808 took place the burning of the grand Cupola of the Holy Sepulchre; and the disputes which arose as to whom it belonged to repair the Cupola eventually ended in the War of the Crimea. For the moment, the Greeks succeeded in rebuilding the Cupola; but ever after that they were not allowed to officiate within the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre.

Ibrahim Pascha during the short time (1832) his troops held Syria, restored more than one sanctuary to the Latins. Things, however, could not last as they were. It was impossible that Western Christianity should be driven out, for ever from the Holy Places. So much blood had been shed during so many centuries; so much money had been poured out by the charity of Europe in order to save the Holy Places: so many treaties had been solemnly signed by the Turkish Government, over and over again, that sooner or later a cry should arise throughout Europe at such a trampling upon Right and Justice. A silver star with a Latin inscription on it, and which was placed over the spot in the Grotto at Bethlehem, marking where Christ was born, was stolen by the Greeks in 1847. The simple fact

of the star being there, with its Latin inscription, was a living testimony against the Greeks; so they settled the matter by destroying everything of value within the Grotto that belonged to the Latins.

Thus matters stood at the beginning of the year 1850. Catholics were excluded from officiating in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in the Chapel of the Tomb of the Virgin, in the Grotto at Bethlehem; in fact, in the leading sanctuaries of Christendom. The time was come when something should be done, and the result was that in 1850, General Aupick, who was then Ambassador-Extraordinary for France, at Constantinople, presented in the name of his Government a formal protest against the violences and usurpations of the Holy Places, made by the Greeks; and a demand that the Treaty of 1740 should be observed, and *all* the sanctuaries taken from the Catholics restored. The Marquis de Lavalette succeeded General Aupick, and pressed matters to the extreme. A Commission was formed, by orders of the Sultan, to examine into the question of the sanctuaries. There was at the moment all hope that the articles of the Treaty of 1740 would be ratified, and full restitution made to the Catholics of what had been wrested from them since then by violence and fraud. But a protest having been made by the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, the Commission broke up, leaving matters in a worse state than ever. A promise had been made to France that the rights of Catholics would be respected, and a firman to that effect published; but this drew forth the protest of Russia, and the firman published after the breaking up of the Commission demanded by Mon. de Lavalette, left, as has been already said, matters in a worse state than before. As it was with regard to this firman that the events which produced the Crimean War came to a crisis, a *resumé* of its contents cannot fail to be interesting to the readers of the I. E. RECORD:—

“To thee my Vizier, Ahmed Pacha, Governor of Jerusalem; to thee, Cadi of Jerusalem; and to you, Members of the Medjliss.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Medjliss*: so the Governing body in any Turkish city is termed. It is composed of the Governor, the Cadi or Supreme Judge, and others,

“The disputes which, from time to time, arise between the Greek and Latin<sup>1</sup> nations respecting certain holy places which exist both within and without the City of Jerusalem, have been again revived.

“A Commission has in consequence been formed, . . . to examine this question thoroughly; and this is the result of the researches . . . of that Commission. The places in dispute are—the great Cupola of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; the little Cupola [*i. e.*, the small building or ‘Capella’ underneath the great Dome, enclosing the Tomb of Christ], which is above the spot called the Tomb of Jesus, on whom may the blessing of God rest, and which is in the church above mentioned; the Hadjir el Moughtesil,<sup>2</sup> or of Golgotha, or of the Arches of Holy Mary (that is, parts of the Basilica on Mount Calvary), the Great Church which is in the village of Bethlehem; as well as the Grotto, which is the true spot where Jesus—may the blessing of God be upon Him!—was born, and which is situated below that church; and the tomb of the Blessed Mary, whom may God bless.”

Here the firman continues, declaring that the Roman Catholics have “no right to claim *exclusive* possession” of all the above-named sanctuaries. Then it follows:—

“No change shall be made in the present state of the gates of the Church of Bethlehem.

“As according to ancient documents and modern documents, the two gardens belonging (1) to the Frank<sup>3</sup> Convent at Bethlehem, to which the Latins have also laid claim, are under the superintendence of both parties, they shall remain as at present.

“The Latins, on the ground of certain firmans *of which they are in possession*, have advanced the pretension that the tomb of the Blessed Mary belongs exclusively to them.”

This claim is then simply denied, and it is decreed that all sects shall have equal rights to worship there at stated

<sup>1</sup> It would be more correct here to say Roman Catholic and Greek “Orthodox.” The terms “Greek” and “Latin” denote merely differences of liturgy, and not of dogma. None of the Eastern Churches united with Rome, and, consequently, forming part of the Roman Catholic Church lay any claim in particular to any of the sanctuaries.

<sup>2</sup> “Hadjir el Moughtesil,” *i. e.*, *Stone of the Anointing*, on a large slab in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, on which, according to tradition, the body of Christ was placed when being embalmed.

<sup>3</sup> “Frank” or “Franjee” is the title given by the natives of Turkey and Asia Minor to all European.

times. Up to the present day the Greeks have ignored this part of the firman, and Roman Catholics are still excluded.

“Furthermore, the Latins at the present day perform service once a-year, on Ascension Day, in an oratory at Jerusalem called Coubet el Massad [*i. e.*, the sanctuary marked by tradition as the spot where Christ ascended into heaven], which is situated on Mount Olivet; and the Greeks perform their devotions *outside* that oratory. Now this oratory is a Mahommedan temple, and it consequently (!) does *not* belong exclusively to any Christian sect.”

According to the Treaty of 1740, and as France was at the time insisting upon all its provisions being made good, this oratory was to be restored to the Franciscans. The firman proceeds, allowing the Greeks to perform service once a-year *within* the oratory as did the Catholics. The firman is dated 1268-1852.<sup>1</sup>

This firman was instantly rejected by France, through her Ambassador, the Marquis de Lavalette, on the ground that it ignored all the provisions of the Treaty of 1740: nor did it even satisfy Russia's claims on behalf of the Greeks. His Excellency (the French Ambassador) says that “even allowing that the firman does not state that the claims of the Latins are *injustes et mal fondées*, the whole purport of it goes to deny the right of the Latins, that is France (!), to the Holy Places.”<sup>2</sup> Such was the opinion expressed by the French Ambassador, according to Colonel Rose.<sup>3</sup>

Matters went from bad to worse; Russia protesting against the restoration of any rights being made to the Latins, till it was clear that the war should be the outcome. England tried to ignore how deeply Catholic feeling in Europe was aroused; but the attitude of Russia forced her to regard attitude of this latter Power as one menacing the peace of all Europe. In short, war broke out in all its fury; and, notwithstanding the fact that France was the conqueror, she found herself unable, even after victory, to insist

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Rights and Privileges of the Latin and Greek Churches in Turkey*, page 41. London: 1854.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *idem.*: *Letter of Colonel Rose to the Earl of Malmesbury*. No. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *idem.*: *Letter of Lord John Russell to Colonel Rose*. No. 76.

on the full rights of Roman Catholicism. Things stand to-day as they stood then. The same bitter feelings and acts of violence with which the Greek Church has pursued the Latin, are shown from day to day. Disgraceful scenes took place in the Chapel of the Grotto in Bethlehem in 1873, when a number of Greek Pilgrims, instigated by their priests in a fury broke and demolished every ornament belonging to the Catholics, and wounded severely the few Brothers who opposed them. Last year a like scene almost occurred; but in this case it was bribery that did the work. The attempt was made to seize on a part of the sanctuary of the Agony of Christ, and though the Franciscans remained on guard night and day for over a week, force, at length, in the way of a troop of Turkish soldiers compelled them to yield. The Governor has, however, been degraded; but there the matter stands.

To a pilgrim it may seem strange that the Catholics guard the sanctuaries so jealously as not to permit a Greek to enter them; but the base conduct of these in claiming a right where there was but a mere privilege has forced such action to be taken.

The picture has, however, a consoling side. Outside of these few sanctuaries, Roman Catholics possess *exclusively* every other sanctuary in the Holy Land.<sup>1</sup> How long they may do so depends on the rise or fall of Russian power in the East. The nation that at this present moment recurs to the barbarous methods of persecution of the Middle Ages, against Catholic and Jew alike, betrays a hatred that has evidently outstepped the limits of reason. The union of the Greek Church against the Churches of the West, against Catholic and Protestant alike, is the yeast that is fermenting

<sup>1</sup> The only sanctuaries possessed *exclusively* by the Greeks, and in which Roman Catholics cannot officiate are—one chapel on Mount Calvary; the second belongs to the Roman Catholics; one altar in the Grotto in Bethlehem—the one over the spot where according to tradition the Infant Saviour was born, and under which the silver star, with Latin inscription showing to whom it originally belonged, is placed; the Grotto of the Shepherds, outside Bethlehem. The Armenian Eutychians possess also *exclusively* in Jerusalem the site where stood the house of Caiaphas, and where Jesus Christ was imprisoned; and a few others also in Jerusalem, though of secondary importance.

the political troubles in Armenia, in Asia, and in Servia, and Bulgaria in Europe. If the same tolerant spirit which Catholics and Protestants in Europe show to each other, could be found amongst the members of the Orthodox Church, Christians could in perfect harmony pray around the shrines common to East and West. But the hope is vain.

What every Catholic must regret is the action of France after the war of the Crimea, in not insisting that the Treaty of 1740 should have been fully carried out. Matters were left by that action in the same state as before—perhaps in a worse state for Roman Catholics. The mere granting to France of a very vague kind of Protectorate over Roman Catholic missionaries, was not at all commensurate with the enormous sacrifices which the Crimean War entailed upon her. A Protectorate over Catholic missionaries was evidently, and in fact is, quite clearly intended as a means to propagate French ideas, &c., in Syria and Palestine. It is, indeed, sad that it should be so ; but it is too evident to any traveller in Palestine that France has been using Catholicity as a means of strengthening her position, if there be any such, in Palestine. This has, unfortunately, caused divisions amongst the Catholic bodies that have come to Jerusalem during the past forty years : and though this may be unknown in English-speaking countries, yet the importance which Italy and France have attached to the establishment of schools in rivalry one with another, in Palestine and Syria, during these latter years, has in a sense become disastrous for the Catholic interests of the sanctuaries. The sanctuaries are the heirlooms of Catholicity. They belong neither to France nor Italy—they belong to the Catholic world ; and the Catholic world should feel grateful to any Power that would lend its aid in order to safeguard the rights of those to whom Catholicity has committed their guardianship. They should be Catholic, representative of every Catholic nation, as are their present guardians. It would, indeed, be a loss if it became even possible or probable that they should be handed over to any religious body not Catholic, as they are Catholic. That would mean the

exclusion of the right of every Catholic power to interfere on their behalf against the injustice of the Moslem, or the violence and fanaticism of the Russo-Greek. What may happen in the near future none can tell; but certain it is, that if the strained relations in which European powers now exist towards each other last, a crisis sooner or later must come: and, as it is sad to think so noble a nation as France should be almost forced to form an alliance with that power against whom she fought so bravely on behalf of the sanctuaries in 1853, it is equally sad to contemplate either the probability of victory or defeat for her. Victory won by Russian troops in Asia Minor would mean complete exclusion of Catholicity from its most hallowed shrines, and the installation therein, perhaps for ever, of the members of a creed whose principal dogma has been from the beginning, and is even still, hatred of the West; and whose intolerance, even to-day, is the disgrace of an age that boasts of liberty.

J. L. LYNCH, O.S.F.

---

## HOLINESS AND LIGHT.

BACCI tells us that St. Philip Neri advised his disciples to read the works of those authors "whose names began with S," *i.e.*, St. Augustine, St. Gregory, and the other saints. This homely counsel contains a principle of the utmost importance in theological study. To many, indeed, the words may sound, with all reverence be it said, somewhat paradoxical. If the books we read do but convey the truth, what does it matter to us whether saint or sinner ministers to our instruction? *Ne quaeras quis hoc dixerit, sed quid dicatur attende.* So says the writer of the *Imitation*; and the wisdom of his words can hardly be gainsaid. And a greater authority than any saint tells us that we may obey the teaching of those whose example we must by no means follow. Why, then, should we give this preference to the works of the saints, if the truth and enlightenment which we

are seeking can be found as safely and surely in the writings of others? Why, indeed! If the holiness of the writer affords no safeguard against error, no pledge of greater light and purer truth, St. Philip must surely be jesting when he gives us this singular counsel. But is this the case? Has holiness nothing to do with light? Are the writings of the saints really on a level with those of other men? To find an answer, we need only look at the facts. It is, of course, a question concerning theological and spiritual writings mainly, if not solely. We may, therefore, confine our attention to this, the noblest branch of literature. And who are the great masters from whom all the others draw their inspiration? They are surely, for the most part, to be found among the saints. In the first ages of the Church the leaders of theological thought are great saints, such as St. Irenæus, St. Cyprian, St. Athanasius, St. Hilary, St. Basil, St. Augustine, and St. Cyril. If the student of patristic theology keeps to the authors "whose names begin with S," he will not lose much thereby.

When we go on to later periods, we still find the sacred science in the hands of the saints. St. Bernard and our own St. Aelred close the long bead-roll of the Fathers; while a new era is inaugurated by St. Anselm of Canterbury. Among the masters of the mediæval schools, two great writers stand out conspicuous above the rest, and these also are saints. And after St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure we come to St. Antoninus, to St. Francis de Sales, the prince of controversialists and spiritual teachers, and St. Alphonsus, the great master of moral theology. It is true that a considerable amount of excellent theological work has been done by writers who are not in the Calendar. But who would compare this with the labours of St. Thomas and the Fathers before him? And what is there in these lesser writers that may not be traced back to its source, and found to be after all the work of saints? By what singular coincidence are sanctity in the writer and excellence in his work thus linked together? It is, surely, difficult to avoid the inference that there is some real bond of union between them.

Further inquiry shows us fresh reasons for this conclu-

sion. When we have counted up the saints who shine as stars of the first magnitude in the firmament of theology, we have only stated a part of the case. Who are the theologians who come in the next rank to these leaders? Are they altogether wanting in this mark of sanctity; or do they, on the contrary, approach the saints in holiness of life as they do in theological light? Here we are treading on ground that is less secure, and the evidence at hand is necessarily scanty. The lives of uncanonized theologians have not been so fully recorded as those of the saints, and the voice of authority is silent on their merits. Still, what we do know of theological biography helps to force the same conclusion upon us. Humility, obedience, charity, and zeal are not less conspicuous in the lives of our best divines, than the genius and learning which their works display. Many instances will readily occur to those who have studied the history of Catholic theology. Some will call to mind the humility which speaks in the opening words of the great Master of the Sentences, that Peter Lombard:—

“Che con la poverella  
Offerse a santa Chiesa il suo tesoro.”<sup>1</sup>

Some will think of the prompt obedience displayed by Scotus when he hastened from the city that was ringing with his fame. Others again will remember the saintly lives of Suarez and Lessius, or Petavius so devoted to the due observance of his rule that he would rather lose all his vast learning than once miss his daily examen. The last name suggests that of his follower, Thomassinus, who was so modest and retiring that he could not bear the gaze of those who thronged to hear his eloquent lectures; while, on the other hand, he was generously forward in proclaiming and retracting an error into which he had fallen. Or, to take an instance from another and a much-abused class of writers, we may point to Laymann, one of the great lights of moral theology, dying in solitude, so that no others might catch the terrible plague by which he was struck down.

<sup>1</sup> *Paradiso*, x. 107. It may be well to add the opening words of the master:—“*Cupientes aliquod de penuria ac tenuitate nostra cum paupercula in gazo-phylacium Domini mittere.*” &c. Prologus in Lib. 1., Sentent.

The lives of heresiarchs and other false teachers furnish fresh evidence of this close connection of holiness with theological light. Heresy, it is true, springs from many and very various sources. Sometimes it is ignorance of the truth or confusion of ideas that gives rise to a false religion. There are founders of heretical systems, lacking many other qualifications as religious teachers besides that of holiness of life. But, on the other hand, there are some among them possessed of well-nigh all the gifts that go to make a great theologian, men of transcendent abilities and varied learning, well read in the Scriptures, and thoroughly acquainted with the teaching of the Fathers. In genius and erudition, many of them are, to say the least, on a level with the orthodox champions who withstood them. It may well seem a mystery that such men could go astray. Yet, if we compare their lives with those of the orthodox teachers, the reason is sometimes sufficiently plain. The want of that holiness which belongs to the true theologian explains the fall of many a great and learned writer who might else have taken his place among the doctors of Holy Church. The need of holiness is made more conspicuous by its absence.

Now, there is really nothing surprising in all this; it is only what might have been expected. We should have arrived at the same result if, instead of looking at the facts, we had taken the "*high priori* road" at the outset of our inquiry. It is true that knowledge belongs to the intellect, and holiness more properly to the will; and it is likewise true that these two faculties are distinct from one another. There are, moreover, some kinds of knowledge for the acquirement of which moral goodness is by no means an indispensable condition. But it is far otherwise with the study of spiritual philosophy and religion. Here it is necessary to rise above the attractions of lower or material pleasures. It is clearly impossible to gain any real knowledge of objects from which we may turn away. How, then, can one who is given up to sensual gratifications be fit for this higher knowledge? Such a one may reason rightly enough in matters which do not require him to turn from his evil course; and he may thus become a master in the field of

physical science. But in all that belongs to the region of religion and morals, his attention is hopelessly distracted, and his judgment unduly biassed.

To this must be added the fact that conscience is one of the chief sources of our knowledge of God and of all religious truth. At the present day, it is scarcely necessary to linger on this point. Since the time of Kant, the great importance, not to say the supremacy, of the moral argument has been widely recognised by teachers of very different schools. It is a far cry from Königsberg to Edgbaston; but on this question, at least, the author of the *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*, and the writer of the *Grammar of Assent*, have much in common. The wide gulf that separates these two great thinkers, and the very remote character of any influence which the one may have had on the other, lend fresh weight to their words on the witness of conscience. Now, if conscience is thus one of our chief informants in matters of religion, darkness will surely fall upon us when its still small voice is drowned in the tumult of the passions. And, on the other hand, the more we listen to it and heed its counsels, the more will it teach us. Conscience is trained and developed by being obeyed. Hence, as sin is the cause of darkness and ignorance, a pure conscience is the fruitful source of knowledge and light. For this reason, when St. Theophilus of Antioch would bring his heathen friend to the knowledge of God, he begins by rebuking the vices which stand in the way. "But if you say to me, 'Show me your God,' I would answer you, 'Show me your man (*i.e.*, show that you are a man), and I will show you my God.'" And, further on, he adds: "Man must have his soul pure, like a burnished mirror. If there is rust on the mirror, if there is sin in the soul, that man cannot see God."<sup>1</sup> Such is the voice of one of the earliest Christian Apologists, and his words bear a much-needed lesson to the teachers of our own day. The world has revolted against the sweet yoke of Christ, and the spirit of Paganism has come back upon us. Herein lies the main source of modern Agnosticism. When luxury and worldliness are eating out

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Autolyicum*, lib i., circa initium.

the heart of society, and a false philosophy is teaching us that man is no more than the beasts, it is no wonder that scepticism and unbelief find many victims. The apologist of to-day must learn from St. Theophilus, and appeal to the conscience of his readers. He must seek to awaken their sense of duty, and bid them show that they are men, if they would come to know God. He must appeal to this most powerful and appropriate source of spiritual knowledge. Not that other arguments are wanting. In spite of Kant, the old metaphysical and physical proofs are not without their value. But the influence of a false philosophy or of those fashions of thought, which, like all habits, become a second nature, may keep many from seeing the full force of these old reasons. To quote St. Theophilus once more, "the sun is not to blame, if the blind see it not."

Here it may be well to guard against a not unlikely misconception. When we speak of moral defects as a source of unbelief, we must not be taken to mean that all who do not believe are therefore plunged in vice. God forbid! It is true that vice of every kind is often the cause, as it is at other times the consequence, or the natural accompaniment, of unbelief. And infidelity itself—in so far as it is wilful—is one of the greatest of all sins. But it is not for us to judge how far this may be the case in any particular instance. How do we know what may be due to the influence of early training and the overpowering voice of false teachers, and the deluding spirit of the age? The prophet of the *Zeitgeist* himself has told us how "rigorous teachers seized (his) youth," and there are, surely, many others of less strength of mind and more docility than Mr. Arnold, who have suffered yet more at the hands of these "masters of the mind," and have "unlearnt" much and "resigned" much "at their behest." Shall we judge harshly of those who have been exposed to dangers of which we are happily ignorant? Rather, let us look on them with compassion, and gladly recognise any token of better things that may be discernible in their words or actions. The Apostle tells us that there are those who "profess that they know God; but in their works they deny Him." In like manner, there may be others who make

profession of unbelief, scarce knowing what they are saying; while their own lives in many ways belie that profession. In every deed of justice or of kindness to their fellow-men, in every conscientious fulfilment of a duty, they bear witness, however unconsciously, to the truth which they affect to deny. Well, may we hope that such men are really being led onwards to the light.

What has been said above has reference to our knowledge of the truths of natural religion. This, as we have seen, depends in great measure on moral dispositions and obedience to the voice of conscience. But when we go on to consider the higher knowledge which is vouchsafed us by revelation, the need of holiness becomes yet more apparent. It is only by faith that we can come to know anything of the revealed mysteries. And for this there is need of something beyond mere reason. The will, no less than the understanding, must be moved by heavenly grace ere an act of faith can be made. Moreover, the habit or principle of supernatural faith is given to us in our justification. Hence all the dispositions whereby the soul is made ready for justification, penance, fear, confidence, love, and the rest, lead on to a new light and a higher knowledge, as well as to a supernatural holiness of life. Then, again, the gift of faith can be lost, and in fact is forfeited, by any grave sin of unbelief. And whether we lose it or keep it, depends on moral conditions, on corresponding with grace, on fidelity in resisting temptations, and most especially on prayer.

Going a step further, the Christian may rightly seek to gain a deeper insight into the truths which have been delivered to him, to understand something more of their hidden meaning, and their relation to one another. This is theology, or the scientific treatment and expression of the faith. For this the disposition of holiness is needed more than ever. How else can the surrounding dangers be avoided? How can we keep within due bounds in our theological speculations, without a lively faith, and a spirit of docility and loyalty to Holy Church? And how can this spirit be gained or cherished, save by a life of prayer and obedience? Natural gifts of intellect or memory, and careful

training and diligent study, all have their value in theology. But taken by themselves they are worse than useless. There is need of a supernatural light which no books or teachers can give, and no natural ability can supply.

It is, therefore, no wonder that the Fathers of the Church teach what they had proved and practised in their own persons—that piety is the source or the necessary condition of sound theology. Thus, St. Augustine urges his friend Consentius to write, because he had the ability to explain what he held, and the virtue and humility which enabled him to hold what was true :—“ *Ejus quippe es facultatis ut possis ea quae senseris explicare : ejus porro probitatis et humilitatis, ut merearis ea quae sunt vera sentire.*”<sup>1</sup>

So, again, St. Ephrem, the great teacher of the Syriac Church, sings in one of his doctrinal hymns :—

“ Like a mirror stand the Scriptures :  
And the man whose eye is simple  
There the form of truth beholdeth.”<sup>2</sup>

It would be easy to multiply quotations from the Fathers and other great authorities to enforce this important principle—that holiness of life is necessary for the study of theology. There is, however, no need to do this. We have given the words of a Syriac and Latin father ; and it will be enough to add one witness from the rich field of Greek theology. And for this we can hardly do better than take a writer who is, perhaps, little read at the present day—St. Anastasius of Sinai. In the first pages of his *Ὁδηγός*, we find this principle stated in plain and forcible words. He is setting forth a few wholesome maxims, which students of theology would do well to bear in mind. For instance, he insists on the importance of getting the chief definitions by heart ; and having a clear knowledge of the errors to be refuted. And along with these pieces of sound practical advice, he says :—“ It is especially necessary for the student to lead a holy life, and to have the Spirit of God dwelling within him.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Epist. 126, ad. Consent.

<sup>2</sup> “ Seekeen O'thobeh ayk makhzeethoh  
D' shaphyoh 'ayneh tsalmoh d' kushtoh  
Khozeh thamon.”—*Addressus Scrutatoris, Hymn, 67.*

<sup>3</sup> ὅτι δεῖ προηγουμένως βίον σερμόν, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνοικον ἔχειν.

Such was the spirit in which the saints betook themselves to the study of the Scriptures and the exposition of the faith. And herein lies the secret of their success. Well may St. Philip send us to their writings, for they are the safest and surest guides. Their innocence and simplicity of heart, their humility, their life of prayer and close union with God, far more than the great natural gifts and the wide learning for which so many of them were conspicuous, are the best pledge of the purity of their doctrine and of their warrant to teach us. And this shows, at the same time, the spirit in which it behoves us to sit at their feet and hearken to their teaching. This is one of the best of the many lessons they have to impart to us. The holiness which led them to the vision of God, the true science of the blessed, gave them, even here on earth, a foretaste of the happiness which belongs in a special manner to the clean of heart—that they shall see God.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

---

## Liturgical Questions.

---

### THE ECCLESIASTICAL CALENDAR.—VII.

---

#### THE EPOCHS—(*continued*).

The principal use of the tables of Epochs is to find the dates of the movable feasts. And as all these move as Easter moves, it is practically for determining the date of Easter alone that these tables are or need be employed. The rule generally given for the date of Easter Sunday, is that it is the first Sunday after the first full moon, which happens on or after the vernal equinox. But if all the terms used in this rule be taken in their usual signification, the rule is not correct. To prevent all misconception, the rule should be stated in this way. Find the day on or after the 21st March upon which the ecclesiastical moon attains the fourteenth day of its age. The Sunday which next follows

that day will be Easter-day.<sup>1</sup> For, in the first place, the vernal equinox does not always fall on the 21st March, but vibrates between the 21st and 22nd.<sup>2</sup> The calendar, however, supposes that it always falls on the 21st. Secondly, the motions of the calendar or ecclesiastical moon, do not coincide with the motions of the real moon. "The Church," says Clavius, "in finding the new moon, and from it the fourteenth day, uses neither the true nor the mean motion of the moon."<sup>3</sup> Indeed the phases of the calendar moon often differ two days from those of the real moon, and sometimes as much as three days. Thirdly, the fourteenth day of the moon is not synonymous with full moon. Clavius bears witness to this also. "Who, except a few who think they are very sharp-sighted in this matter, is so blind as not to see that the fourteenth of the moon and the full moon are not the same things in the Church of God?"<sup>4</sup> Full moon should take place at the middle point between two new moons. And as the interval between two new moons is about twenty-nine and a-half days, the moon should be full when fourteen three-quarter days old, or in fourteen three-quarter times twenty-four hours after conjunction. Hence, full moon never occurs before the fifteenth day of the moon's age. For the day of new moon itself is called the first day of the moon, no matter at what time of the day conjunction takes place; the second day of the moon, then, is that on which the moon completes the first twenty-four hours and begins the second, and so on. The fourteenth day, then, is that on which the moon completes the thirteenth day, and the fifteenth that on which the fourteenth is completed. And as full moon always happens after the completion of the fourteenth day, it cannot, therefore, happen before the fifteenth day of the moon.

Taking the rule for finding Easter in the form given above, let us apply it to finding Easter from the tables of Epacts. But first it will be necessary to define what are

<sup>1</sup> Lardner's *Museum of Science*, vol. vii., page 12.

<sup>2</sup> De Morgan, *Essay on the Ecclesiastical Calendar*.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by De Morgan, *l. c.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

called the *Paschal Limits*, that is the extreme dates between which Easter Sunday may fall. The 14th day of the moon, by which the date of Easter is determined, may, according to the terms of the rule, fall on the 21st March. The paschal new moon, or the first day of the paschal moon, may, therefore, be as early as the 8th March. But if the 7th March be a day of new moon, the 14th day of that moon will fall on the 20th, and as this date precedes the calendar equinox, it follows that not this moon, but the next, is the paschal moon for that year. The next moon, since it ends in April, has only twenty-nine days. Counting twenty-nine days from the 7th March inclusive, we come to the 4th April: and the next day, that is the 5th April, is the first day of the paschal moon. The 14th of this moon arrives on the 18th April. The earliest date, then, on which the paschal "full" moon can arrive is the 21st March, and the latest the 18th April. If, when the 14th of the moon falls on the 21st March, that day be Saturday, the next day will be Easter Sunday: and if the 18th April be Sunday when the 14th of the paschal moon falls on it, the next Sunday will be Easter. Easter, then, may be as early as March 22, and as late as April 25. It fell on the former date in 1818, and on the latter in 1886: it will not fall on the former again until the year 2285, nor on the latter till 1943.

Having now settled that the paschal new moon must fall on one of the thirty-five days contained in the interval between the 8th March and the 5th April, both extremes included, all we require for determining from the tables of Epacts the date of Easter for a particular year, are the Golden Number and the Dominical Letter for that year. By means of the Golden Number we find the Epact in Table I.; and by means of the Epact we find, in Table II., the date of the new moon which first follows the 7th March. Having found this date, we reckon forward fourteen days, including the date itself, and then look to the column of week or Dominical Letters; find the first day after the 14th opposite which stands the Dominical Letter for the year in question, and that is Easter Sunday. Let us apply these rules to the determination

of the date of Easter for the present year, 1892. The Golden Number is 12, and the Dominical Letters C, B. The latter, however, alone concerns us in finding Easter. From Table I. we find the Epact for the year to be 1, while Table II. shows that the first day on which this Epact occurs after the 8th of March is the 30th of the same month. The first day of the paschal moon of this year, then, is the 30th March; and hence the 14th day is the 12th April. Opposite the 12th April, in the column of letters devoted to the month of April, we find D, which is the Tuesday letter for this part of the year. We then follow the column downward until we reach the Sunday Letter B; and opposite B, in the column of dates on the extreme left, we find 17. Easter, then, must fall this year on the 17th April.

There is a more expeditious method of using Table II. Easter Sunday being the first Sunday after the 14th of the moon, is, consequently, the third Sunday after the 1st of the moon. The 1st day of the moon, then, having been found, Easter Sunday will be the day opposite which is found the third repetition of the Dominical Letter of the year in question from that day. Take next year for example. The Golden Number for 1893 is 13; and the Epact, as given by Table I., is 12. This Epact stands opposite the 19th March: this, then, is the first day of the paschal moon of 1893. The Dominical Letter for 1893 is A, since B is the Dominical Letter for the last months of the present year. And the letter A stands opposite the 19th and 26th March. and the 2nd April. This last date is, therefore, the date of Easter Sunday, 1893.

With the two tables of Epacts, then, it is a very simple problem to find the date of Easter for any year past or present. But just as we have been able to dispense with tables in finding the Dominical Letter and Epacts, so can we also dispense with the tables of Epacts in finding the date of Easter. Given the Epact and Dominical Letter, a simple arithmetical rule can be framed, which can be easily remembered, and which serves the purpose as well as the tables. By an easy calculation it can be shown that when the Epact

is under 24, the paschal new moon occurs in March; and when the Epact is 24 or upwards, the paschal new moon occurs in April. The paschal lunation, therefore, ends either in April or in May, and is, accordingly, of either twenty-nine or thirty days. Now, if we call April 1, 2, 3, &c., March 32, 33, 34, &c., we have the following rule for finding the first day of the paschal moon, the Epact being known. *If the Epact be less than 24, subtract it from 31; the remainder is the date in March on which the paschal moon begins. If the Epact is more than 23, subtract it from 30, and the remainder is the date in April on which the paschal moon begins.*<sup>1</sup> And as in reckoning the fourteen days of the moon the day of new moon is included, it follows that the 11th of the moon is on the 13th day after the day of new moon. Hence, by subtracting the Epact from 11, when it is under 24, and from 43 when it is over 23, we find the dates in March and April respectively of the 14th day of the paschal moon. The next Sunday after this will be Easter-day. Let us verify this rule for the present year. The Epact, as we already know, is 1. Hence it is to be subtracted from 44. The remainder, 43, is the date in March of the 14th of this year's paschal moon. But according to our convention, the 43rd of March is the same as the 12th April ( $43 - 31 = 12$ ). This, as we have already learned from the tables, is the correct date. It will be interesting now to collect all the arithmetical formula by which the several elements of the calendar are found, and show in a connected manner how they may be employed for finding the date of Easter without the aid of tables. There is one, and only one, table which is indispensable; but it is so short, and so easily remembered, that it hardly deserves to be called a table. This is the table showing the order in which the Dominical Letters in the first year of our era occur,

The order, it will be remembered, was

B A G F E D C

<sup>1</sup> Professor De Morgan's rule is as follows:—"The day of the month of the calendar new moon is found by subtracting the Epact from 31 or 61, according as the Epact does or does not exceed 23." The rule given above is the same, but the 31 days of March are first deducted from 61.

The Golden Number, if found by the formula

$$(1) \quad \frac{N + 1}{19} = x_r,$$

where  $N$  represents the particular year of the era of which there is question, and  $r$ , the remainder, gives the Golden Number. From the Golden Number, which we shall now represent by  $G$ , the Epect for the past and present centuries is found by the formula<sup>1</sup>

$$(2) \quad \frac{(G - 1) 12}{30} = x_r,$$

where  $r$ , the remainder, is the Epect. If there is no remainder, the Epect is 30, or zero. These, it will be remembered, are equivalent expressions.

The Dominical Letter is found from the formula

$$(3) \quad N + \frac{N}{4} - \frac{n}{7} = x_r.$$

Here again  $N$  is the year:  $n$  is the number of days to be subtracted on account of the solar equation,<sup>1</sup> and  $r$  points out what one of the letters, taken in the above order, is the Dominical Letter for the given year.<sup>2</sup>

Equipped with these formulæ, and the rule given above, and bearing in mind that the letter  $D$  always corresponds with the 1st March, and  $G$  with the 1st April, we can find the date of Easter for any year since the correction of the calendar. Let us find the date of Easter in the year 1894.

$$(1) \quad \frac{1894 + 1}{19} = 99 \frac{14}{19}. \text{ Golden Number} = 14.$$

$$(2) \quad \frac{(14 - 1) 11}{30} = 4 \frac{23}{30}. \text{ Epect} = 23.$$

$$(3) \quad \frac{1894 + \frac{1894}{4} - 12}{7} = 336 \frac{3}{7}. \text{ Dom. Letter} = G.$$

$$(4) \quad 44 - 23 = 21. \text{ March } 21 = 14\text{th day of paschal moon.}$$

<sup>1</sup> The formula for the next three centuries will be  $\frac{(G - 2) XII.}{30} = x_r$

Up to 1582 the formula was simply  $\frac{G \times 11}{30} = x_r$ .

<sup>2</sup> See Paper IV. in the I. E. RECORD for February, page 169.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, page 168.

Hence Easter Sunday, 1894, will be the first Sunday after the 21st March. We have then to determine on what day of the week the 21st March will fall. Since the Dominical Letter is G, and the letter corresponding with the 1st March D, it follows that the 1st March will be Thursday. Consequently, the 21st will be Wednesday, and the next Sunday will be the 25th. In 1894, then, Easter Sunday will fall on the Feast of the Annunciation.

We are now in a position to understand the *Paschal Tables* referred to in the first of this series of papers.<sup>1</sup> These tables, two in number, are printed in all our Missals, and Breviaries, but for convenience of reference, we give them here exactly as they are given in the liturgical books.

TABLE I.

TABULA PASCHALIS  
ANTIQUA REFORMAT.

Anr. Numerus	Golden Number	Letter Dominical	Septuagesima	Dies Cinerum	PASCHA	Ascensio Domini	Pentecostes	Corpus Christi	Unica post Pent.	Prima Dominica Adventus
12	xxix.	a	Jan. 18	Febr. 4	Martii. 22	Aprilis. 30	Maij. 10	Maii. 21	28	29 Nov. 30
5	xxij.	d	19	5	23	1 Maij.	11	22	28	
14	xx.	f	20	6	24	2	12	23	28	1 Dec.
2	xviii.	c	21	7	25	3	13	24	28	2
10	xviiij.	A	22	8	26	4	14	25	28	3
18	xvii.	e	23	9	27	5	15	26	27	27 Nov.
7	xvi.	g	24	10	28	6	16	27	27	28
	xv.	i	25	11	29	7	17	28	27	29
	xiiii.	k	26	12	30	8	18	29	27	30
17	xiii.	f	27	13	31	9	19	30	27	1 Dec.
4	xij.	a	28	14	1 Apr.	10	20	31	27	2
	xi.	c	29	15	2	11	21	1 Jun.	27	3
12	x.	e	30	16	3	12	22	2	26	27 Nov.
	ix.	g	31	17	4	13	23	3	26	28
1	viii.	d	1 Febr.	18	5	14	24	4	26	29
9	vii.	e	2	19	6	15	25	5	26	30
	vi.	g	3	20	7	16	26	6	26	1 Dec.
17	v.	a	4	21	8	17	27	7	26	2
	iv.	c	5	22	9	18	28	8	26	3
6	iii.	d	6	23	10	19	29	9	25	27 Nov.
14	ij.	e	7	24	11	20	30	10	25	28
3	i.	g	8	25	12	21	31	11	25	29
	xxviii.	a	9	26	13	22	1 Jun.	12	25	30
	xxix.	c	10	27	14	23	2	13	25	1 Dec.
11	xxviiij.	d	11	28	15	24	3	14	25	2
19	xxvii.	A	12	1 Mar.	16	25	4	15	25	3
8	xxvi.	e	13	2	17	26	5	16	24	27 Nov.
	xxv.	g	14	3	18	27	6	17	24	28
	xxiv.	a	15	4	19	28	7	18	24	29
		c	16	5	20	29	8	19	24	30
		e	17	6	21	30	9	20	24	1 Dec.
		g	18	7	22	31	10	21	24	2
		A	19	8	23	1 Junij.	11	22	24	3
		e	20	9	24	2	12	23	23	27 Nov.
		g	21	10	25	3	13	24	23	28

<sup>1</sup> I. E. RECORD, 3rd series, vol. xii., page 1033.

This table, as its title sets forth, is the Paschal Table of the Julian calendar, so modified as to suit the Gregorian. The only change in the table rendered necessary by the change of style was the introduction of the column of Epacts, headed *Cyclus Epactarum*. Omit this column, and the table is precisely the same as was used from the time of the first Council of Nice to the correction of the calendar by Pope Gregory. Hence from this table we can find the dates of the movable feasts in any year, whether before or after the year 1582. To find the movable feasts in a year which preceded 1582, we find the Golden Number of the year, and the Dominical Letter. In the column on the extreme left, headed *Aur. Numer.*, we seek for the number corresponding with the Golden Number of the year in question. We then look to the column of Dominical Letters, and find where the Dominical Letter of the year occurs first below the Golden Number. The movable feasts are in the same horizontal line with this letter. If the Dominical Letter of the year stands opposite the Golden Number of the year, not that line, but the next lower line in which the Dominical Letter occurs, gives the dates.

Our historians tell us that the battle of Clontarf was fought on the 23rd April, 1014, and that that day was Good Friday. Let us see will this table give the same date for Good Friday in that year.

$$(1) \quad \frac{1014 + 1}{19} = 53 \frac{8}{19}. \text{ Golden Number} = 8.$$

$$(2) \quad \frac{1014 + \frac{1014}{4}}{7} = 181. \text{ Dom. Letter} = C.$$

In the column of Golden Numbers, 8 stands at the very bottom; and right opposite it, in the column of Dominical Letters is C, the Dominical Letter of the year. Hence we must descend seven lines, until we meet with C again; and this brings us to the last line of all. The date of Easter, as given by this line, is the 25th April, the latest day on which it can fall. Consequently, Good Friday did fall on the 23rd April in 1014, and the historians are right.

There are two questions about the unreformed Paschal Table, which everyone will naturally feel inclined to ask. The first is: Why are the Golden Numbers in the first column arranged in such disorderly order? and the second: What is the connection between the Golden Numbers and the dates of the movable feasts?

We will answer these questions in our next issue.

D. O'LOAN.

# THE FEAST OF THE SACRED HEART, AND THE TRANSFERENCE OF SUCCEEDING FEASTS.

In the I. E. RECORD of last month we mentioned as a matter of interesting liturgical information, in reply to a correspondent, that the correct day this year for the celebration of the Mass and Office of the Sacred Heart would have been Saturday, the 25th June, according to the special rules of transference applicable to this feast. We also mentioned what would have been, in this case, the order of succeeding feasts up to the 8th of July. We now continue the list of remaining transfers.

It should, however, be borne in mind that the *Ordo* is the approved guide for the clergy, and that the re-arrangement of the feasts suggested in these pages possesses only intrinsic authority.

In the general *Calendar*, as will be seen, the disturbance of the Feasts ceases on September 7th, and in Dublin, Tuam, and a few other dioceses, on September 13th.

JULIUS, 1892.

26. Fer. 6. S. ANNAE MATRIS. B. V. MARIAE dupl. 2 cl. *Credo* non dicitur. In 2 Vesp. com. seq. et S. Pantaleonis, M.

*In DD. Dublin, Tuam, Drogheda, Down, Kildar, Elphin, Lismore, Kesh, et Clonsilla.* In 2 Vesp. com. seq. (m. t. v.) et S. Pantaleonis.

27. Fer. 4. S. RUMOLDI, Mart., dupl. maj. (è 3 Jul.) 9 l. et com. S. Pantaleonis in L. et M. In 2 Vesp. com. seq.

*In DD. Dublin, Tuam, Drogheda, Down, Kildar, Elphin, Lismore, Kesh, et Clonsilla.* S. COLUMBIE, Abb. (è 8 Junii) dupl. maj. (m. t. v.) Omn. de com. 9 l. et com. S. Pantaleonis in L. et M. In 2 Vesp. com. seq.

28. Fer. 5. SS. Nazarii et Soc. Mm. semid. etc., ut in *Ordo*.

29. Fer. 6. S. Marthae, Virg. semid. Com. SS. Felicis et Soc. Mm. in L et M. 3 Or *A Cunctis*. In Vesp. de seq. (m. t. v.) com. prae. et SS. Abdon et Sennen. Mm.

*In DD. Dublin. Tuam. Dromor. Derrien. Kildar. Elphin. Lismor. Kerrien. et Clonfert.* Vesp. de seq. com. prae. et SS. Abdon et Sennen. Mm.

30. Sabb. S. Leonis, P. et Doct. dupl. (è 11 April) (m. t. v.). In Mis. *Credo*. Vesp. a cap. de seq. com. prae. et Dom. 1 Aug.

*In DD. Dublin. Tuam. Dromor. Derrien. Kildar. Elphin. Lismor. Kerrien et Clonfert.* S. Rumoldi, Mart., dupl. maj. (è 3 Jul.). In 2 Vesp. com. seq. et Dom. 1 Augusti.

31. DOMINICA VIII. post Pentec. et 1 Aug. S. Ignatii C. dupl., etc., ut in *Ordo*, usque ad diem 5 Sept.

*In DD. Dublin. Tuam., etc.* S. Ignatii C. dupl. ut supra et in *Ordo*.

#### SEPTEMBER.

5. Fer. 2. S. Laurentii Justiniani, Ep. et C. semid (m.t.v.) Ll. 1 N. *Incipitur liber Job*. (Scrip. Occur. heri). In Mis. 2 Orat. *A Cunctis*, 3 ad lib. In Vesp. de seq. (m. t. v.). Ant. *O Doctor*. com. prae.

*In DD. Dublin. Tuam. Dromor. Derrien. Kildar. Elphin. Lismor. Kerrien. et Clonfert.* Vesp. de seq. (m. t. v.) com. prae.

6. Fer. 3. S. Anselmi, Ep. et Doct. dupl. (è 21 April) (m. t. v.). In Mis. *Credo*. In 2 Vesp. com. S. Josephi (ex Off. Vot.) vel sine com. si cras dicetur Off. de Fer.

*In DD. Dublin. Tuam. Dromor. Derrien. Kildar. Elphin. Lismor. Kerrien. et Clonfert.* S. Leonis, P. et Doct. (è 11 April) (m. t. v.). In Mis. *Credo*. Vesp. à cap. de seq. (m. t. v.). (Ant. *O Doctor*), com. prae. (Ant. *Dum esset summus pontifex*).

7. Fer. 4. De ea, vel De Off. Vot. S. Josephi. In Mis. 2 Orat. *A Cunctis* 3 ad lib. Vesp. de seq. sine com. In fine hymnor. Compl. et Hor. *Jesu . . . qui natus es*.

*In DD. Dublin. Tuam. Dromor. Derrien. Kildar. Elphin. Lismor. Kerrien. et Clonfert.* S. Anselmi, Ep. et Doct. dupl. (è 21 April) (m. t. v.). In Mis. *Credo*. Vesp. de seq. com. prae. In fine hymnor. Compl. et Hor. *Jesu . . . qui natus es*.

8. Fer. 5. NATIVITAS BEATAE MARIAE Virg. dupl. 2 cl., etc. ut in *Ordo*.

*In DD. Dublin. Tuam. Dromor. Derrien. Kildar. Elphin. Lismor. Kerrien. et Clonfert.* In 2 Vesp. com. Oct. (ut in caeteris D.D.) *Et cras in iisdem supra-dictis DD. fit de Oct. non de S. Anselmo, de quo jam factum est 7 Sept.*

D. O'LOAN,

## Documents.

---

DECISIONS OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF BISHOPS AND REGULARS IN REFERENCE TO THE DECREE *QUEMADMODUM* : —

I. "EXEMPT" COMMUNITIES: THE VINCENTIAN SISTERS OF CHARITY.

II. THE MODIFICATION OF THE RULES, &c., OF RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES.

We have received for publication, from his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, the following important documents in explanation of the Decree *Quemadmodum* of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, 17th December, 1890.

### I.

The first document has reference to the case of Communities of Religious canonically exempt from the jurisdiction of the Ordinary, and to the special case of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, best known in Ireland as the French Sisters of Charity.

As explained by his Grace, in his statement of the case proposed by him for decision to the S. Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, through the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, the reason for putting a separate question as to the Sisters of Saint Vincent arises from an interesting passage in Lucidi's invaluable work, *De Visitatione SS. Liminum* (vol. ii., pp. 300-302, nn. 429-432).

From the passage referred to, it is plain that the position of those Sisters, as regards the ecclesiastical jurisdiction to which they are subject, is somewhat peculiar.

Under the principles which govern the matter on general grounds, these Sisters, forming a Congregation bound by Simple vows, should be regarded as subject, in each of their communities, to the jurisdiction, not of a general Religious superior, but of the Ordinary of the place where the community is.

To this, as Lucidi points out, there is at all events one

clear set of exceptions. By an Apostolic Letter dated 22nd June, 1818, Pope Pius VII., in compliance with a request from Ferdinand VII. of Spain, declared the Spanish communities of the Sisters "exempt" from the jurisdiction of the Ordinaries, and subject to that of the Superior-General of the Congregation of the Vincentian Fathers of the Mission.

The following are the terms of this important Papal Letter:—

"Nos itaque . . . omnes et singulas charitatis puellarum, earumque societatem ac domos in regnis Hispaniarum a quocunque patriarchae Indiarum, vel cuiusvis alterius jurisdictione ac subiectione prorsus eximentes ac liberantes, omnimodae iurisdictioni, obedientiae, superioritati, ac dependentiae moderni ac pro tempore existentis vicarii generalis Congregationis Presbyterorum Saecularium Missionis S. Vincentii a Paulo nuncupatae, perpetuo et integre subicimus atque supponimus."

After quoting the Papal Letter, Lucidi goes on to say that, although this authoritative document regards only the Spanish communities of the Congregation, it is not to be inferred that the communities of the Congregation generally are to be taken as subject, in the usual sense, to the jurisdiction of Ordinaries.

It is better to quote his words:—

"Quod ad ceteras attinet, non adest, quod sciamus, ulla Apostolicae Sedis dispositio, quae generali de earum subiectione regulae derogaverit.

"Hac de re controversia quaedam, pluribus comprehensa dubiis, apud Sac. Cong. Ep. et Reg. paucis abhinc annis excitata est, quae tamen neque in plenaria auditorio proposita et discussa, neque definita unquam fuit.

"In quo animadvertendum arbitror a nemine posse negari tanta cum laude a Moderatore memoratae Congregationis [Presbyterorum Saecularium Missionis S. Vincentii a Paulo nuncupatae] harum sacrarum virginum institutum dirigi consuescere, ut nihil desiderandum supersit: nam florentissima eiusdem conditio huius rei locupletissimum praebeat documentum, cum earundem numerus paucis abhinc annis (anno 1856; ad duodecim millia fere ascenderet, et in praesens prodigia suae charitatis non sine summa cum Ecclesiae catholicae gloria, et omnium mortalium temporali ac spirituali utilitate, in singulas orbis terrarum partes saluberrimae diffundat.

"Hinc Episcopi in eorundem Moderatorum vigilantia tuto

conquiescere posse videntur, veluti reapse conquiescunt; nam si unum vel alterum Episcopum excepias, nullus in eiusdem Instituti administrationem sese admiscet, ac liberam ab omni parte potestatem Moderatoris Congregationis Missionis relinquit.

“Enim vero Sac. Cong. Ep. et Reg. si quid incommodi deprehendisset, oblatam ex modo indicata controversia occasionem abire minime sivisset, ut remedium apponeret, et remedii curam Episcopis commendaret, eoque magis quod super huiusmodi rei definitioni enixis precibus insisteretur.

“Quapropter prudentius Episcopi sese gesturi esse videntur, si in suis in eisdem puellis potestate exercenda se temperent, dummodo tamen detrimentum inde non timeatur: tum enim Moderatorem Congregationis Missionis tempestive poterunt adjuvare, qui certe statim opportuna consilia capere non detrectabit. itidem, si opus sit, ad Sac. Cong. Ep. et Reg. sese vertere non haesitabunt.”

The Pontifical act mentioned by Lucidi was followed by others, all tending in the same direction. The declarations of preceding Pontiffs, and the privileges conferred by them upon the Vincentian Sisters, were confirmed by our present Holy Father in 1882.

In the case, then, of the Decree *Quemadmodum*, the question very naturally arose as to the extent to which Bishops were to act in reference to the communities of those Sisters in their respective dioceses, whether in sending them copies of the Decree, or in seeing to its observance.

A question on the point seems to have been submitted to the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars almost immediately after the publication of the Decree. It was as follows:—

“An Decretum incip. *Quemadmodum*, diei 17 Decembris, 1890, etiam Filias charitatis a S. Vincentio a Paulo institutas comprehendat?

The answer of the Sacred Congregation, confirmed by the Sovereign Pontiff, and dated the 15th of April, 1891, was:—

“*Affirmative juxta modum*; modus est: ‘Attenta peculiari Puellarum Charitatis institutione, attentisque Pontificiis declarationibus ac privilegiis indultis praesertim a S. M. Pio VII. et Leone XII., confirmatis a SSmo D. N. Leone XIII. die 25 Junii,

1882; publicationem et vigilantiam super executione praefati Decreti quoad dictas Puellas spectare ad Superiorem generalem pro tempore Congregationis Presbyterorum Missionis, sive per se, sive per ejusdem Congregationis Visitatores, salva tamen delegatione Apostolica Ordinariorum locorum in casu negligentiae Superiorum Congregationis Missionis.’”

Before the publication of this answer, two questions, one of them bearing upon this point, had been sent to the S. Congregation by the Archbishop of Dublin. His Grace's letter and the reply of the Cardinal Prefect of the S. Congregation are as follows:—

EMINENZA REVERENDISSIMA,

Mi sia lecito implorare dalla Santa Sede mercè l'intervento benevolo di Vostra Eminenza la soluzione di due dubbii spettanti al Decreto emanato a dì 17 dicembre, 1890, dalla Sacra Congregazione dei Vescovi e Regolari.

S. E. il Cardinale Prefetto della prelodata Congregazione, quando spediva copie di esso Decreto ai Metropolitani, vi aggiunse una lettera nella quale leggesi così:—

“Qui (Episcopi) vicissim cum singulis Superioribus et Superiorissis Monasteriorum piorumque Domorum respectivarum dioecesum ejusdem Decreti exemplaria communicent.

“Praecipit denique Sanctitas Sua omnibus locorum Ordinariis ut enuntiati Decreti plenam executionem sedulo diligenterque vigilare et procurare non intermittant, etiam vi specialis Apostolicae Sedis delegationis.”

Ora bramasi sapere:—

1° Se il Vescovo deve mandare copie del Decreto e procurarne l'esecuzione anche trattandosi di case esenti, di quelle case cioè, sia di uomini, sia di donne, le quali sono soggette non al Vescovo, ma bensì al Superiore Regolare.

2° Lo stesso dimandasi riguardo alle Suore di S. Vincenzo di Paulo.

Ragione di questa seconda domanda si è che nell' opera *De Visitatione S. Liminum* da Angelo Lucidi, Vol. ii., page n. 432, leggesi quanto segue:

“Quapropter prudentius Episcopi sese gesturi videntur si a sua in eisdem puellis [a S. Vincentio a Paulo institutis] potestate exercenda se temperent.”

Benchè la citata opera non abbia autorità formale, essendo

per essa verosimilmente indizio dell'uso che ottenne in Roma dal quale non voglio io costarmi, chiedo pertanto istantemente norma in proposito.

(Firmato),

L'arcivescovo di Dublino.

Sacra Congregatio Eriorum ac Rūiorum S. R. E. Cardinalium negotiis et consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium praepositum propositis dubiis censuit rescribendum prout rescripsit:—

Ad I. Affirmative, ad formam literarum Sacrae Congregationis.

Ad II. Servetur Decretum pure et simpliciter, remota qualibet interpretatione, juxta mentem Sacrae Congregationis.

Romae, 10 Februarii, 1892.

I. CARD. VERGA, *Praefectus*.

F. M. GRANNIELLO, *Barnabita, Secretarius*.

## II.

The following decision has reference to another point of practical importance in connection with the Decree *Quemadmodum*:—

PERILLUSTRIS AC REVERENDISSIME DOMINE UTI FRATER.

Cum Amplitudo Tua dubium proposuerit utrum delendum sit a Constitutionibus piorum Institutorum quicquid opponitur dispositioni Decreti diei 17 Decembris 1890 incipien:—*Quemadmodum*—in ea parte quae respicit arbitrium Superiorum vel Moderatricum eorundem Institutorum circa Communionem vel Sacramentalem Confessionem, licet expressum id minime fuerit, prout expresse sancitum est quoad manifestationem conscientiae, Sacra haec Congregatio Episcoporum et Regularium, cui remissa est huiusmodi dubii solutio, haec Tibi significanda mandavit.

Perpendenda siquidem est postrema clausula Decreti, in qua Sanctitas Sua omnibus in contrarium facientibus ipsius Decreti dispositionibus derogavit etiamsi specialis et individua mentio facta non fuerit. Exinde facile erit colligere irrita et nullius roboris evasisse ea omnia quae Decreto opponuntur, licet non delenda singillatim a Constitutionibus Institutorum mandatum expresse fuerit.

Quare, universa rei ratione perpensa, prudenti Amplitudinis Tuae arbitrio relinquitur an expediens necne existimaverit ut etiam in ea Decreti parte quae Communionem, et Confessionem

respicit, si quid in Constitutionibus Institutorum in contrarium saluberrimae eiusdem Decreti dispositioni exaratum sit, perpensis omnibus rei adiunctis, delendum injungat vel non, dummodo firma remaneat omnimoda Decreti observantia eiusque dispositio.

Haec Amplitudini Tuae communicanda erant, cui omnia fausta adprecor a Domino.

Amplitudinis Tuae,

Addictissimus uti Frater,

I. CARD. VERGA, *Praefectus*.

ARCHIEPISCOPO DUBLINEN.

A. TROMBETTA, *Subsecretarius*.

Romae, 31 Martii 1892.

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. TO THE BISHOPS OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK IN REFERENCE TO THE ARRANGEMENT WHICH THE ARCHBISHOP OF ST. PAUL'S HAS MADE WITH THE CIVIL AUTHORITY FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TWO SCHOOLS IN HIS DIOCESE.

Venerabiles Fratres, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Quaeconiunctim a vobis praescriptae sunt litterae ex aede Archiepiscopali Neo-Eboracensi, quo coivistis consecrationi Brooklynensis Episcopi adfuturi, duplici Nos voluptate affecerunt. Patebat enim ex iis animus vester cum de religiosa puerorum institutione sollicitus, tum effundendi cupidus dubitationes et anxietates suas in gremium Nostrum, semper ad eas benigne excipiendas paratum. Ne quid itaque vestris haereret mentibus quod anxias illas et incertas efficeret, datis vicissim litteris vos adire decrevimus: haec autem non modo nuncias esse volumus paternae erga vos caritatis Nostrae, sed etiam testes sollicitudinis quam gerimus de fidelibus amplissimam incolentibus regionem foederatarum civitatum Americae Septentrionalis, quae propter incrementa, quibus se istae explicat catholica religio, et praesens Nobis gaudium affert, et rerum laetiorum in posterum expectationem.

Plane haec sollicitudo Nos curae expertes esse non sivit inter controversias et disputationes nuper istae ortas et animis incalescentibus actas propter conventionem initam inter Ven. fratrem Archiepiscopum S. Pauli et civiles Magistratus circa duas e pluribus scholis paroecialibus quas ille condiderat multo cum studio in credita

sibi diocesi. In huius miseræ concertationis aestu mirum non est si falsa nonnunquam nunciarentur pro veris et quæ suspiciose cogitata fuerant vulgi rumore pererebrescerent. Hæc equidem graviter, molesteque tulimus: nisi enim tempestive eo cura Nostra conversa fuisset, verendum erat ne intereideret, vel magna ex parte deficeret, perfecta animorum consensio studiorumque communi in unum conspiratio, quam sedulo retineant oportet sacerdotum. Antistites et Nos fovere adnitimur, quavis ratione et ope. Propterea memores officii Nostri quod postulat ut in disceptatione causarum, quarum notio et iudicati ad Nos non pertinent ministerium, cuncta sedate expendamus et procul omni partium studio, animum ita comparatum causæ cognoscendæ applicuimus, quam praeclaudatus Archiepiscopus Nobis definiendam attulit, profitens se prompte et omnino pariturum sententiæ Nostræ, quaecumque demum ea foret, quæ sane protestatio in ipsius laudem cedit et a Nobis non poterat velimenter non probari. Quum porro naviter dederimus operam ut plenissime Nobis factorum veritas fieret explorata, recteque aestimaretur rationum pondus quæ utrinque afferebantur, constituto peculiari coetu Patrum Cardinalium ex iis delecto quibus sacrum Consilium constat christiano nomini propagando, qui sese huic studio addixit diligentia singulari, propositam quaestionem eo responso dirimendam censuimus quod dilectus filius Noster Cardinalis eidem sacro Consilio præfectus iussu Nostro patefieri curavit ecclesiarum Praesulibus quæ in civitatibus foederatis sunt **Americæ Septentrionalis.**

Quo pressius autem illud urgeamus quod animos vestros urgebat, vosque ad scribendum permovit, certiores vos fieri volumus, neminem in hoc iudicio suspicionem Nobis iniecissemus timendum fore ne inesta aliqua vexatio catholicis impenderet si ea quæ gesta fuerant ab Archiepiscopo S. Pauli circa scholas in oppido sitas *Faribault* et *Stillwater* a Nobis essent improbata. Quum neque idem Ven. Frater nec alius quilibet huius periculi mentionem fecerit, liquet ex mendaci vulgi rumore famam esse abortam quæ vos in inanem prorsus et falsam opinionem adduxit. Nos enimvero ad huiusce causæ cognitionem iudiciūque animum attulimus probe memorem studiosūque decretorum quæ, præmopente hac Apostolica Sede in Synodis Baltimorensibus super scholis parocchialibus conceita sunt. Hæc quidem constanter servari volumus; quoniam vero hoc cunctis inest legibus generalibus ut, siquid singulare eveniat nec opinatum, factum tolerari queat, suadente aequitate, quod nonnihil a verbo

legis recedat, facile comperimus casum hunc incidisse; proinde moderatione ac prudentia duce potiusquam legis rigore, rem de qua agebatur iudicandam esse rati sumus. Ceterum inter sacros vestrae regionis Antistites, quos huius Sancta Sedis observantissimos novimus et experti sumus quum ad Nos accederent quispiam numquam nemine prorsus excepto, visus est ambigere de doctrina ab ea tradita circa scholas in quibus catholicos pueros institui oportet. Una scilicet omnium sententia est negantium scholas probari posse *neutras*, nempe religionis expertes, sed unanimiter *confessionales* adserunt (prout in regionibus evenit quas acatholicis permixti fideles incolunt), scholas nimirum in quibus pueri religionem rite docentur ab iis quos huic magisterio pares Episcopi agnoverint. Praestat itaque Venerabiles Fratres, ut una cum ceteris dioecesium Praesulibus regionis istius committamini consiliis studiisque paribus ne pueri catholici eos celebrent litterarios ludos in quibus religiosa eorum institutio praetermittitur apertumque imminet mores pervertendi discrimen.

Quare vehementer optamus, prout vobis significatum est per sacrum Consilium christiano nomini propagando, ut in proximis Episcoporum conventibus sedulo deliberetis de rationibus ineundis quae huic fini assequendo potissime conferant. Cupimus praeterea vos enixe contendere ut qui summae rei praesunt in civitatibus singulis probe agnoscentes nihil esse ad salutem rei publicae religione praestantius, sapientium legum latione prospiciant, ut docendi ministerium, quod publicis sumptibus adeoque collatis etiam catholicorum opibus exeretur, nihil habeat quod eorum conscientiae officiat aut religionem offendant. Nobis enim persuasum est cives quoque vestros qui a Nobis dissident, pro ea qua praestant ingenii vi et prudentia, facile abiecturos suspiciones opinioneque Ecclesiae catholicae infensas ultroque agnituros eius merita quae, ethnica barbarie per evangelii lumen depulsa, novam progenuit societatem, christianarum virtutum decore omnique cultu humanitatis insignem. Hiscæ autem perspectis, passurum esse neminem istic putamus, ut catholici parentes cogantur ea condere tuerique gymnasia et scholas, quibus uti nequeant ad filios suos instituendos. Interim eo reversi unde digressi sumus, fore confidimus ut perlectis litteris hisce Nostris, nil triste aut tetricum in animis vestris resideat quod iis vel levem nubeculam offundat. Certum imo Nobis est arctius in dies vos devinetum iri perfectæ caritatis nexibus cum ceteris Venerabilibus Fratribus, quos vobiscum communis patriæ nomen,

pastoralis ministerii consortio et par in omnes benevolentia Nostra coniungit. Sit vobis cor unum et anima una, auctisque concordiis viribus pergite adlaborare alacriter ad gloriam divini nominis et animarum salutem. Quo vero uberior ex laboribus constructus promaneat, propitiam vobis adprecamur. Omnipotentis operis, otusque in auspicium Apostolicam benedictionem vobis Venerabiles Fratres, Clero et fidelibus vigilantiae vestrae commissis, peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die xxiv Maii anno mdccxcii, Pontificatus Nostri decimo quinto.

## Notices of Books.

VERSES ON DOCTRINAL AND DEVOTIONAL SUBJECTS. Vol. III.

By the Rev. J. Casey, P.P., author of *Temperance Poems, Songs, and Lyrics*. Dublin: James Duffy & Co., Limited, 14 and 15, Wellington-quay. 1892.

ALL who admire clearness and simplicity as qualities of poetical composition will welcome Father Casey's third volume of *Verses on Doctrinal and Devotional Subjects*. The six years that have elapsed since the publication of the second volume have manifestly not been misspent: and this, the third volume of the series, contains the fruits of the author's labour in the meantime. Always lucid in expression, easy and accurate in metre, and scrupulously correct in rhyme, Father Casey in the work now under review has surpassed himself in the interesting nature of his subjects, and the popular manner in which he has treated them. Theology in verse is not always a successful venture even in the hands of such able writers as Newman and Faber. The subject does not often admit of imaginative elucidation, and though it assume the didactic form, it repels rather than attracts the majority of modern readers. But, notwithstanding these difficulties, Father Casey's efforts have been crowned with no inconsiderable success. A perfect adept in all the departments of theology, he is also intimately acquainted with the religious instincts of our people; and if he has not always attained the sublime heights reached by the two illustrious authors we have

mentioned, he has achieved what for his purposes is much better : he has composed poetry which will be sure to reach the hearts of the readers for whom he writes, and which cannot fail to produce a salutary and lasting impression upon them. We would sum up our views on the merits of Father Casey's poetry, as a whole, by saying that sweetness, simplicity, and a spirit of intense piety characterize it throughout.

In his preface the author wrote apologetically for once more coming before the public at his time of life, and cites the example of St. Gregory Nazianzen in justification of his doing so. We think the freshness and vivacity of his mind, as manifested in these pages, render any such apology unnecessary. The buoyancy and energy of youth seem to be still the sources of his fecundity, and every page evinces a wealth of language, if not of imagery, that younger men might envy. Whether this be attributable, as the author asserts, to the fact that "for over fifty years he has been a disciple of Father Mathew," we shall not undertake to say ; but certain it is that teetotalism has not dried the fountains of his wit, nor turned the flow of his rippling humour, for even in the volume before us both occasionally find a place into devious and unnatural channels. Pointed and pungent where it suits his purpose to be so, he has also the power of accommodating himself to the more general foibles of his Muse, and can give expression to his ideas in language that, like Sir Samuel Ferguson's, is

Kindly Irish of the Irish  
Neither Saxon nor Italian.

To give specimens of Father Casey's poetry in a brief review like this would be entirely out of place. Moreover, most of our readers must be by this time thoroughly familiar with the character of our author's genius. Instead of doing so, therefore, we shall indicate the spirit of the present work by mentioning a few of the objects embraced in it. After an introductory section, in which such topics are dealt with as "I'll sing the mercies of the Lord," "My heart is ready," "Our daily sacrifice," "Humility," &c., the author introduces a series of "Hymns of Thanksgiving" for creation, for conservation, for redemption, for the gift of faith, for the existence of an infallible Church ; for, in a word, all the favours, natural and supernatural, bestowed on us by Heaven during our earthly pilgrimage. Next in order come a number of poems on Scriptural texts, of which the following are specimens :—"Lazarus, come forth ;" "We have not here a lasting

city :— "There was no room for them in the inn," and others. Lastly appear a collection of "Verses for a Novena to the Sacred Heart," in which, to our mind, Father Casey is at his best. Sincere and earnest devotion breathes through every line of these admirable verses, and no one can read them without feeling the truth of Father Faber's words, that "it is in every way desirable for Catholics to have such a hymn-book for reading in their hands."

In an appendix to the volume Father Casey reprints a poem which is an old acquaintance of ours. Written far back in the stormy days of the sixties, when the author held the position of Principal of an important school in Sligo, it first reached the public ear on one of our Midsummer Distribution Days, as a juvenile exercise in declamation. Just then the Model Schools were rearing their hated heads throughout the country; and in Sligo, in defiance of the united protest of bishop, priests, and Catholic people, one of those anomalous institutions had just entered on what threatened to be an insulting and mischievous career. The school over which Father Casey presided had been set up in opposition to the State-paid institution, and during the period of most intense antagonism between the rival establishments, Catholic claims and Catholic interests found no more able and energetic champion than the then youthful priest and rising poet. It was under the influence of the enthusiasm which these circumstances evoked, that Father Casey wrote his powerful poem entitled an "Essay on Education," and we can still recall with pleasure the bursts of applause that greeted point after point made against the "Schools which breathe a pestilential air," when the poem was first delivered. More than twenty years have passed since then; but the question of the Model Schools remains practically the same; and if our readers should feel an interest in seeing the Catholic case against these pampered institutions expressed with force and eloquence, we would strongly recommend them to peruse Father Casey's once popular, though now almost forgotten poem.

This volume is uniform with its two predecessors in size and binding, and the three together would form a handsome addition to any library. We would suggest that the work is especially suited for prizes in our Convent and Intermediate Schools, and deserve at the hands of our clergy all the encouragement they can bestow. We may be permitted, therefore, to congratulate Father

Casey on this his latest success, and we trust, notwithstanding his apprehension that this volume is the last production of his muse, that the rapidity of its sale may stimulate him to renewed efforts in the sacred cause in which he has laboured so fruitfully and so long.

J. J. C.

### THIRD REPORT OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF MEMORIALS OF THE DEAD IN IRELAND.

THIS report, and indeed the very existence of the above society, are due to the untiring exertions of Colonel P. D. Vigors (Holloden, Bagnalstown, County Carlow), who has for years past thrown himself heart and soul into the work of preserving our ancient sepulchral monuments, and saving them from wanton destruction. Thanks to his timely intervention, many acts of vandalism have been prevented. In other cases the harm was already done, and often could not be repaired. Considering the respect which is certainly felt in this country for everything connected with the dead, it is hard to imagine an Irishman guilty of such outrages as the report mentions. In one place, it is stated that a certain gentleman demolished the remains of a round tower for the purpose of building a residence with the stones. In another case, a fine old monument was found missing from a churchyard in Dingle; and, after long search, was discovered "broken and misappropriated, and converted into cap-stones for a corn-rick close by." And at page 212 is recorded how "an attempt was made, one fine summer's evening, after a funeral, to steal the base of an ancient cross, and it was actually on a car, on its way from the churchyard, when rescued." But all these must give place to the story from County Wexford, where "a great portion of the most interesting old Romanesque church of Clones was pulled down *by the contractor employed to build a wall round it.*"

Now, this society is by no means of an ornamental nature, but an eminently practical working association. It seriously proposes to save from decay and destruction *all* the sepulchral monuments of the country, and will endeavour to have them permanently protected and treated with the respect and reverence due to them. This courageous proposal must compel our admiration, and should also secure our *practical* support and co-operation; for there is not a corner of the country but has some ancient

gravestone, which periodically excites the curiosity of the neighbourhood, or some venerable ruin threatened with decay. In such cases, the best thing for one to do is to communicate with Colonel Vigors, as above, giving particulars for publication; or, better still, become a member of the association by sending the annual subscription of five shillings.

The report under notice is a record of good work well done. It consists of notes from contributors in various parts of the country, dealing with local antiquities. In all, there are notes from twenty-six counties, making over ninety articles well illustrated. Not only old monuments and inscriptions, but also old chalices and church plate, with their inscriptions and dates, are dealt with. Some of the inscriptions are decidedly curious—*e.g.* (page 183):—

THIS TIALE STONE IS ERECTED BY  
JOHN TOOL IN MEMORY OF HIS  
POSTERITY.

It is also proposed by the Society to keep an eye on would-be restorations (?) of ancient churches and other ruins, and so prevent the wholesale disfigurement of our oldest historical monuments, which has for some time been going on. The Society would do well to set forth in its next and subsequent reports the powers and obligations of local authorities, such as corporations and poor-law guardians, with regard to old monuments in danger of ruin in their districts.

E. O'G.

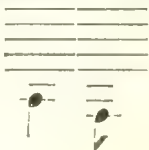

HAND-BOOK OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION. By the Rev. W. Wilmers, S.J. New York: Benziger Bros. 1891.

THE hand-book is intended as a class-book for advanced students, and a reference book for educated laity. The present publication is only a translation from the German, the original having been before the public for more than twenty years. It is remarked in the preface that "the author has been for well-nigh half a century widely known as one of the ablest, most learned, and popular writers and professors of his order." Knowing this, it is with diffidence one would criticise his book. We must be satisfied with describing it. It is simply a very perfect com-

pendium of theology. It does not pretend to make things any plainer than standard theologies, and on account of its conciseness it has not room to do so. Yet we must be surprised at the amount of theology pressed into this little volume. All the proofs are there at hand for so many propositions, and propositions and proofs are put in strictly theological forms. The book, of course, would be useless for any but "advanced students and educated laity;" but as a reference book for priests in preparing sermons, when they have not time to look into their deeper theologies, it certainly could not fail to be most useful. The translation has been edited by the Rev. James Conway, S.J., Buffalo, and he has rearranged parts of the book to suit students.

LITANY OF LORETTO, for Four Mixed Voices, or for One Voice, with Organ or Harmonium Accompaniment. Composed by G. A. Oesch, with a Preface by Very Rev. Dr. Casartelli, M.A. Ratisbon : Pustet, 1892. Price 10*d*.

THE singing of the *Litany of Loretto* is one of our most favoured devotions. Still there are not many compositions of this litany which, while satisfying all the requirements of art and liturgy, are at the same time, by their simplicity, accessible to the majority of our church choirs. We, therefore, heartily welcome this new composition, and wish it every success. It is constructed according to the usual style, the responses being sung after every three invocations. There are in all seven settings, so that, without making the work too difficult or too variegated, a sufficient variety is secured. The composition is introduced by some valuable prefatory remarks from the pen of Very Rev. Dr. Casartelli, the President of St. Bede's College, Manchester, giving interesting historical information about the different invocations, and explaining the design of the composer. We are requested to correct the following mistake :—Page 8, bar 2nd, the tenor of the

organ part, should be  instead of 

H. B.

# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

---

---

AUGUST, 1892.

---

---

## THE TRANSFIGURATION.

NOT quite in the centre, but towards the south-east, of the province of Galilee in Palestine, there is a mountain whose name is familiar to almost every Christian. It does not form part of any range or chain of hills, but stands altogether detached and isolated in a great plain called Esdremon. It is acutely conical in shape, and, according to the general estimate, about an English mile in perpendicular height. Although not at all comparable to Libanus or Carmel, it has its own peculiar attractions. The surface is singularly regular, and it is reported to be almost perpetually verdant. Towards the base it is clothed with the vine and olive, and towards the apex with the arbutus and other beautiful trees. We need scarcely say that the mountain to which we are referring is Thabor. There is some uncertainty about the exact meaning of this term; but they who are best qualified to speak on such matters commonly say that Thabor means "Bed of Light." According to the opinion almost universally adopted throughout Christendom, on this mountain took place the Transfiguration of our Lord, which event the Catholic Church annually commemorates on the sixth day of August.

It is scarcely necessary to remind our readers that Thabor is only one of the many instances in which the name of a mountain is associated with some most important manifestation or other occurrence mentioned in Holy Writ. Mount Horeb, in Arabia Petraea, was the scene whereon

Moses saw the wondrous vision of the flame of fire in the midst of the bush, and whence the Lord commanded him to go to Pharaoh, and demand the liberation of the children of Israel, saying that He would be with him to accomplish the work. From Mount Sinai, also in Arabia Petræa, amid the peals of thunder and flashes of lightning, God gave the ten commandments to Moses to deliver them to the chosen people. Both these mountains were outside the boundaries of the Holy Land. Events the most important in connection with the Redeemer Himself took place on some of the mounts within its limits. Quarantania, the highest summit of the ridge of Ephraim, is supposed to have been the scene of our Lord's temptation by the devil, when the latter "showed Him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them; and said to Him: All these will I give Thee, if falling down Thou wilt adore me." The Mount of Calvary, situate just outside the great city of Jerusalem, was the place where He accomplished the redemption of the world by the sacrifice of His life upon the cross. In fine, from Mount Olivet, also near the great capital, He ascended into heaven, and opened it for the human race.

We need not, therefore, be surprised at the Gospel narrative, that when Christ was about to be transfigured before the three favourite disciples He brought them up into a high mountain apart. As we have already remarked, this mountain, according to the common tradition, was Thabor in Galilee. One very high authority differs from this common view on account of certain words in the Gospel of St. Mark (ix. 29), where the evangelist, after the narrative of the Transfiguration and what immediately followed it, says of Christ and the apostles: "And departing thence they passed through Galilee, and He would not that any man should know it." From this he infers that the Redeemer and His disciples, having gone away from the place where the Transfiguration occurred, then passed through Galilee; and that, consequently, any place in Galilee could not have been the scene of the event. The evangelist, however, may well be understood in the sense that our Lord having been transfigured in a sequestered place in Galilee, He then with

His disciples passed through other parts of the province. His words, therefore, afford no reason why we should depart from the common opinion—namely, that the great event took place on Mount Thabor.

The Transfiguration of our Lord is narrated by the three evangelists, St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke. On this account St. John, in accordance with his usual custom, omits any mention of it. In the beginning of the seventeenth chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew it is given in the following words:—

“And after six days Jesus taketh unto him Peter and James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up into a high mountain apart: and He was transfigured before them. And His face did shine as the sun: And His garments became white as snow. And behold there appeared to them Moses and Elias talking with Him. And Peter, answering, said to Jesus: Lord, it is good for us to be here: if Thou wilt, let us make here three tabernacles, one for Thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias. And as He was yet speaking, behold a bright cloud overshadowed them. And lo, a voice out of the cloud, saying: This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: Hear ye Him. And the disciples hearing, fell upon their face, and were very much afraid. And Jesus came and touched them: and said to them: Arise, and fear not. And they lifting up their eyes, saw no one, but only Jesus. And as they came down from the mountain, Jesus charged them, saying: Tell the vision to no man, till the Son of Man be risen from the dead.”

The narrative of the event, as given by St. Mark (ix. 1-8), is not only the same in meaning; but, moreover, almost identical in the form of words with that given by St. Matthew.

In the Gospel of St. Luke (ix. 28-36) the subject of the Transfiguration of our Lord is told in the following words:—

“And it came to pass about eight days after these words, that He took Peter, and James, and John, and went up into a mountain to pray. And whilst He prayed the shape of His countenance was altered: and His raiment became white and glittering. And behold two men were talking with Him. And they were Moses and Elias, appearing in majesty. And they spoke of His decease that He should accomplish in Jerusalem. But Peter and they that were with Him were heavy with sleep. And waking, they saw His glory, and the two men that stood with Him. And it came to pass that as they were departing from Him, Peter saith

to Jesus: Master, it is good for us to be here; and let us make three tabernacles, one for Thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias: not knowing what he said. And as he spoke these things, there came a cloud, and overshadowed them: and they were afraid when they entered into the cloud. And a voice came out of the cloud, saying: This is My beloved Son, hear Him. And whilst the voice was uttered, Jesus was found alone. And they held their peace, and told no man in those days any of these things which they had seen."

There is a seeming discrepancy in the very beginning of the narratives of the Transfiguration thus given by the two Evangelists, whose words we have cited. The narrative of St. Matthew, as we have already remarked, is given in the commencement of the seventeenth chapter of his Gospel. Now, the very last words of the chapter immediately preceding run on in this way:—"Amen, I say to you, there are some of them that stand here that shall not taste death till they see the Son of Man coming in His glory." In the corresponding place in the Gospel of St. Luke we have words perfectly similar. According to the common opinion, the Redeemer therein was referring to His Transfiguration, which was so soon to follow.

The seeming discrepancy, therefore, consists in this, that, whereas St. Matthew declares that the event of the Transfiguration took place six days after these words of our Lord in reference to it had been spoken, St. Luke says that it took place about eight days afterwards. There is, however, no difficulty in reconciling the two utterances. Firstly, we may observe that St. Luke does not exactly say "eight days after," but "*about* eight days after;" and thus his text is not, even at first view, fully at variance with that of St. Matthew. There is also another and a more satisfactory explanation. It was then, as it is now, usual under such circumstances, sometimes to count only the full intervening days between the promise and the accomplishment of any event, and sometimes to count also the days on which the promise and the accomplishment had place. St. Matthew adopted the former method, St. Luke the latter; and in this way we can account for the apparent discrepancy in their narratives regarding the number of

days that elapsed between the time wherein Christ made the promise regarding His Transfiguration, and the actual occurrence of the event.

It is quite easy to understand the reason of the delay of six or eight days, according to the manner in which we may be inclined to compute time, between the promise and the accomplishment in the matter of which we are treating. The promise was given at Casarea Philippi, a town about twenty leagues distant from Mount Thabor, where it was fulfilled: and it would take fully six days to traverse this distance by slow journeys. Casarea Philippi was situated near the source and on the eastern side of the River Jordan. It had this name because it was rebuilt by the Tetrarch Philip, and because he called Casarea in honour of the Roman Emperor, Tiberius Caesar. Shortly after this time there was quite a multitude of towns in the East called after some of the imperial rulers at Rome, or at least having a prefix or an affix with such a name. Casarea Philippi has now dwindled into an insignificant village. It will be remembered, however, to the end of time as the place where Christ made to Peter the great promise of the office of primacy in the Church.

To the same Peter to whom He made that promise our Lord also granted the privilege of being witness of His Transfiguration in company with the Apostles James and John. He did not wish that the matter would become known at once to all His followers, or even to the chosen twelve. He wished, however, that it would be duly recorded when the proper time arrived. Hence He chose to be witnesses of it the three favourite disciples, the same three who were afterwards to be witnesses of His agony in the Garden of Gethsemani. Writers on the subject remark that in doing so He was acting in conformity with certain instructions which He himself at one time gave to His followers:—"But if thy brother shall offend against thee, go and rebuke him between him and thee alone. If he shall hear thee, thou shall gain thy brother. And if he shall not hear thee, take with thee one or two more, *that in the mouth of one or two witnesses every word may stand.*"

We have already referred to the “high mountain apart,” to which the Redeemer led the three disciples there to be transfigured before them. The evangelists do not designate it by any name, but the common tradition is that it was Mount Thabor in Galilee. Compared with other mountains, Thabor could not be reckoned high, it being only about an English mile in perpendicular height. But then, being situated in the midst of an extensive plain, where there is no other elevation of any kind, it looks high to the observer, and, consequently, could be called so by the evangelists. From the text in the Gospel of St. Mark, it would seem as if he used the word *apart* not in reference to the mountain, but in reference to the three disciples who stood thereon. The term might be properly applied to either—to the mountain itself, because it was not portion of any range, but completely isolated; to the three apostles, because they were then separated from the others.

St. Luke, commencing his narrative on the subject, says that Christ took Peter, and James, and John, and went up into a mountain to pray. From this mode of expression it would seem at first sight as if prayer were the primary cause why our Lord ascended. Anyone, however, who is conversant with the language of the New Testament will recollect that we frequently find therein words which in form are expressive of causality, but which in reality are not intended to express the like. For instance, in the beginning of the fourth chapter of St. Matthew, we have a notable example:—“Then Jesus was led by the Spirit into the desert, to be tempted by the devil.” From this form of words it would seem as if the end of the Saviour having been led into the desert was that He might be there tempted by the devil. We know, however, that the fact was otherwise. The great motive which brought our Lord into the desert was to spend some time there in silence and prayer and fasting before He entered on his public mission, and thus leave an example to His ministers to the end of the world. The fact of His being tempted by the devil was, therefore, merely the consequence, and not the motive, of his retirement. In the same way, when St. Luke says that Christ

went up into the mountain to pray, the meaning is, that He went up there, and then prayed, as was usual with Him under such circumstances. The real motive of His ascending was to be transfigured in the presence of the three favourite disciples.

What were the reasons which moved our Lord to be thus transfigured before the disciples? In connection with this question we may premise by remarking that similar interrogations are often put where there is no occasion for them, and where the true explanation would be that such or such was the will of God. Since, however, in the present instance other explanations are offered by some very high authorities, we cannot pass them by without mention. These authorities, then, say that Christ was pleased to be transfigured before His disciples—firstly, to prove to them, and through them to all His followers, His divine mission and His divinity by the sudden and wonderful change which took place in His appearance, and by the testimonies of Moses and Elias, who were seen speaking to Him; secondly, to fortify them against the temptations they would experience from what they were so soon afterwards to witness in the Garden of Gethsemani; thirdly, to give to them some slight indication of the appearance He would present at His coming to judge the world; fourthly, to infuse hope into the apostles and all His followers to the end, and to animate them to patiently bear sufferings in this life in view of the glory which was before them in the next, and which the Transfiguration to some extent foreshadowed. Such are some of the reasons which moved our Lord to be transfigured before the three disciples.

We have now to inquire into the nature of the Transfiguration which He underwent. We may first observe that the words of the evangelists who describe the event, though somewhat different in form, are equivalent in meaning. The term “transfigured” means to be changed in figure or form, as also to be changed in appearance. The original Greek word would also mean to be transformed. It is well remarked by commentators on the Scripture that *transfigured* is in the present instance a more suitable translation, since the

term *transformed* signifies not only a change in figure or appearance, but sometimes also a change in substance. Now, it is admitted by all that the miraculous event on Thabor was not at all a change in substance or essence, and hence the suitability of the word in the Latin and English texts. This, then, is the first thing we must bear in mind in order to have a correct idea of the nature of the Transfiguration of our Lord, namely, that it was a change in appearance only, and not in substance. On the other hand, the matter was not a phantasm or an illusion, by which something that had no real existence was presented before the vision of the apostles. There was a real change in the appearance of our Lord, and this change produced a splendour altogether wondrous and dazzling. "His face," as St. Matthew declares, "did shine as the sun." The splendour and brightness, however, were not confined to the face, but extended over the whole person. Even the garments were changed. According to the graphic language of St. Mark, they "became shining, and exceeding white as snow, so as no fuller upon earth could make them white." It is commonly held that this change of appearance in our Lord had place on the exterior alone; and such a change would amply verify the words of the evangelists.

Some high authorities, we believe, have given expression to the opinion that the three favourite disciples on the occasion of the Transfiguration saw the Divinity itself; or, in other words, that for the time they enjoyed the beatific vision. This view, however, is commonly and properly rejected, inasmuch as the vision of the Divine Essence is reserved for souls divested of corruptible bodies. Even the Blessed Virgin herself did not enjoy that privilege before her assumption into heaven. In fact, it is commonly held that the three apostles did not see at the Transfiguration even the body of Christ with anything like to the brightness with which it is now encompassed in heaven. Great as was the privilege they then enjoyed, it was necessary to temper it according to their yet merely human capacities, and so to give to them what was suitable at the time.

Theologians tell us that, on the occasion of the Trans-

figuration, Christ our Lord assumed only one of the qualities of a glorified body, namely, brightness; the other qualities, impassibility, and subtilty, and agility, not having been in any way apparent. They tell us, moreover, and they truly tell us, that all these qualities were due to the body of Christ from the beginning, because from the first moment of His conception His body and soul were hypostatically united to the divinity, and were therefore entitled to the enjoyment of the beatific vision.

A difficulty not easily to be got over arises in connection with the matter to which we have just been referring. On the one side the enjoyment of the beatific vision, which was present to the sacred humanity of Christ from the beginning, excludes all affliction, all pain or sorrow, or the like. On the other side, it is certain that our Redeemer endured pain and sorrow on our account during His career on earth. Now, the difficulty is how to reconcile the two facts; how to explain that they could co-exist. Some endeavour to get over the difficulty by asserting that Christ sorrowed and suffered only in the inferior part of human nature. But the Scriptural texts which speak of His sorrow seem utterly to exclude this explanation. In His prayer during the agony in the Garden He gave expression of His feelings in these words:—"My Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from Me. Nevertheless not as I will, but as Thou wilt." His sorrow, therefore, affected the will itself, and the will belongs to the superior part of man's nature. The explanation commonly offered and accepted is, that Christ could rejoice and be sorrowful at the same time, because His rejoicing and sorrow had regard to different objects. Those who put forward this view say that God so dilated and expanded the capacity of His soul that it could enjoy sovereign happiness by reason of the beatific vision which was present to it, and at the same time endure the deepest sorrow on account of the foresight of the passion and death which were so near at hand. An objection against this explanation is that the enjoyment of the beatific vision not only produces happiness, but also excludes pain and sorrow. Hence the difficulty seems to remain, even admitting in the

soul of Christ the expansion and dilation spoken of. We must, therefore, suppose some kind of a suspension of the ordinary law in the case of our Lord while on earth. A suspension seems certainly to have taken place in regard to His body, which, with the exception of the solitary instance on Mount Thabor, did not appear in the glorified state due to it until after the Resurrection. We believe many things connected with our redemption which we cannot understand here, but which we hope to understand hereafter. “*In lumine tuo videbimus lumen.*”

We have observed that it may be regarded as a certainty that the three disciples did not see the divinity of our Lord on the occasion of His Transfiguration. Still it was a wonderful privilege to be allowed to behold the vision that was actually presented to them. The great manifestation probably took place on the 6th day of August, the day on which it is commemorated in the Catholic Church. In the Office of the Festival we have the following beautiful hymn of Prudentius :—

“ Quicumque Christum quaeritis  
Oculos in altum tollite :  
Illic licebit visere  
Signum perennis gloriae.

“ Illustre quidem cernimus  
Quod nesciat finem pati,  
Sublime, celsum, interminum  
Antiquius coelo et chao.

“ Hic ille Rex est gentium  
Populiq[ue] Rex Judaici,  
Promissus Abrahae patri  
Ejusque in aevum semini.

“ Hunc et Prophetis testibus  
Iisdem signatoribus  
Testatur et Pater jubet  
Audire nos et credere.

“ Jesu tibi sit gloria  
Qui te revelas parvulis  
Cum Patre et almo spiritu  
In sempiterna saecula. Amen.”

The evangelists, having related how Christ was transfigured in the presence of the three chosen disciples, and having vividly described His whole appearance at the time, then proceed to mention how there appeared Moses and Elias speaking to Him. St. Luke in his Gospel adds that they appeared in majesty, and that they spoke of the decease which He should accomplish in Jerusalem. We are, therefore, to conclude that Christ communicated to them some part or some semblance of the splendour which shone from Himself. We are also to conclude that the chief part, if not the whole, of the conversation between Him and them regarded His passion and death. This can readily be understood, for their thoughts and their words would naturally turn to the end which the Redeemer had proposed to Himself in becoming incarnate for us, and the fulfilment of which was now so near.

It is asked why Moses and Elias were selected to be so favoured on this occasion. Many reasons are assigned, but the most cogent and most commonly received is, that they were thus favoured because the former was the great law-giver of the Hebrews, and the latter the prince of their prophets. The entire Scripture of the Old Testament was sometimes called the Law and the Prophets. When so designated, the Law meant the books of the Pentateuch written by Moses, and the Prophets all the rest, including the historical and sapiential books. The most wonderful of the miracles mentioned in the Law were merely types of the greater things afterwards to be accomplished by Christ. Similarly, the most important and best known of the prophecies were concerned about Him, and the Church which He was to found. We can, therefore, as we have observed, readily understand how Moses and Elias, the representatives of the one and the other, were favoured with the vision and converse of the Redeemer on this occasion of His Transfiguration.

It may be asked in what manner, and under what forms, did Moses and Elias appear thus in conference with Christ? With regard to Elias there appears to be not much difficulty about the question. He was exempt from the common lot

of humanity in not having to die the death when his term on earth had expired, but in being taken up in a fiery chariot. We may, therefore, conclude at once that he appeared speaking to Christ in his own proper person. With regard to Moses the matter is not so plain, as he died like other men. It is generally held that his soul came from Limbo on the occasion, and assumed a body like in every respect to that which it had on earth.

The evangelist St. Matthew, in continuing the narrative, declares that the apostle Peter said to Christ: "Lord, it is good for us to be here. If Thou wilt let us make three tabernacles, one for Thee, one for Moses, and one for Elias." St. Luke goes on speaking in this way. After having mentioned the appearance of Moses and Elias, and their conversation with Christ, he says: "But Peter and they that were with him were heavy with sleep. And waking they saw His glory, and the two men that were with Him. And it came to pass, that as they were departing from Him, Peter said to Jesus: "Master, it is good for us to be here; and let us make three tabernacles, one for Thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias; not knowing what he said." We may, therefore, assume that the three apostles, wearied with the ascent to the top of the mountain, fell asleep while Christ was engaged in prayer; that it was while they were asleep the Transfiguration took place; that the brightness which issued from our Lord thus transfigured awoke them; that they viewed with amazement and exceeding pleasure the scene before them; and that when they saw Moses and Elias about to depart, Peter, wishing the state of things to be continued, appealed to his Master to remain where He was with Moses and Elias, and to allow himself and the other disciples to make suitable habitations for them.

It is quite easy to understand how Peter knew that Moses and Elias were the persons present and speaking to Christ. A conversation on a most important subject had taken place, and in the course of such a conversation the speakers would readily reveal who they were. The request made by Peter was unreasonable, and hence St. Luke declares that he made it "not knowing what he said."

“And as he (Peter) was yet speaking, behold a bright cloud overshadowed them. And lo, a voice out of the cloud saying: This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye Him.” There is some controversy with regard to those whom the cloud overshadowed. Some hold that it overshadowed Christ and the three disciples, when Moses and Elias had gone away. It is, however, far more commonly held, and far more probable, that it overshadowed not only Christ and the disciples, but also Moses and Elias, and that it was during the overshadowing that Moses and Elias disappeared. The cloud here spoken of was in all probability composed of air and vapour like to any ordinary cloud. It is a well known and easily explained fact that clouds are to be seen on the mountains’ brows and the mountains’ sides far more frequently than they are to be seen elsewhere. At the same time, it seems certain that the cloud here spoken of was not one produced in the ordinary course of nature, but produced in an extraordinary way, and presenting an extraordinary appearance. It was, in the words of the evangelist, “a bright cloud,” not like to those attracted by the mountains, but like to those which are seen at intervals in the blue sky above.

With regard to the voice from the cloud, saying: “This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye Him,” it seems certain that it was heard when Moses and Elias departed, because St. Luke mentions that when the voice was uttered Jesus was found alone. It is scarcely necessary to remark that these words from the cloud are identical with those which were heard from heaven after Christ had been baptised in the waters of the Jordan. Writers observe how the Three Persons of the Trinity were manifested on both occasions. The Father, who spoke; the Son, who was actually present; and the Holy Ghost, who was manifested in the one instance by the dove and in the other by the cloud. There is no special difficulty with regard to the meaning of the words which were heard from the cloud. The Father proclaimed in the most solemn manner that Christ was truly His Son, in whom He took sovereign complacency. He then gave to the apostles

present the strictest injunction to hear Him; that is, to believe in Him; to believe in everything He would teach, and to obey His precepts and follow His counsels. It is worthy of notice that these words, "hear ye Him," were not added to the testimony of Christ which was given after His baptism. The reason of the difference may be that when He was baptised Christ had not yet assumed the office of teacher, which He had fully taken upon Himself at the time of His Transfiguration, and hence there would not be the same necessity for the injunction in the former instance as in the latter.

It is mentioned in the text of St. Matthew, how "the disciples hearing" (the voice from the cloud) "fell upon their faces, and were very much afraid. And Jesus came, and touched them, and said to them: Arise, and fear not. And they, lifting up their eyes, saw no one, but only Jesus. And as they came down from the mountain Jesus charged them, saying: Tell the vision to no man till the Son of Man be risen from the dead." It is easy to comprehend the reason of the fear which fell on the disciples. They had seen a most remarkable vision, and heard a most wonderful voice. On account of these strange things they were overcome with astonishment and fear, and fell on their faces. They were, however, restored to confidence by the words of their Master; and, having recovered full consciousness, they raised their eyes, and saw only Him.

They all then, as it appears, descended from the mountain, and whilst they were descending Christ gave to His disciples the command that they should tell no one what they had witnessed until He Himself would be risen from the dead. It is evident from the form of expression that this was a strict and general command whereby they were prohibited to mention the matter to anyone, even to the other apostles. The reasons usually assigned for the injunction are, that the rest of the twelve would feel annoyed at not having been permitted to be present at the scene, and the followers of Christ in general could not understand the meaning of what occurred until they had become acquainted with the fact of His Resurrection. St. Mark and

St. Luke tell us that the three disciples faithfully adhered to the command of their Master, and the former-named evangelist moreover states that they were questioning together, "what that should mean, when He shall be risen from the dead." It is commonly held that the Transfiguration of our Lord foreshadowed His Resurrection, inasmuch as His body on Mount Thabor presented in some degree the appearance of that immortal and impassible body which He then assumed, and in which He now appears glorious to the blest in heaven.

JOHN CARROLL, P.P.

## DANISH WEXFORD:

### A HISTORICAL SKETCH.

"Quibus Oceanus,  
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens,  
Pateat tellus, Typhisque Novos,  
Detegat orbes."—SENECA.

**A**MONG the histories of old Irish towns there is none more instructive or interesting than that of Wexford. Old traditions variously assign to it the importance of being a foundation of the Phœnicians, Nemidians, or Taracians. In those distant times Ireland, away in the northern seas, was but an outpost of Europe, which then, and even to the close of the Roman empire, comprised the known world of the ancients, with a portion of Asia and Africa. Our island seems to have been for ages a sort of playground for adventurers. Here successive colonies landed, sojourned for a while, and disappeared, each leaving their distinctive trace—though perhaps only trifling—on our race. Wexford of the past, as well as of to-day, shared in a conspicuous way the affairs of our country. In all the shifting scenes of her early history, in the successive chapters of Ireland's invasions, the sandy haven of Wexford was a favourite key and pass through which saints, kings, and heroes, have come and gone, whether on errands of faith, folly, or conquest.

The Danes were the founders of the present Wexford. Though their name is synonymous with bloodshed and plunder, and marks one of the darkest periods of Ireland's history, there is little doubt that to them we owe our first ideas of commerce and enterprise. The early visits of the Danes to the coast of Ireland were only occasional, and for harbourage in bad weather, during which they took occasion to reconnoitre. But, beyond its safe anchorage, the haven of Wexford presented other inducements. The banks of the Slaney, and those of its tributary rivers and many hills adjacent, were covered with forests of timber which the Danes so prized for building their ships. At home they had neither plain nor forest. Their first lonely settlements were looked upon generally as harmless by the Irish, and their advances only irregularly or weakly withstood. However on the first foothold of the Danes at Wexford they were harassed by the natives, which quickly led to their building the walls which may be traced in Wexford to this day. They did not take long to determine the circuit of their defences. In a few weeks the task was accomplished, and the town rose up ; primitive, no doubt, but which answered all the purposes for which it was intended. Fort, granary, town-house, temple, and other buildings were contained in the first Wexford, of which the Danes were the sponsors. It served as a good *point d'appui* for future operations ; a place of retreat for the disabled as well as for the army in case of reverses ; a magazine for stores and for such articles as might be received from or sent to the mother country ; a port for shipping, and a position of sufficient strength to overawe the adjacent country. Feeling their position now secure, they strengthened their possession of the town by ever-renewed reinforcements of their Teutonic kinsmen. Their power became irresistible, and the dark annals of bloodshed and plunder, which the very name of Dane suggests, commenced here as elsewhere in Ireland.

In the annals of Ireland there are facts relating to Wexford, during the period of the Danish occupation, beyond the founding of the town and the building of its walls. With the name and advent of the Danes, the

darkness of night would seem to have fallen on the page of our country's history: her bards grew silent, her books were closed, and the pen dropped from the fingers of the chronicler. When the torch of the Vandal was placed to the walls of her shrines and monuments, in the wreathing smoke and boding flames, the devoted scribe read the doom of the priceless records, over which years, ages, of toil and study had been poured. Then, too, the woven cord of Wexford's traditions snapped; the spell of her historian was broken: the Muse of Time itself was hushed, as if to wake no more. Even in the mystic chain of her prelates—the unbroken record of Ireland's faith—there are links missing on the roll of the diocese of Ferns in that dark period. For tradition's sake, let us fondly hope that were the unlettered page to speak, it might tell only of the vacant chair in troubled times, and *not* of hallowed names buried or forgotten.

In the contemporary annals of other countries, and most of all in that unfailing source, the records of Christianity, we must now seek some stray sunbeam to light this darkened day of history. In the face of this vacant and gloomy picture, would it seem strange to conjecture that the last century of her Danish rule were the palmiest days of Wexford? When the Danes embraced Christianity they were gradually conquered by the teaching of the Church, and learned to respect those things they had intended to destroy—religion, letters, and art. They who in their barbarous descents on Ireland carried desolation and dismay alike to the home, the palace, and the church, were now taught and influenced to build up again the society they had overturned, and give life to trade and prosperity in requital for their conquests. Before the breath of faith the torch of the Vandal was extinguished; the sword fell from the hand of the pirate—the hand that hitherto knew no glory except in shedding blood. The spirit of the Gospel, with its meekness and patience, overcame those stout hearts and rebellious natures which the power of arms had proved unable to subdue.

In the brotherhood of Christianity the links of kindred

grew strong between Wexford and the Dane. Feuds were forgotten, and their sympathies merged into the common enterprise of building up the port, its commerce, and its trade. For centuries before the invasion of the Danes, this portion of Ireland close to Ferns, the residence of the kings of Leinster more than other parts, was the scene of those intestine wars with which Ireland was proverbially torn and afflicted. These conflicts were carried on with all the rage natural to a race of fierce manners and violent passions. The evil became so inveterate and deep-rooted that the hostilities between the Irish kings and petty princes seldom ceased. Their enmities seemed implacable and immortal, and the combatants set no bounds to the degree of their vengeance or the duration of their resentment. Warfare was the sole occupation of which our countrymen seemed capable—and that of civil war, the most sanguinary of all. In the novelty of their new pursuits, their attention was interested and their co-operation aroused. For the moment the national thought was diverted from wrangling feuds. Wexford in the infancy of its commerce became a hive of industry. The mighty forests lying around, which had practically lain useless for ages, afforded almost everything useful for the furtherance of the new undertaking. They were quickly felled, and the huge trunks of timber drawn within the walls, hewn and prepared to build the floating Wexford of the seas. The hills of Forth which so long had echoed only the cry of war and clash of arms, now resounded with the clang of the hammer and the din of the anvil, which arose with the smoke and pitchy flames of the dockyard.

Soon the inhabitants of the adjoining cantreds sought admittance within the walls, and shared the common toil. Realizing the advantages about to arise from this entirely new departure, each one became conscious of the advantages his country possessed, and learned to appreciate an occupation and pursuit of which formerly he never dreamt himself capable. The town and its commerce grew apace.

At the close of the tenth century the commercial spirit of Wexford had acquired such vigour and gained such

ascendency that the vessels of its port travelled over every sea. The stalwart sailor of Wexford was known in the busy seaports of the Baltic, in the friendly harbours of Galicia, and even under the shadow of the gilded domes of Constantinople. Her merchants visited the marts of Venice, the distant shores of the Levant, the bazaars of Tunis, and Algiers. This extended commerce, opened up a wide range of observation and experience, the influence of which soon, from Wexford and the other seaports of the Danes, permeated the whole of Ireland. Though the Irish kings made the aggression of the Danes a pretext or cause for still carrying on their petty wars, nevertheless they recognised in their commerce and its consequence a source from which they could extract large subsidies. Wealth flowed so extensively from the commercial activity of the Danes, that even after the defeat at Clontarf, when their footing was circumscribed and limited to the seaboard towns, the Irish monarch was willing to retain them for the sake of the immense tributes they were able and consented to pay. In the reigns of Malachy and Brian Boru, when the most considerable progress was made in public works throughout Ireland by the construction of roads, erection of bridges, and clearing of forests, history tells us that the Danish taxes were exclusively by law applied to these improvements. On their part the Danes were enabled to draw from the Irish princes concessions and political privileges which secured for their cities the independence of petty republics.

Before the arrival of the Danes, though a sea-girt kingdom, Ireland had no commerce or little intercourse with the rest of Europe. What we hear of the adventures of her ancient voyagers belongs to the domain of mythic legends, and passes far beyond the realms of authentic history. It is one of the strangest and most unaccountable facts in Ireland's history, that, considering the repeated incursions of foreigners, with which her people were harassed, they never attempted defence by sea. They were bred to war; all their vigour and ingenuity was spent in acquiring skill in arms; their practice was, unfortunately, never-ending; with forest and mines in abundance at their

command, they never seem to have availed themselves of mechanical skill to procure means of opposing their foes at sea. Models were not wanting either, for they had fleets of invading ships from every clime within their harbour time after time.

For the general protection of the commerce and sea trade that sprang up in the Danish period, there were no laws or provisions on the existing statutes of Irish legislation. Even the fishery laws—the most excellently compiled section of the Brehon code—referred almost exclusively to rivers. Deep-sea fisheries were not provided for or thought of. Danish influence altogether opened such a totally new sphere of enterprise that the necessity of special laws for commerce and its diverse contingencies arose, which resulted in securing an almost independent form of self-government for their towns. Wexford, as well as the other Dano-Irish cities, adopted during this period separate laws and regulations in its social as well as commercial life. So decidedly was Wexford looked upon as a Danish settlement, that the Norman and English descended from that race, extended to it by charter, in after centuries, certain laws made in England when the Danish kings governed it, such as Oswald's laws, &c.

In ecclesiastical jurisdiction some of the towns of the Danes were independent of the Irish Metropolitan. The Danish Bishop of Dublin, Donatus, was subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury, by whom he was consecrated in 1084; and in 1096 the Danish see of Waterford was instituted, when Malchus, its first bishop, was also consecrated at Canterbury. The latter continued a see apart till 1363, when it was united to Lismore. The rapid growth of trade in Wexford, acquired by its excellent fleet of vessels; the intrepid spirit of its mariners, and the integrity of its merchants, raised it to one of the first seaports of the kingdom, which position it retained till the time of Cromwell. In his despatches describing the extent of fortifications, buildings, and character of the various seaports he visited, his report of Wexford at that fatal period reads as favourably as that of any seaport in the

kingdom. Its imports from the Baltic in its early days were tallow, hemp, flax, timber, ashes, mats, tar, and pitch. From Holland flax-seed was a heavy import to supply the source of native industry that sprung up from the development of commerce. From the Mediterranean Wexford imported barilla, wine, fruit, and oil; and from the Levant breadstuffs. The royal tribute, or *douceur*, to the High Sovereign was mostly paid by the Danes in wine landed in Wexford. This must have been royally dispensed, since we read of King Brian Boru in one year consuming three hundred and fifty pipes of red wine and one hundred and fifty of white wine. When Fitzstephens was cruising on the Wexford coast, at the time of the invasion, he seized one of these tributary cargoes of wine. In the capture the first swords were drawn in that eventful crisis.

The regular intercourse opened up between the Irish ports and the nations in the north and south of Europe created a new and increasing demand for commodities of every kind that gave an impetus to export trade. Manufactures of wool and flax were considerable in the county at the close of the Danish era. That woollens were then manufactured in this county and in many parts of Ireland, may be inferred from the fact that though the Plantagenets and Tudors were intent on subjugating Ireland, yet they early encouraged its export trade in a most liberal way, in some instances giving it even an advantage over England in that respect. In 1289, the reign of Edward I., an Act was passed permitting free export of all kinds of Irish produce and manufactures. Later free export was granted to Irish cloth and frieze, and these staples were exempted in England from duty, if manufactured from Irish wool. In the last year of this reign the manufacture of frieze, cloth, and serge in Ireland stood as high as that of any country in Europe. The *specialité* was an article of dress called a cadow or mantle, wrought mostly at Wexford, Ross, Waterford, and Trim. In 1382, five of those mantles, of exquisite texture and workmanship, were sent to Rome and presented to Pope Clement VII. This magnificent woollen industry, founded by the Danes, fostered

by the Plantagenets and Tudors, received its death-warrant at the ungrateful hands of the Stuarts, for whom Ireland blindly suffered so much.

It is interesting to study the map or plan of Wexford in the Danish times. The completed town with its great wall and flanking palisaded ramparts, must have formed a very secure defence to the garrison who held it. As to the interior arrangements of the old town, in its construction there were originally two main streets—one running from east to west, with gates; the other from the south to the north water side. The existing construction of the town is not the work of one period, but of two, if not three. In consequence of those later changes the street running from north to south has been interfered with or built over to a large extent by later erections. This is due, no doubt, to frequent devastations, each reconstruction being inferior to the former in style of building, from being performed in a hasty manner. However, in the main, the original plan of Wexford by the Danes is distinctly traceable still. The houses, for the most part, were small and crowded together. The main thoroughfare varied in breadth from ten to thirteen feet. The subsidiary ways leading to the several habitations were usually less than five feet wide.

In passing it is worth remarking that in the Danish plan of Wexford, the method of Roman city-building is entirely followed, that system in those times being looked upon as the most perfect. A high earthen rampart, with its corresponding moat, invested the town at every side; but on the south and west, which were most vulnerable to attack, there were originally three ramparts. Inside these ramparts was the high stone wall, reaching in some cases to the height of twenty-two feet; the general thickness of the wall was from four to seven feet, but there were two places where, for a length of about one hundred feet the wall had a thickness of over ten feet. These defences were strengthened in later times, and castles added to them by the Normans, and were sufficiently strong to stand intact to this day had they not necessarily been removed here and there in municipal improvements, as the town grew in extent beyond them. However,

there is no difficulty in still tracing their position throughout. Even in their present fragmentary condition they suggest a place of extraordinary strength intended for the secure and permanent protection of the inhabitants. It is strange to stand at the site of some of the old gates, or beneath those castellated walls of reddish stone-work, and look upon these traces of a life that has long since died out. What long centuries have come and gone since the Dane plied his hasty trowel to raise them, and within them first set up his altar and offered sacrifice to Woden. Yet how near to the Danes do these bastions and battlemented towers bring us ! They seem as built but a generation ago ; yet they have looked down on the doings of a thousand eventful years.

On Wexford the traces of its origin are more remarkably stamped than are almost any other of the Danish seaports of Ireland.

In the narrow streets and market centres there are many points bearing resemblance to the towns of the Baltic, an appearance which must have been more striking and picturesque before the innovation of modern shop fronts destroyed the character of the old irregular houses.

The comparison of epochs lends an interest and life to the perusal of history. How seldom it would occur to us that the Danes held our ports, and swayed the destinies of England for a period longer than she herself holds India. It is the fashion of history to dismiss the subject of the Danes from its chapters without much quarter, certainly without eulogy, and generally as that of a race of whom the least said the better. But on the page of Wexford's story, we may be allowed to say, the Danes have left at least some congenial memories. Wexford's gravest aspersions on her founders will be that they came like lions, and left like lambs. They were the promoters of the social, municipal, and industrial existence she breathes to-day. They built her walls, they taught her commerce, secured her self-government for the hour ; and among the many relics of her beauty they have left her the monument of her conversion and repentance—the pledge of their kindred faith and fortunes—Selskar Abbey.

Within few towns in Ireland is there a spot as replete with interest and associations as this. On its site years ago, in the sixth century, the first church of Wexford stood. Here, probably, the early Christians of Wexford for the *first* time knelt around the Cross divine. On their first incursions, when the heathen Danes desolated Wexford, this primitive church was swept away, and on its still smouldering ruins they raised the temple of their god Woden. When they became Christians they destroyed the work of their own hands, and here again erected the once-beautiful Abbey of Selskar. In the virgin zeal of their faith, like other peoples in the first days of Christianity, the temple was dedicated to the Apostles. SS. Peter and Paul were the patrons of the Danish Abbey of Wexford. In many other cases their foundations were under the invocation of these saints. It is believed with the Danes there was a symbolism in this usage. To St. Peter, the patron of Mariners, they transferred the homage they formerly paid the Genius of the Deep: in him, as well, was suggested the model of their repentance. In St. Paul they venerated a fellow-convert whose sword reeked with bloodshed as guiltily as their own, when "he knew not what he did." This Abbey of the Danes became a noble foundation, and as the wealth of the port increased gifts were lavished on it, priceless treasures from the East, gems and ornaments were brought to its altars by merchants homeward bound from southern seas. The fervour of the Danish Catholics had now grown to equal that of their Celtic fellow-townsmen. At home in Denmark faith had completed its conquest as well.

Long since the tide of Charlemagne's empire had rolled its wave along to the shores of Northern Europe, over which the torch of life and light was passed from hand to hand, till at length it gleamed brightly on the Saxon seas. In England their kinsman Canute, one of the wisest and best beloved of her kings, filled the throne. His sanctity and wisdom placed him close to England's Confessor King on the roll of her most venerated sovereigns. Outside the sacred writings of the Scriptures or of the Church, we find in history few finer tributes spoken in testimony of the omnipotence of God and

nothingness of man than in that incident with which the name of the royal Dane is ever associated. Every school-boy knows the tale—how Canute chid his flattering courtiers on the shore by his futile command to the rising waters. What episode of history comes oftener before us through life? Whether when we build our sand castles on the beach in childhood, or pensive watch the lapping waves in later years, it supplies our thoughts, and supplies for us as often a silent act of homage to our Creator. Religion now glowed as fervently in the Danish as in the Irish breast. Thus in the great allegiance of faith, the Celt and the Dane of Wexford worshipped side by side for many a year before the altar of Selskar. Though their nationalities were widely sundered, here like the worshippers beneath its namesake temples of eternal Rome, all were alike in the empire of the heart.

When the Danes were gone, and when only their traditions hung around their abbey, there were still more charming memories in store for Selskar.

It is told that in the days of the Crusades a Wexford knight set out for Jerusalem. He was engaged to be married, but in the call of arms he durst not tarry, and with many a sigh and many a tear bade his *adieu* to his affianced bride. Those were the days of chivalry, when valour, gallantry, and religion were strangely blended. Laurels won on foreign plains—especially under the banner of the Cross—had a military fascination which we can nowadays ill understand. However, our young knight set out, foreboding gladly his quick return, covered with glory, and perhaps a few scars, from the holy fields. He assuaged the sorrows of his bride by promises of costly textures and roseate gems from the East—with precious relics from the Holy Sepulchre. Time passed on. Reports, few and far between, came, bearing news as in our own rapid days of the lights and shadows of the war. At last a fatal rumour came, crushing to the bridal heart. It was said the Wexford knight had fallen. When or where it was not told, but boding silence seemed to seal the news. Months passed on, and yet a year; no gladdening tidings came. Hope began to die within the maiden's heart,

and in her saddened soul she vowed that if another cycle passed untold :—

“ Her hopes, her fears, her joys, her all,  
To hide within the cloister wall,  
And there to give her ample dower  
To raise some convent’s eastern tower,  
And shroud within the sacred gloom  
Her blasted hopes and withered bloom.”

The boding year came, and passed, and with it no hopeful tidings from the Holy Land. In fulfilment of her vow, the lady entered a convent and became a nun. When the wars of Palestine were over, legion after legion returned to Europe; and unexpectedly among the bronzed Crusaders the knight of Wexford reached his castle safe and sound. On his arrival he hastened to the home of his bride, but only to find his treasure flown, and to learn that the hand whereon he had hoped to clasp his gems had sought a nobler Spouse. It is hardly needful to dwell upon his disappointment. In his anguish he sought the solace of religion, and, following the example of his betrothed, entered the cloister of Selskar, exchanging the mailed trappings of a soldier for the habit of a monk. Besides the abbey church he built a votive chapel, and here within a costly shrine were deposited the gifts of the Crusader, the relics of the Holy Sepulchre. Hither came pilgrims from many parts. The Abbey of Wexford became a centre of faith, famous throughout the land. From the veneration paid at its glittering shrine the Danish Abbey of SS. Peter and Paul began to be more commonly known as that of the Holy Sepulchre, which name is echoed in the Selskar of to-day.

Green as the ivy that braids its broken arches, faithful as the gnarled wreaths that clasp its tottering columns, should the memories of Selskar twine round Wexford hearts. Graven on its lichened walls the fullest page of the old town’s history may be read—the memory of her toils; her sorrows and her glories here arise. And where more fittingly than round this tomb of her history, like Easter memories round the sepulchre of old ?

JOHN CULLEN.

## THE LOSS OF THE CATHOLIC POPULATION IN ENGLAND.

SO much has been written upon the "leakage" question that, it seems, little can be said upon the matter that has not been already laid before the readers of the I. E. RECORD. However, as Dr. Tynan<sup>1</sup> and Father Curry<sup>2</sup> have spoken so plainly upon the various causes of this great disaster to the Catholic Church of Great Britain, perhaps it would also be allowed me to say something upon so important a matter. And at the same time I may be allowed to express a wish that the topic will not be allowed to drop; but rather that any priests who may be able to suggest something new, would hasten to do so, in the hope that those who have to grapple with the fact may be the more prepared to apply the best remedies.

That a "leakage" is taking place cannot possibly be denied. That the number of souls lost to the Catholic Church of England and Wales at least amounts to three-quarters of a million seems to have been abundantly proved. And that one of the chief causes of this deplorable fact is the laxity of discipline, especially shown in the widespread, but by no means necessary, occurrence of mixed marriages, no one with any experience of missionary work in England can gainsay.

It is not my intention to dwell upon the question of marriage as one of the causes of this state of things. Even in Ireland we know from sad experience the danger of these unholy alliances; and this, be it remembered, in a country where discipline, at all events in reference to marriage, is so strict, and where public opinion is so much opposed to the parent who neglects to bring up the children as Catholics. Laying aside, therefore, mixed marriages as one of the causes of this falling away of Catholics, we may ask ourselves what other causes contribute to keep us more or less at a standstill.

<sup>1</sup> I. E. RECORD, July, 1891, page 642.

<sup>2</sup> I. E. RECORD, October, 1891, page 914.

It may help us to find out these causes if we first strive to answer the following questions. Why is it that people who in Ireland would never think of staying away from Mass on Sundays, and from the sacraments during the year, almost immediately after their arrival in this country begin to absent themselves from Church on Sundays, and, as a consequence, never think of coming to their Easter duty? Or, again, why is it that young girls from the Island of Saints, with the colour still fresh upon their cheeks, and the tradition of the wonderful purity of Erin's daughters fresh in their hearts, why is it that so many of these girls sink into the lowest dregs of society, and lose not only the bloom of their cheeks, but, alas! make shipwreck of their virtue before many weeks? In attempting to give a reply to these questions, I shall confine myself to my own experience, and shall state only such things as I know to be facts.

1. The Irish immigrant classes have not been sufficiently instructed. This may seem to be a serious charge against the priests of Ireland. But they were not altogether to blame. There were various circumstances fighting against them. There was the fact that so many of the immigrants were young people, whose characters were not yet formed; who were so completely removed from surroundings that would have greatly helped to steady them in virtue; and who were cast among a people who scoffed and sneered at Catholics, who were themselves steeped to the eyes in vice, and who were, therefore, no encouragement to the new arrivals in the practice of their religion.

Then, again, the immigrants were altogether the children of poor people, who could not afford to leave them at school for a long time. And when it is remembered that such a large percentage of the children in the National Schools of Ireland know the catechism by heart, receive their first communion and are confirmed about the age of nine years, and are withdrawn from school as soon as they received these sacraments, it will be readily understood how insufficient must have been their training. It is true that the priests have again and again warned the parents of the necessity of sending their children to the catechism on Sundays. But

the children do not, as a rule, attend. And, also, we must take into account the fact that the state of things that obtains at present—the pretty fair attention that is given to the teaching of the catechism and the Sunday School—is of comparatively late date.

But are the children of the poor in Ireland, even at the present day, sufficiently instructed? We can hardly say that they are. Until their first communion they are taught the catechism pretty regularly; but after that time the instruction is given in fits and starts. The teachers say they have so many things to get through with the more advanced classes that they must really encroach upon the time that is allowed for religious knowledge. If the bishop says he will come to the parish to examine the children who have been already confirmed, there is great grinding for a month or six weeks. The children answer pretty well; but we all know that they are only crammed for the occasion, and must soon forget the greater part of the knowledge thus imparted.

To remedy this state of things, religious examiners should be appointed in every diocese. There should be a thorough inspection and an examination regularly every year. The managers should insist upon the proper time being devoted to religious instruction every day. Some means should be devised to bring the children to the Sunday School, at all events until they are fourteen years old. And, surely, some more advanced book than the penny catechism should be put into the hands of the children who have been confirmed.

With regard to the grown-up people, I must say they might easily get more instruction through the sermons. Doctrine does not enter largely enough into the Sunday discourses. I am afraid, also, that it is only too true that some curates, though they preach pretty regularly, do not look upon themselves as bound to give instruction, leaving that to the parish priests. Why should we not have a regulation in every diocese regarding a matter so important?

I may be allowed to illustrate the value of dogmatic instruction by what a good priest told me a few years ago. The bishop of the diocese was making his visitation, and in

each parish examined those children he had confirmed the previous year. Of course they were expected to know a good deal more than the mere words of the catechism, and to prepare them the priest went to the schools every day, or had the children to come to the church, and there for nearly an hour he explained the doctrine in such a way as would be suitable to their young minds. At last the examination day came. The children answered beautifully. Then came the question, "What are the sacramentals?" It never occurred to the priest to explain this to the children because he thought their young minds could not thoroughly take it in. But imagine his surprise when the children answered everything about the sacramentals. How did they get their knowledge? From one of his sermons a few Sundays back. He never dreamt the children would remember what they had thus heard at Mass, and what was intended for the grown-up people. So much for the Irish side of the question. Now for the English.

2. The immigrants have not been properly looked after immediately on their arrival in this country. This is evident. People without experience, and with little money, come to London, Liverpool, and other large towns. They then set about "looking for a job." Sometimes they are fortunate. But how often does it not happen that the little sum of money they bring is exhausted long before they "get the job." The men manage to eke out a subsistence somehow. But the women, the girls? Ah! too often they are forced by starvation to live upon their shame. These cases come before a priest from time to time. Girls who have been only a few weeks from Ireland, will turn up in prison, for being drunk and disorderly, and the significant abbreviation "Pros." will be displayed upon their prison cards. They are to be met with in the workhouses. When hard pressed by hunger they will ask an alms in the streets. You cannot mistake the Irish accent. You put a few questions. But you know from the downcast eyes and the drooped head how they get their living. And yet their parents and friends in Ireland are eagerly looking out for a letter from them! How can they write? They dare not

give their address, lest perhaps some of their former acquaintances should call. And then they have no money, and do not like to send a letter to their mother without enclosing a present in the shape of a pound. People in Ireland will always be sure to hear of those who get on well when they immigrate. But oh! how little they suspect the reason of the silence of so many others.

Catholic committees have often been appointed for various objects. They could not devote themselves to better work than looking after the exiles of Erin. There are sufficient Catholics in every seaport town to work a home for immigrants on the principle of Castle Garden, in New York. These homes could be in communication with one another, and thus the surplus might be drawn off from some, while all would strive to provide situations for those who come without any in view.

3. But it is not enough to get places for these poor people. The priest of the mission should be acquainted of their arrival, and their new address should be sent to him, and thus from the beginning he will have his eye upon them. He will take them in hands while their faith is still green, and with a little kindness he will be sure to keep them in the practice of their holy religion.

There are now a few points about the equipment of every mission, in great centres of population, to which I wish to refer. Most of our churches in London are heavily in debt. I suppose it is thought better to have them, even though burdened with debt, than not to have any at all. No doubt this is true. But I cannot help thinking that more might have been done for our missions than has been accomplished. It is next to impossible to keep the young men out of the public-house, and out of bad company, if we have not a hall of some kind. We should have, at least, a large hall for lectures, magic lantern exhibitions, &c. Then there should be added a reading-room, a recreation-room, and a gymnasium; and, where factory employes live, some place should be provided for the girls. A room to which they could bring their sewing and knitting, where they might read, would be very acceptable; and the ladies of the

parish might take it in turns to preside, and supply music every evening during the week. Many English priests will, no doubt, smile at the thought of having any of these places attached to any Catholic mission in London. "If we can't build our churches and schools," they say, "without incurring debt, how can you expect that we can indulge in the luxury of halls?" I don't believe the matter is so difficult as it looks. We shall begin at the beginning.

The census returns reveal a fact that was evident to any person of observation, namely, that in our large towns the population is not increasing much in the centre. In the case of some it has diminished, for with increased train facilities the people have sought the suburban districts. Taking London as an illustration, anyone can see that year after year numbers of families are leaving the city. Ground is becoming more dear, and, consequently, the merchant makes up in height what his premises want in superficial extent. The slums, and courts, and allies, that up to now contained a large number of people, are being invaded. Dwellings are being pulled down, to give place to stores; and, consequently, the people who otherwise would be content to live in tumble-down garrets and attics, are compelled to find a home farther from the centre of business and commercial life.

I have been told that at one time the Catholic parish of St. Mary's, Moorfields, contained a population of eighteen thousand souls. I should be greatly surprised to hear that there are now more than two thousand in the same parish. The people have migrated. Some have faced northwards, and invaded Islington, Holloway, Somers Town, and Kentish Town, with the natural result that most of the well-to-do people have left these latter places, and have gone more into the country. Streets, that ten and even five years ago contained rows of nice private houses, are now transformed, and lines of shops have taken the place of dwelling-houses. We are, to all appearance, only in the beginning of these changes.

What, then, is the duty of Catholics? Is it not clear that if they wish to have churches and schools in the suburban

districts, they must set about the purchase of land while it is comparatively cheap? But what is everybody's business is nobody's. Therefore the thing is allowed to go by default. And instead of having a committee appointed to look for sites, nothing is ever thought of until it becomes an absolute necessity, owing to the number of Catholics in the district. In the meantime people have been living in these places, far from church and priest. Children have been taught in non-Catholic schools. Is it any wonder that the parents should have given up the frequentation of the sacraments? Is it any wonder that children should have grown up in utter ignorance of their religion? But if a committee had existed, they would long since have bought a few acres of land when it was cheap. A temporary church would have been erected, schools would be built in due course, and then when the population had sufficiently increased, the halls, &c., would follow. Instead of this a priest is now sent into a district. He is told to look out for a site. He must take the best one he can get. But it will be no longer on the public street. It will be in some out-of-the-way corner. He cannot get much ground, and he must pay an exorbitant price for the bit he does secure. The land is bought; some kind of a building is run up. Then the whole place is mortgaged, and thus a millstone is tied round the neck of the priest for many years. Whereas had a little foresight been displayed, we could have the ground and church for the price actually paid for the ground alone. And, above all, we should have kept out of debt. The priest would be free to devote his whole time to the care of his parish. The Catholic population would increase rapidly. We should have plenty of ground for schools and halls. Our church would be in a prominent position, and thus the Catholic religion would be kept before the minds of the people. Under the present order of things, people may live in London most of their lives and never see a Catholic church, for the sufficient reason that no one, except perhaps the Brompton Oratory, can be said to be upon a public road.

If half the money that has been spent in England during the past few years in building beautiful and costly churches,

in places where they are not wanted, had been devoted to freeing the poor missions from debt, and securing suitable sites for new missions in the suburbs, we should not hear so much about the "leakage" from the Catholic Church. If wealthy Catholics of the West End would pay more attention to the appeals from Silvertown, to secure a church for three thousand labouring people, or from Poplar, to save a really beautiful specimen of Gothic architecture from the ravages of the London climate, they may rest assured they would be advancing the cause of Catholicity more than by pouring gold into the offertory plates of pet churches.

The evil force of bad example is one of the great causes of the loss of so many Catholics. Therefore, I say, strive to keep the young people from bad company. Keep the children from non-Catholic schools. Have a brass band in every mission. Let it march through the streets from time to time, gathering up people on the way; and then let it return to the church or to the lecture hall, where the people can be either instructed or amused. Get up an *esprit de corps* among Catholics, and then we shall have an end to complaints about the difficulty of getting at our people, and about the wholesale abstention from the sacraments, and even from the Church. There will be less talk of "leakage," and more work will be done; and with the blessing of God we shall increase and multiply, and add largely to our numbers by conversions. And, instead of being a small body of despised and divided (politically) Catholics, we shall soon become a thoroughly united body, strong in numbers; and if we cannot be loved, then we must be feared on account of our power.

AN IRISH PRIEST IN LONDON.

## THOMAS DE BURGO :

AUTHOR OF THE "HIBERNIA DOMINICANA," AND BISHOP OF  
OSSORY.—II.

THE censors in Rome appointed to examine the *Hibernia Dominicana* do not seem to have hurried themselves very much over their task, and the most charitable explanation we can give of the eighteen months they kept Dr. Burke in suspense, is by supposing with him, who had had long experience of the ways of the Eternal City, that it was simply *juxta praxim urbis*. This apparent neglect—a sore trial to his patience—was suddenly brought to a close in a most unexpected way in the beginning of the year 1759, when letter after letter followed one another in quick succession, conveying to him a warm approval of his great work, his appointment to the see of Ossory, left vacant more than a year by the death of Dr. Dume, and the privileges of the Order usually accorded to members raised to the episcopal state, enclosed in a letter from the Master-General, breathing the most affectionate regard and esteem.

To some not well acquainted with the history of the Irish Church in the last century, it may cause surprise to find so many Irish Dominicans raised to episcopal sees. The great strength of the Order in Ireland at this period, numbering about one hundred and seventy priests on the Irish mission, and nearly a hundred priests and clerics in the foreign Dominican colleges, gives the readiest explanation. Scattered over forty-three districts, and in many places acting as parish priests, the Dominicans of that time came out very prominently before the public, and were able to render a vast amount of service to the Irish bishops and clergy. Again, the friendship, amounting to familiarity, shown by Benedict XIII. to the community of SS. Clement and Sixtus, and the great esteem entertained for the whole Order by Benedict XIV., could not fail to exercise their influence. Then, again, the Fathers in Rome were brought into constant communication with Propaganda and the other congregations either as

*consultores*, or as agents of the Irish bishops. Of the twelve who were raised to the episcopacy in the last century, three were nominated and consecrated by Benedict XIII. himself; four had held the office of Prior Provincial, an office which meant the governing of a body of priests equal to those of four or five dioceses together, and one was nominated by Propaganda as successor to Dr. Burke, in the teeth of the most powerful opposition brought to bear against him from Ireland. That they were men of distinguished merit, and well fitted for their exalted position, will strike anyone who reads the fourteenth chapter of the *Hibernia Dominicana*.

It is possible, by stating simply that Dr. Burke was nominated by King James III., or the Pretender, as he is variously called, and without saying anything about his previous career, to insinuate that his appointment was owing to royal patronage, and that gratitude for royal favours exercised an unworthy influence over him in after life. Nothing could be more misleading, more unfair, and more ungrateful, to the memory of this great man. It will not be denied that a chivalrous attachment towards the exiled Stuarts existed among the Irish Dominicans in Rome, such as existed among all the Irish who were abroad at the time. As confessors to James and his Queen, and to the young prince, Charles Edward, some of them were brought into close and intimate relations with the royal family. But that intimacy could exercise no more influence than that which powerful princes in France and Spain often sought to exercise in appointments to episcopal sees in Ireland. In fact, there could not be the least shadow of suspicion of undue influence in a nomination by James, whose power was *nil*, and whose cause had been irretrievably lost on the disastrous battlefield of Culloden, who for years had devoted himself to prayer and pious exercises, going about from church to church, silent and resigned—a mere *umbra regis*, yet forcing the respect of all by the magnanimity with which he bore his misfortunes. Under these circumstances, which appears the easier supposition—James claiming a right of nomination, and by virtue of this right appointing Dr. Burke to the see of Ossory, or James allowed to exercise the *beneplacitum*

*regis* as a delicate compliment to one in his unfortunate position, but only in favour of one who had been already selected by the ecclesiastical authorities in Rome? To put beyond all reasonable doubt that Dr. Burke was raised to the episcopacy through his own merits, it must be borne in mind that not only was he known and esteemed in Rome as a learned theologian, but also that such was the confidence reposed in him by the Irish bishops, that he retained the office of their agent to the Roman Curia for several years after his return to his native country, and was probably on account of this more in touch with Rome than any other man in Ireland. In writing the *Hibernia Dominicana* he came before the Roman authorities in a new light—that of an ecclesiastical historian—whose work in connection with the history of his native country would be likely to endear him to the Irish clergy and people.<sup>1</sup>

His consecration took place on Low Sunday in the chapel of the Dominican nuns in Drogheda.<sup>2</sup> This convent of nuns had been founded about forty years previous by the indefatigable Stephen M'Egan, in conjunction with the Archbishop of Armagh. Catherine Plunkett, a niece of the martyred prelate, had been brought over from Brussels to preside over the new foundation, an office which she continued to hold till her death, thirty-five years afterwards. She carried with her the head of her uncle enclosed in a shrine, and it is religiously preserved in the convent to the present day. Under her guidance things went on prosperously, many novices were received, and a large number of the daughters of the first Catholic families in the country received their education in the convent. Although the gorgeous ceremonial incidental to such occasions was not carried out in

<sup>1</sup> Dr. James Butler II., Archbishop of Cashel, writing many years afterwards, and complaining to Propaganda about supposed undue influences in the appointment of Irish bishops, received the following answer:—"Caterum tibi aliisque Hiberniæ proelatis persuasum esse cupio, Sacram Congregationem, ubi de novis episcopis eligendis agetur, nihil aliud uti hactenus fecit ob oculos habituram, nisi candidatorum merita sive ii regulares sint sive sæculares."

<sup>2</sup> A painting of Dr. Burke in the parlour of the Drogheda Convent still preserves the memory of this event.

the way that we are accustomed to at the present day, we must, however, believe that the Drogheda nuns would not like to be outdone by their Dublin sisters, who had already witnessed two such celebrations in their chapel, and who for many years had set penal statute laws and edicts at defiance. How that happened was in this wise. During their early struggles some of them were summoned to court to answer the charge of erecting a monastery in defiance of the laws of the land. The charge broke down; in fact, it appears that, owing to a chivalrous sense of honour, the Dublin lawyers did not go into matters too deeply; and from that day forth—in the way that nuns in their dove-like innocence succeed when all others fail, given a yard and taking an ell—their convent chapel became an oasis in the desert, a centre of devotion where the devout soul would find many spiritual helps not to be found elsewhere, for the nuns had the ceremonies of the Church carried out with becoming splendour, sang the choral service, used the organ at High Mass, and in solemn receptions to the habit had the audacity to invite their Protestant as well as their Catholic friends.

Ten days after his consecration Dr. Burke took possession of his episcopalsee. As he stepped out of the mail-coach on the streets of Kilkenny, you could not distinguish anything in his dress, nor in the dress of the priests who greeted him on his arrival, that would mark their sacerdotal character. You would like, perhaps, a picture of the city as it presented itself to him on that day<sup>1</sup> from an ecclesiastical point of view. Well, take an ordinary slated country church, about fifty feet long; add a transept; place it some distance off a small street in the Irishtown, with the end of its transept abutting a cottage, and you have “Dean-street Roman Catholic Chapple,” the lineal representative of St. Canice’s Cathedral, which, with its round tower, reared itself in stately grandeur on the mount close by, and whose magnificent proportions were but half seen through a luxuriant mass of foliage. Take another country church, about the

<sup>1</sup> Rocque’s *Survey of Kilkenny*, 1757.

same length; put a large transept on one side, and a small one on the other; place it a little off James's-street, just outside James's Gate, with the end of its nave abutting a cottage which half concealed it, and with the city wall frowning on it at one side, and forbidding it entrance to the sacred precincts of Protestantism, and you have "James's-street Chapple," the representative of St. Mary's Church, which graced the centre of the city. Then take a low, narrow country church, as long as the others, but only fifteen feet wide, with no transepts; place it outside St. Patrick's Gate; hide it well behind several thatched cottages, and you have "Patrick-street Chapple," a chapel attached in a peculiar manner to the family of the Butlers, who had fortunately remained Catholic, and whose castle rose some distance further down over the left bank of the Noro. Lastly, take another slated church, about fifty feet long, with rather wider transepts than the others; place it in rear of the back gardens belonging to the thatched cottages in Maudlin-street, and you have "Maudlin-street Roman Catholic Chapple," the representative of the beautiful Church of St. John, the "lantern of Ireland," "the church of many windows," the slender shafts of which, standing out in naked and desolate beauty against the horizon, seemed to be silently reproaching the hands that had dared to desecrate the sanctuary.<sup>1</sup> One of the thatched cottages is the residence of the priests attached to Maudlin-street Chapel, and it is to serve Dr. Burke as his episcopal palace for the next seventeen years. In another street there was an alms-house for old widows: you pass through the hall, and find on emerging at the back that a hay-loft has been made into the semblance of a chapel. Two Capuchin fathers, living in the upper rooms of the alms-house in extreme poverty, stealthily attend to the wants of the faithful in what is called "Poor house Chapel." The four Dominicans living in the town have not been able through the bigotry of the magistrates to regain the house from which they were driven in 1744. They are serving as curates in the various churches, but as

<sup>1</sup> The present structure, called St. John's Church, was built later on out of the ruins.

to their whereabouts, the only clue we get in the *Hibernia Dominicana—alioquin civitate degentes*—is, in reality, no clue at all. The Black Abbey, their church of the olden time, is fast falling to decay, and its two towers look mournfully down at the wretched cabins and hovels that cluster around it, and push themselves up to its very walls. The Abbey of St. Francis is in ruins, and, worse than all, the sanctuary has been turned into a ball-alley, loud shouts and ribald jests desecrating the place where Mass was celebrated, and where the friars poured forth the praise of God. And the friars have departed from the city. The last representative of an Order which had clung to the city since the thirteenth century is a Father Thomas Paye, who is acting as parish priest in the northern part of the diocese.

In the country parts nothing better than a thatched chapel serves as the house of God. Four, five, and in some parts nine parishes, are served by one priest, who by dint of hard riding tries to attend to the spiritual wants of the people. Seven miles to the west, in Callan, two or three Augustinian fathers do the work of the Lord faithfully, though not living in community; and fourteen miles to the south, in Knocktopher, two or three Carmelite fathers are still clinging around their old foundation. The Protestants are clustered together in the towns, more than fourteen hundred in Kilkenny alone, holding all offices high and low, doing most of the business, and keeping the skilled trades almost exclusively in their own hands. The Catholics are increasing in numbers, and are making slow but sure inroads on business and the trades, many acquiring comparative wealth. Their education is fairly attended to in spite of the absence of teaching orders, for by this time the "Popish reading, writing, and spelling schools," of which there were seven in 1731, must have increased in number and efficiency.

The period at which Dr. Burke undertook his pastoral charge is memorable in the annals of Ireland, from the fact that it saw the beginning of two movements amongst the Catholics, so long silent under oppression, for the purpose of shaking off the yoke of the penal laws, putting a stop to

the injustice daily inflicted on them, and of curbing the pride, arrogance, and spirit of domination of the Protestant ascendancy. It was time, indeed, that the Catholics should rouse themselves to action, for it had just been declared from the bench that “the law did not presume a Papist to exist in the kingdom, nor could they so much as breathe there without the connivance of Government;” and this at a time when, out of a population of two millions and a half, the Protestants numbered only five hundred thousand. One of these movements—agitation by constitutional means—made its first essay towards the end of the year 1759, when Charles O’Connor, of Belanagar, presented his “Address to the Crown,” signed by three hundred of the leading Catholics of Dublin. As might well be expected, owing to the crushed spirit of the Catholics, grave mistakes were made in the course of this agitation. Looking back upon it now, it is easy to see that, if it had been carried out on the lines advocated by Dr. Burke, the final success it achieved would have come sooner, and would have been obtained without any temporary sacrifice of principle. The other movement, the Whiteboy agitation, originated among the labouring classes, driven wild by oppressive tithes, rack-rents, scarcity of food, and the enclosure of the commons. It was a movement of violence leading to great crimes and savage excesses, and exciting just indignation on the part of Catholics as well as Protestants. Beginning in Munster, it gradually spread over other counties in the south; and towards the end of Dr. Burke’s life it made its way to a terrible extent into his diocese, adding its quota to the troubles and anxieties that were thickly strewn over all his episcopal career.

For he was far from finding his pastoral charge of Ossory a bed of roses. Dissensions and abuses, as was inevitable, had begun to spring up in a diocese—*diu viduata pastore*, as it was expressively put—long without the watchful eye of the shepherd. The absenteeism of one bishop, and the infirmities of another, and the long interval with no bishop at all, were quite sufficient to account for this. A most painful litigation, extending over several years, between Dr. Burke

and one of his priests, seems to have been the direct outcome of this spirit. The mensal parish of St. Mary's had been assigned to him *in commendam*, as it had been to his predecessor, there being no other means for supporting the episcopal charges. Dr. Burke on his arrival in Kilkenny found that his predecessor before departing for the Continent, where he died, had made it over (a thing he had no power to do) to a Father Molloy, a man of great energy and eminent attainments; but, as the sequel will show, with a fair share of stubborn self-will. The bishop tried to enforce his claim, but Father Molloy resisted, appealing to Propaganda. A rescript from Propaganda, confirming the bishop's claim, produced the greatest excitement among the parishioners, numbers of whom signed a memorial to the Pope, citing amongst other thing a letter from the mayor expressing disapproval of the bishop's proceedings, and sympathizing with Father Molloy. Riots had taken place in the streets on the occasion of the enforcement of a similar claim by a former bishop, it was said, and they feared a similar result. On the bishop's side it was alleged that the apprehended tumult was a mere pretext, as he was so well esteemed by the magistrates and the Protestants, as well as the Catholic gentry. The answer from Rome was a new Pontifical rescript, again conferring the parish on the bishop, in such plain terms that it is impossible to see how it could be disregarded with a safe conscience. Matters, however, were not settled by this rescript, and dissensions and party-spirit were a source of trouble to the bishop for fully six years afterwards.<sup>1</sup>

The new bishop was obliged, owing to the circumstances of the times, to rule with a firm hand. It must have cost him a pang to have to abolish such a time-honoured custom as the Christmas midnight mass, but when grave abuses follow certain religious practices the abolition of the religious

<sup>1</sup> A thin folio volume, being a collection of the official proceedings of Propaganda in this case, printed at Rome, collated and indexed in the handwriting of Dr. Burke, and supplemented by some manuscript copies of similar proceedings, written in Dr. Burke's hand, was purchased for the library of the British Museum, in 1863, at £18 10s.

exercises becomes a duty. It was the same reason that made him attack in no measured terms the patron-day at John's Well, which had become a scene of scandalous excess, and was the occasion of rioting and drunkenness. The annual gathering at this holy well, originally a pilgrimage, had by a natural transition, as the poor people year by year increased in numbers and could meet one another far from the gaze of their hated masters, degenerated into a scene of merrymaking, in which the religious element was conspicuous by its absence. A division of a union of nine parishes, which he made by the advice of several priests and at the earnest desire of the parishioners, brought him into conflict with the Butlers of Ballyragget, a family noted for its generosity to the Church, who claimed the right of patronage to the parish, and protested against the division he had made; and, in support of their claim, they appealed to the Archbishop of Dublin. One of the city chapels requiring repairs, and his repeated warnings and admonitions having been neglected, he threatened to put the chapel under an interdict if the repairs were not done within a specified period.

The Whiteboy and Levellers' disturbances in Munster seem to have infused a very democratic spirit into the labouring classes in Kilkenny, for several of them attempted to pull down a gallery erected in 'a chapel, and in many ways molested the good people who occupied it—a gallery, as we are quaintly told, “which had been erected for the more decent class of people.” The bell, book, and candle were realities in those days, and bishops were not slow to denounce the evil-doer by name. Judging, however, from our bishop's amiable character, we must reverse the “*suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*” in his case, and believe that his threats were meant more to deter and frighten than to be really put into execution.

The episcopal office—*onus angelicis humeris formidabile*—bringing upon him many duties repugnant to one of his sensitive and amiable character, doubtless weighed heavily upon him at times, and made him long for the more peaceful atmosphere of his convent in Dublin. As he

sat alone over his books and papers in his little cottage<sup>1</sup> in Maudlin-street, and looked out on the miserable little chapel beside it, he could not help contrasting the poverty and meanness of the externals of religion in his native country with what he had witnessed in other places. Can we not also conceive him taking in the Black Abbey on his evening walk, standing under the forlorn arches examining the monuments, and there in the light of the gorgeous sunset, peopling the deserted choir and aisles with living figures, and rebuilding in his own mind the religious glories of the olden time ?

That, in spite of his firmness in dealing with abuses, he endeared himself to his priests, the subscription list of the *Hibernia Dominicana*, which he brought out in 1762, is sufficient evidence. It is refreshing to find in it the names of all the parish priests of Ossory, with the exception of Father Molloy and two or three others. We meet also the names of seventy Dominicans, and those of several bishops, Augustinians, Carmelites, and Friars Minor. No doubt it was a bold and hazardous undertaking for a Catholic bishop to bring out at such a time an historical work, giving a plain and straightforward account of the history of Ireland up to his own time. We must bear in mind, however, that the work was written in Latin, and that its circulation was confined exclusively to the clergy. Besides that, nothing that prudence could suggest was omitted in the production of the work. Though it was printed in Kilkenny, under his own eye, the title-page bore the name of the City of Cologne, just to save the printer from molestation. The history of the Stuarts, their life in Rome, and the account of the so-called glorious Revolution, is simply a reprint of Porter's annals. In speaking of James, Dr. Burke certainly does not assert his loyalty by calling him the Pretender, but speaks of him as "King James III., as they call him." It is impossible for the most practised eye and the most acute

<sup>1</sup> There is a tradition among the old people in this parish that once when Dr. Burke's sister came down in her carriage from Dublin to pay him a visit, she exclaimed, when she saw the cottage and its surroundings, that no wonder his heart would break from living in such a place.

intellect to find any passage in the work, “tending to destroy the fidelity and submission due to the King, and disturb the public peace and sow dissensions.” One thing, however, will be freely granted by those who have had any experience of the *Hibernia Dominicana*—and it is this, that it is as difficult to find anything in it you are anxiously looking for, as to find the *lectiones secundi nocturni* of a new office in an old breviary; and that when you don’t want it at all, and are looking particularly for something else, it stares you twenty times in the face. That is the severest charge that a conscientious man, appreciating the value of time, and anxious to preserve a spirit of meekness, will bring against this admirable work.

All search for treasonable writing in a work which speaks in simple terms of George II. succeeding George I., and George III. succeeding him, and which praises the spirit of toleration to the Catholics shown by the Hanoverian dynasty, would be a mere waste of time. The most treasonable passage in the part reprinted from Porter is one relating to the law about the Protestant succession. It states that in consequence of this law more than fifty Catholic princes of either sex were put aside to make way for the House of Hanover, the nearest Protestant claimants to the throne. If it was treason simply to state that fact, the toleration spoken of must have been of a very peculiar kind. The strongest, and to some loyal minds the most treasonable, thing emanating from Dr. Burke, is in reference to a certain test-oath proposed but not carried into law in the Parliamentary Session of 1757—an oath opposed by many of the peers spiritual and temporal (and Dr. Burke speaks as an eye-witness, *me etiam audiente, qui singulis illis diebus occultus adfui*), and rejected by them, as unnecessarily cruel and unjust.

Dr. Burke does not find the least difficulty in agreeing with their lordships on this point, and puts concisely into a few Latin words what, perhaps, he had heard many a noble lord labouring for more than an hour to express in rhetorical and ungrammatical English. “Would it not be absurd,” he says, “that a Catholic priest, preaching the written and

unwritten Word of God to a Catholic people, and feeding them with the sacraments of the Church, should swear allegiance to George III. for so long as he professes the Protestant religion, and for so long as he does not take unto himself a Catholic wife ; but that if he were to embrace the Catholic faith (as his brother-in-law Frederic Prince of Hesse Cassel did last year), or should marry a Catholic (as King Charles I. and Charles II. did), at once this Catholic priest is to abjure the king to whom he has already sworn allegiance. Oh, what a dreadful crime !” The Catholics and Protestants of this period must have been peculiarly slow of understanding not to detect such treasonable writing, for the book, instead of causing an outcry, seems to have given universal satisfaction.

The year following, 1763, is memorable in the annals of Kilkenny as the year of the Great Flood. After twenty-four hours of incessant rain, the river rose to such a height, that on the following morning, Rosary Sunday morning, one of the bridges spanning the Nore was entirely swept away—a bridge which had been erected by a Dominican bishop, Oliver Cantwell, three hundred years previously. Fortunately there was no loss of life on this occasion ; but such was not the case with regard to the other bridge, situated more in the centre of the city. About a hundred people were standing on this bridge watching the swollen waters intently, when a cry was raised that a cabin was floating intact down one of the streets. Nearly all the people, fortunately, rushed off the bridge to see the new sight, leaving about fourteen still on the bridge. In a few minutes the bridge gave way, and parapets, buttresses, and people, were swept away by the rushing waters. We are told in the *Hibernia Dominicana*, that the water in some of the streets rose to the height of eleven, and in other streets to the height of fifteen feet ; that all communication between the two parts of the town divided by the river was cut off for two days ; and that the water, forcing its way through the doors and windows of the houses, completely filled up not only the small cabins, but even some of the larger mansions. His simple expression of sorrow—*moerens et*

*lugens videbam*—can give us but a faint idea of the pain and anxiety for his poor people which possessed the heart of the bishop. Driven out of his own low-lying cottage and church by the rising waters, meeting his people at every turn drenched with the pitiless rain, and carrying their children to the higher ground, there to huddle together for the night on the sodden floors of stables and outhouses; at times gazing hopelessly across the wild, rushing waters, which cut him off for two days from all communication with his suffering priests and people on the other side of the town, shall we wonder that the bishop's heart was breaking within him—*mocrens et lugens vidi*. Did he meet with sympathy from the rich Protestants, when after two miserable days the flood had subsided and he was making his way

“ With slow steps,  
With slow, faint steps, and much exceeding pain,”

through the deep mud, slough and general *débris*, past ruined cabins and broken furniture, and faces the picture of despair, giving his people as he went along words of comfort, and raising his heart to God in his distress? “How long, O Lord, how long, wilt Thou afflict Thy people?” Let us hope he met with sympathy and help from the rich, through the hard winter months, which brought, as a sequel to the flood, increased sickness and mortality into those dark damp cabins about which history concerns itself so little. And let us hope that the callous, stony-hearted parsons ceased for a time the merciless exactions of tithes and dues, and omitted for a short time, at least, their sermons on the abominations of Popery.

AMBROSE COLEMAN, O.P.

(*To be continued.*)

OUR MARTYRS.—(*Concluded.*)

IN the April number of the I. E. RECORD I gave a brief sketch of a few of the earlier writers to whom we are indebted for the history of our martyrs. In resuming the subject now, I will begin with one who cannot be called a historian in any sense of the word; but yet his testimony on their behalf is of the highest value. This is a certain Barnaby Ryché. On the title-page of his book he is styled “Gentleman, servant to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty.” In what capacity he served his Majesty, we do not know; but from his narrative it is evident that he was an eye-witness of what he relates. At page 5 of his book, which, by the way, is in great part controversial, he speaks of the martyrdom of Cornelius O’Deveny, Bishop of Down and Connor, and of his companion in suffering, Cornelius O’Loughrane. After telling how “about two o’clock in the afternoon of February 1st, 1611, both were handed over to the Sheriff and placed on a small car, in which they were taken to the place of execution”—how “the spectators knelt down as the car passed by, and made such a lamentation after him as the heavens themselves resounded their outcries,” he goes on to say:—

“The executioner had no sooner taken off the bishop’s head, but the townsmen of Dublin began to flock about him, some taking the head up with pitying aspect accompanied with sobs and sighs; some kissed it with so religious an appetite as ever they kissed the pax; some cut away all the hair from the head, which they preserved for a relic; some others were practisers to steal the head away, but the executioner gave notice to the sheriffs. Now, when he began to quarter the body, the women thronged about him, and happy was she that could get but her handkerchief dipped in the blood of the traitor; and the body being once dissevered into four quarters, they neither left finger nor toe, but they cut them off, and carried them away.”

There is a copy of this book in the library of Trinity College.

The *Analecta* of Dr. Rothe is, undoubtedly, the most valuable record that we possess of the martyrs who suffered up to the end of the sixteenth century and during the first

years of the seventeenth. Rothe was bishop of Ossory from 1618 to 1650. He died just at the time that Cromwell captured the city of Kilkenny. He was the author of several works, only one of which, unfortunately, has come down to us. Messingham says he was well versed in all sorts of learning, an elegant orator, a subtle philosopher, a profound divine, an eminent historian; and Ussher, too, bears willing testimony to his erudition. The work by which he is known to us bears the title of *Analecta Sacra nova et mira de rebus Catholicorum in Hibernia pro fide et religione gestis*. It is divided into three parts. The first was published at Cologne in 1616. It was reprinted the following year, considerably enlarged, with a second part added. The third part was published in 1619. The whole work, which had become very scarce, was republished in 1884 by Cardinal Moran. The first part treats chiefly of the laws made against Catholics during the reign of James I. The second part opens with an *Epistola parænetica* addressed to Cornelius O'Deveny and others of the clergy and laity imprisoned for professing the faith. He was urged to write, he says, through pity for his countrymen then imprisoned by the heretics for professing the Catholic faith. The third part, styled *De Processu Martyriali quorundam fidei pugilum in Hibernia*, contains a list of the bishops, priests, both secular and regular, and of the laity, who up to that time had suffered martyrdom, imprisonment, and exile. The first in the catalogue is Richard Creagh, Archbishop of Armagh, who died of poison in the Tower of London, October 14th, 1585; the last is Sir John Burke, of Brittas, hanged in Limerick, December 20th, 1607. The lives of some, as of Archbishops Creagh and O'Hurley, of Cornelius O'Deveny, and of Sir John Burke, are given at considerable length, and contain many details concerning them not to be found elsewhere. There is a copy of the third part of Rothe's work in the library of St. Patrick's College, Thurles. I got an imperfect copy of it at a sale that lately took place in Dublin.

Fr. Thomas Good, S.J., who taught a school in Limerick about 1580, published his *Theatrum Catholicæ et Protestantæ Religionis* at Douay in 1620. The book is often

referred to as containing a history of the sufferings of the Catholics which happened in his time. An extract from it containing an account of the death of Dermot O'Hurley is given in O'Molony's *Anatomicum Examen*. I cannot give any further details about the book, as no copy of it is to be found, so far as I know, in this country. Will some owner of it, who may read this, lend it to me for a few days, to make from it such extracts as may be useful in the case of our Irish martyrs?

A writer named Copinger published a book in Paris in 1620, bearing the title, *A Mnemosynum to the Catholics of Ireland*. It is in great part an exhortation to the Irish people to bear with patience the hardships and trials they were then enduring for the faith. There is in it a short account of the martyrdom of Maurice Kent (*recté* Kinreghtan), who was put to death in Clonmel in 1585. There is a copy of this work in the library of Trinity College, wanting the title-page.

We are indebted to Philip O'Sullivan Beare for two works of great value to students of Irish history both sacred and profane, *Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium*, and *Decas Patriciana*; the former published at Lisbon in 1621, the latter at Madrid in 1629. The late Dr. Kelly, of Maynooth, reprinted the *Compendium* in 1850, and in the preface which he put to it he gives an account of the author. When a mere boy he went to Spain, one of the crowd of Irish exiles who left Ireland soon after the defeat of the Irish under O'Neill and O'Donnell at Kinsale. In the archives at Loyola there is a long list of the Irish who came to Spain up to 1604—"soldiers for the service, gentlemen of position, poor people, widows, young girls;" it is signed by F. Florence Conroy, later Archbishop of Tuam, who had accompanied Hugh Roe O'Donnell to Spain, and was present at his death-bed. Now he was using whatever influence he had at the Court of Philip III. to obtain a scanty livelihood for these poor exiles. In this list the name of O'Sullivan occurs frequently, for though others of the Irish who had taken arms received a pardon—which was of little avail to them later—there was no pardon for the O'Sullivans. He was

educated at Compostella by an Irish priest, F. Synnott, of whom he speaks in terms of heartfelt gratitude, and later he entered the Spanish service. Though a soldier, he found time for literary work. He was a correspondent of F. Colgan, O.S.F., author of the *Acta SS. Hiberniæ*, who speaks of him as "doctrina clarissimus," and as having "deserved well of his native country and of its saints." Besides a list of Irish martyrs, he gives a very detailed account of the manner of death of some of them. There is a fine copy of the original edition of each of these works in the library of Maynooth College.

Molanus, probably O'Mullane, a native of Cork, who is set down on the title-page of his work as "Public Professor of the History of Eloquence," published a work bearing the title of *Idea Togatæ Constantiæ* in Paris in 1629. It contains a list of nearly one hundred Irish martyrs. A good part of the book is taken up with the Life of Francis Tailler, a citizen of Dublin, who died in prison in 1621, where he had been for seven years, because he professed the Catholic faith. Appended to the Life is a document duly signed by the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Thomas Fleming, and several of the clergy secular and regular, bearing witness to the great virtues of Francis Tailler and to his constancy in professing the true faith, from which he never departed by a hair's breadth, though in his old age he was shut up in prison and subjected to all kinds of hardships. There is a copy of this book in the library of Trinity College.

In the great storehouse of Irish history, *The Annals of the Four Masters*, one will naturally expect to find much about the martyrs. The references to them, however, are few and of a general kind. Under the date of 1537, they tell of "the new heresy that had just sprung up in England, and of the destruction of the monasteries from Aran of the Saints to the Iccian Sea, and of the persecution endured even then, such that scarcely had there ever come so great from Rome." Again, under the date 1540, they say "the monastery of Monaghan was destroyed, and the guardian and some of the friars beheaded." And under 1601, they tell of the death of Redmond O'Gallagher, "who was killed by

the English in Oireacht ui Cathain." But their testimony in reference to the death of Cornelius O'Deveny is most valuable. He was taken prisoner by the English, they say, and offered riches and rewards if he would go over to their heresy; but he despised them for an everlasting kingdom. He was released then, but he was taken again, when Sir Arthur Chichester was Lord Justice of Ireland, and was put to death. "He was first beheaded, and then his members were cut in quarters, and his flesh mangled."

"There was not a Christian in the land of Ireland, whose heart did not shudder within him at the horror of the martyrdom which this chaste, wise divine, and the perfect and truly meek, righteous man suffered for the reward of his soul. The Christians who were then in Dublin, contended with each other to see which of them should have one of his limbs; and not only his limbs, but they had fine linen in readiness, to prevent his blood from falling on the ground; for they were convinced that he was one of the holy martyrs of the Lord."

And they go on to tell of the fortitude of his companion:—

"Gilla Patrick O'Loughrane, a distinguished priest, was with the Bishop at this time, when the English had decided that both these should be put to death. The Bishop was afraid that the priest might be seized with horror and dismay at the sight of the tortures about to be inflicted upon his own body, so that he requested the executioner to put the priest to death before himself. The priest said that he need not be in dread on his account, it was not right an honourable Bishop should be without a priest to attend him. This he did, for he consented and suffered the like torture to be inflicted on him for the sake of the kingdom of heaven for his soul."

Fr. Peter Redan, S. J., Professor of Sacred Scripture in the Irish College at Salamanca, published at Lyons, in 1651, the first volume of his *Commentary on the Canonical Books of the Machabees*. Speaking of the College of Salamanca, he says:—"Of the many colleges which are an ornament to this University, the Irish College is the smallest, and, considering its revenues, the poorest. Yet, during the fifty years that it has been in the hands of the Jesuits, it has had over three hundred and seventy students, of whom not a few were remarkable for their holiness and learning."

He goes on to enumerate the archbishops and bishops, the teachers of theology, the famous writers, the many religious whom it sent forth from it, and he adds:—"Thirty of them suffered martyrdom for the faith, some of them by hanging or beheading, and others by imprisonment, starvation, and hardships of different kinds. Of that great number during the long and fierce persecution, not one denied or betrayed the faith ever." The second volume of this work is in manuscript in the library of the University of Salamanca. It too contains some names of sufferers for the faith, not to be found in other works. The first volume is in the library of Trinity College.

Fr. Moryson, O.S.F., in his *Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica*, published at Innsbruck, in 1659, gives an account of some martyrs not mentioned by earlier writers, who had been put to death shortly before he wrote. He gives a short account of each, and of the manner of his death. The book is a very rare one, the only copy I know of being that in the Grenville Library in the British Museum. But the portion dealing with the Irish Martyrs will be found in the notes to O'Connell's *Memoir of Ireland*.

Dr. John Lynch, Archdeacon of Tuam, has left several very valuable works on Irish history. Of these his reply to the calumnies of Giraldus Cambrensis is the best known. In his *Alithinologia*, published at St. Malo, in 1664, to which he added a *Supplement* in 1671, besides the martyrs whose history is given by other writers, he gives the names of some who suffered shortly before he wrote, as of Luke Bergin, a Cistercian, who was put to death at Wexford, in 1655, for the sole reason that he was a priest; of Nicholas Nugent, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and others who were executed under pretence that they favoured Lord Baltinglas's rising; and of Thomas Fleming, a citizen of Drogheda, who died in prison because he would not conform to the new creed. A copy of the *Alithinologia* is in the library of Trinity College; one of the *Supplement* in that of St. Patrick's College, Waterford. The Library of Trinity College contains Dr. Lynch's MS. work, *De Præsulibus Hiberniæ*, to which reference is often made. It makes

mention of others besides bishops who suffered death for the faith, and it describes several miracles said to have been wrought at the tomb of Dermot O'Hurley in St. Kevin's churchyard, where he was buried.

Bruodin's, or MacBriody's, work, bearing the title *Propugnaculum Catholicae Veritatis*, published at Prague, in 1669, gives the most complete history of our martyrs which we possess. The author was a native of Clare. It contains a brief history of the so-called Reformation in England and Ireland, a short list of English martyrs, and a somewhat detailed account of the Irish martyrs up to the time he wrote. His sketch of Sir John Burke is very full, and contains many details which are not found elsewhere. He speaks of acts of cruelty done to Catholics, of which he was himself witness, as the cutting off the ears of a respectable citizen of Limerick, because a priest was found hiding in his house. This work is so rare that a certain bookseller, in one of his late catalogues, says there are only three copies of the book in existence; and, in consequence, demands for one of the three in his possession the very modest sum of £30. There are, at least, three copies in Dublin—an excellent one in the library of the Royal Irish Academy.

The same author, under the name of O'Mollony, published another work in 1671, which is a sort of supplement to the *Propugnaculum*, and gives the names of several martyrs omitted in the first work. It gives at some length the life and death of Fr. John Kearny, O.S.F., a native of Cashel, who was put to death at Clonmel in 1653. The book is primarily a reply to a work written by Carve, chaplain to a regiment in the imperial army, who was ashamed of his Irish descent, and claimed to be sprung from the Carew family. It contains also some very interesting facts about Myler Magrath, the apostate bishop of Down, and later Protestant Archbishop of Cashel, "that wicked Milerus," as he is often called in the State Papers by some members of his own creed, which are not as much known as they ought to be; as, for instance, that Myler in early life suffered for the faith, having his ears cut off, his nose slit, and needles thrust under the nails of his hands. He yielded to his

tortures, and abandoned the faith. Elizabeth hearing of his perversion, gave him the archbishopric of Cashel. His conscience troubled him sorely during the whole of his apostacy. To still it somewhat, he would at times do a kindly turn to the Catholics, as when he wrote to his would-be wife from Greenwich, bidding her notify to Dr. Crough, Bishop of Cork, that an order was about to be issued to seize him. Some eighteen months before his death he repented of his misdeeds and of the scandal he had given, and passed the remainder of his life doing rigid penance. He was received back into the Franciscan Order by Father Mathew, then Provincial, and died having made his peace with God. Perhaps it is to this change at the end of his life that reference is made obscurely in his epitaph in Cashel cathedral.

In Fr. Archdeacon's *Theologia Tripartita*, a sort of handbook of theology for priests then employed on the Irish mission, there is at the end a *Dedicatio*, addressed to them, in which he speaks of the sufferings of the Irish clergy and people up to that time. He then gives a *Life of Peter Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin*, who died in prison in Dublin, in 1680, the crime laid to his charge being that for which Oliver Plunkett suffered death, namely, "participation in a popish plot." This book was first published at Louvain in 1671. It has been frequently reprinted.

A few words about another, and a more numerous class of books, different in some respects from those already mentioned. I refer to works written by Religious containing the history of their respective Orders, which make mention of Irish martyrs belonging to them. Such are the well-known work, *Annales Minorum Ordinum Franciscanorum*, of Fr. Luke Wadding, published at Rome in 1625-1654; Van der Sterre's *Echo Sti. Norberti*, at Antwerp, in 1629; Henriquez's *Menologium Cisterciense*, at Antwerp, in 1630; Malpaeus's *Palma Fidei S. Ordinis Prædicatorum*, in the same place, in 1635; *Imago Societatis Jesu*, in the same place, in 1640; Hartry's *Triumphalia Chronologica*, a MS. written in 1640, and the *Supplement de Cisterciensum Hibernorum Viris Illustribus*, by the same author, in 1652, printed

last year from the original in the possession of the Most Rev. Dr. Croke; Fr. Philip's *Decor Carmeli*, published at Lyons, in 1655; O'Daly's *Initium, &c., familiæ Geraldinorum Desmoniac Comitum*, at Lisbon, in 1655; Alegambe's *Mortes Illustres Societatis Jesu*, at Rome, in 1658; Tanner's *Societatis Jesu usque ad sanguinis et Vitæ profusionem militans*, at Prague, in 1575; O'Heyne's *Epilogus Ordinis Predicatorum in Hibernia*, at Louvain, in 1706; Lopez's *Noticias Historicas del Celeste Orden de la Trinidad*, Madrid, 1714; Jouveney's *Historia Societatis Jesu*, at Rome, in 1720; and lastly, the MS. of Fr. Ward, in the library of the Franciscan Fathers, Merchants'-quay, *Synopsis Provinciae Hiberniæ*.

Among the documents in the archives of the Irish College of Salamanca, there are several of great importance on the subject of our martyrs. Cardinal Moran has published some of these in his *Spicilegium Ossoriense*. There are others, too, as the account of the martyrdom of Maurice Eustace, in Dublin, in 1581, which is given in great detail. The manuscript history, too, of the Irish College of Seville, now in the archives of Salamanca, and giving the history of that college from 1612 to 1763, contains some interesting facts: for instance, an account of the martyrdom of a Kerry priest. The marginal reference to this is "Illustre Martyrium D. Cornelii M'Carthi."

"In May of this year (1652) took place the famous martyrdom of Cornelius Carty, of the province of Munster and bishopric of Ardferth. He entered this college in the year 1635. He left this college for the Irish mission about 1642. He laboured like a true apostle in Ireland, converting heretics, and administering the sacraments. He was executed by order of the heretical governor of the county of Kerry, because he was a Catholic priest and a defender of the Catholic faith."

There are several other works by authors of other countries, in which passing mention is made of our martyrs; as, for instance, by Bosius, *de Signis Ecclesiæ*, Antwerp, 1581; and by Harpsfield, in his *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Cath. in Angliâ*, published in 1588. If special mention is not made of them oftener, the reason, no doubt, is that foreign writers

such as Baronius, Suarez, and Bellarmine, were accustomed to include Ireland under the common designation of "Anglia," and all the more because of the persecution taking place in both countries at the same time and in virtue of what they supposed to be the same laws.

D. MURPHY, S.J.

### NAPOLÉON'S DIVORCE.

AS probably no one can read the article bearing the above title, which appeared in the last number of the I. E. Record, from the pen of the Rev. T. B. Scannell, without having the conviction forced upon him that its tendency and effect, whatever the intention of its writer may have been, is to create the idea that the proceedings connected with the so-called "divorce" of Napoleon and Josephine were valid and legitimate, I desire to call the attention of your readers to some points which Father Scannell appears to have altogether overlooked, and which he certainly omits to deal with in his paper. Perhaps I should say that my only reason for thus intruding on your space is that I think it a pity that any effort, however well meant, should now be made to transfer the responsibility attaching to the action of a few time-serving or intimidated ecclesiastics to the Church or Catholicity as a whole. Nothing will ever make the separation of Napoleon from Josephine, with his second marriage to Marie Louise, anything but scandalous in the extreme; and I believe it to be injurious to the credit of our religion, as well as to the honour of our Church, to write as if those events were such as fully coincided with the maintenance of both.

To read Father Scannell's article one would fancy that the only question to be decided by the Paris Ecclesiastical Commission was as to the validity of the marriage ceremony performed by permission of the Pope in the Tuilleries on the eve of the coronation of the Emperor and Empress; and indeed, so far as I can see, he abstains from reminding his

readers that there was another ceremony, less holy, but which was, as I shall submit, no less binding and obligatory upon all parties concerned, and to which the Paris ecclesiastical authorities should, and no doubt would, have attached weight and importance had they not been overborne by the rigorous and imperious will of Napoleon. Furthermore, it appears to me that Father Scannell, so far from stating the case against the so-called "divorce" fully and fairly, puts it forward—so far as he can be said to put it forward at all—in a weak and minimized form. It may, of course, be unfair to assume or assert that Father Scannell's desire was to defend the decision with which his article deals; but I repeat, and I should not trouble you or your readers now were the facts otherwise, that it is impossible to read his paper without having the conviction forced on one, that he, at least, entertains belief that there is something more to be said in defence of the "divorce," and the tribunal which decreed it, than has heretofore been advanced. To most Catholics who are conversant with the facts of the case it will naturally seem that the very contrary was the course which should have been taken; because if the dissolution of such a marriage as that between Napoleon and Josephine could be sanctioned by the Church, then, it seems to me, it must have lost that regard for the inviolability of the matrimonial vow which it is justly regarded as having always entertained.

In view, therefore, of Father Scannell's article, I think it cannot be amiss to point out the actual circumstances connected with the alliance between Napoleon and Josephine, and to ask your readers to judge whether Father Scannell has accurately described the situation which assumed intensified form when the Emperor wedded Marie Louise. I am not sure that I should not hesitate to undertake this task, but that I happen to have before me a translation of an able and exhaustive article on this very subject, contributed some two years since by the Rev. B. Duhr, S.J., to the well-known German magazine, *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, and which appears to me to put beyond question the validity of Napoleon's marriage with Josephine, and to inflict disgrace only on that monarch and the group of ecclesiastics who

lent themselves to his humour. I believe that the best course is to pit Father Duhr against Father Scannell, and leave your readers to form their own conclusion.

It is to be remembered that Josephine twice went through ceremonies of marriage with Napoleon—first, on March 9th, 1796, before the municipal officer of the mairie of the second Paris arrondissement, and in the presence of four witnesses; and, secondly, on the eve of her coronation as Empress, in the palace of the Tuilleries, when a religious ceremonial was performed by Cardinal Fesch, and the vows made so many years before were solemnly repeated before the altar. With reference to the first of these ceremonies, Father Duhr says:—

“ Was the civil marriage contracted, March 9th, 1796, before the municipal official of the mairie of the second Paris arrondissement, in presence of four witnesses, valid or not? It might be claimed to have been invalid, first of all on account of the non-observance of the decree of the Council of Trent, which declares every marriage invalid that is not contracted in presence of one's own parish priest and two or three witnesses, in those places where the Council of Trent has been promulgated. The fact of this promulgation for Paris has been called into doubt, even in very recent times, but altogether without cause. But if we take into consideration the times, such as they were in the beginning of 1796, we shall see that it was, at that time, generally impossible, and particularly for a general of the republic, morally so to observe the decree of the Council of Trent above referred to. For since the end of 1795 a new violent persecution of those priests who refused to take the constitutional oaths had been enacted, and particularly in March, 1796, faithful priests were everywhere executed in France. The consequence was that priests had to remain in hiding. If the directors, on January 21st, 1796, had to swear eternal hatred against royalty, and if every intercourse with priests who refused to take the oath was considered an evidence of royalistic tendency, then it was, indeed, morally impossible even for a general of the army to have recourse to the lawful parish priest. Napoleon's civil marriage cannot, therefore, be considered invalid on account of the absence of the parish priest, especially as the Congregation of Cardinals for explaining the Council of Trent has repeatedly declared that in places where Catholics cannot procure the services of the lawful parish priest, marriages contracted in presence of witnesses, *without the presence of the parish priest*, are both valid and licit, if there be no other impediment. The instruction of the Cardinal Legate of Caprara,

of May 2nd, 1803, even declares more plainly that those persons also who have contracted marriage at a time when access to the parish priest was very difficult or dangerous must be assured of the validity of their marriage. Napoleon's civil marriage, therefore, could be considered invalid and dissoluble only on the supposition of a want of due consent on his part to the marriage contract. But for such a plea there is not the slightest foundation in fact. It is certain, on the contrary, that Napoleon would never have thought of a divorce from Josephine if there had been an heir to the throne. The fact that there was no heir—not the want of due consent to the marriage contract with Josephine—was the reason assigned by Napoleon for divorce."

In corroboration of the views regarding the first marriage set out by Father Duhr in these words, may be quoted a letter written by the Archbishop of Vienna, on February 23th, 1810, to the Emperor of Austria, who was pressing for the approval of that prelate of the marriage of Napoleon and Marie Louise. The Archbishop wrote as follows:—

"Up to the present hour I have no legitimate proof, no proof making me secure in conscience before God, before the Church, before the world, that the first so-called civil marriage contract between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine, had for its object, for its purpose, for its condition only a matrimonial alliance, dissoluble in time, and not of lifelong tenor. If said civil contract contained a word, an expression, which is susceptible of the meaning that the contracting parties did not intend to bind themselves by matrimonial partnership for ever and for their lifetime, then the said marriage is certainly from the very beginning, and so long as it remains, invalid, it matters not what religious ceremony may have been superadded. On the contrary, if this natural or civil contract expresses a lifelong, indissoluble union, and there is no other natural or civil impediment, it remains valid, and is also generally recognised by the Church as a valid, real, indissoluble marriage, although no religious ceremony, no religious bond supervenes. Thus the Catholic Church recognises the marriages of pagans, Protestants, &c., as valid, real marriages. This being premised, and seeing that the grounds of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in France, on account of which they have declared the nullity and invalidity of Napoleon's marriage, are not known to me in a regular, convincing, and authentic manner, I am not in a position to bless the contemplated marriage with the Archduchess Louise, lest I might expose the Holy Sacrament to the danger of nullity, and place the couple in a dangerous, uncertain position, and exposed to many witticisms and criticisms. In consequence of this my embarrass-

ment, I request your Majesty that if the sentence containing the reasons for the nullity of the first marriage does not arrive before the day appointed for the religious ceremony of the marriage, your Majesty will give the assurance by the chancery of foreign affairs or by the Bohemo-Austrian or the highest court of justice that the invalidity of the natural and civil matrimonial contract between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine has been regularly and lawfully recognised and published; in that event I shall proceed with more peace and quiet, and shall not expose myself and the couple to any danger.” (Helfert, page 361.)

Now I do not propose to discuss the false and deceitful means which were adopted to induce, and which were successful in inducing, the Archbishop to withdraw his opposition to the intended marriage, but I will ask your readers—in considering the question of “due consent”—to bear in mind the form of words used by Cardinal Fesch in conducting the so-called “invalid” marriage, celebrated in the Tuilleries by Cardinal Fesch under dispensation from the Sovereign Pontiff. These were as follows:—

“The Cardinal, addressing himself to Napoleon, said to him: ‘Sire, you declare that you recognise, and you swear before God and in presence of His holy Church, that you now take unto wife and lawful consort Josephine Rose Tascher de la Pagerie, the widow Beauharnais, here present.’ And the Emperor answered, ‘Yes.’ The officiating Cardinal continued: ‘You promise and swear her fidelity in all things, as a faithful husband ought to do towards his wife, according to God’s command?’ And the Emperor answered, ‘Yes.’ The same formula for the Empress. Then the Cardinal said, solemnly: ‘I join you together.’”

What happened previous to this religious ceremony Cardinal Fesch has left recorded, and Father Duhr thus renders his narrative:—

“Several times Her Majesty the Empress had requested me to try to induce the Emperor to consent to the blessing of their marriage, but it was only on the eve of the coronation that the Emperor, toward one or two o’clock in the afternoon, sent for me, and told me that the Empress absolutely demanded the Church’s blessing. In order to pacify her, he said he had me summoned. He protested, however, against the presence of witnesses; he demanded, with respect to the whole affair, so entire a secrecy as is required in confession. I had to answer him ‘No witnesses, no marriage.’ But when I saw that he insisted that no witnesses should be admitted, I said to him that

I saw no other alternative but that of a dispensation. I immediately hastened up to the Pope. I represented to him that I was often obliged to have recourse to him for dispensations, and I requested him, therefore, to grant me *all those* which, at times, were absolutely necessary for me to have, to enable me to perform my duties as *grand almoner*. As the Pope granted my request, I immediately betook myself to His Majesty the Emperor with a *ritual*, in order to proceed to the blessing of their Majesties' marriage. It was about four in the afternoon. About two days after the Empress asked for a certificate of this blessing, but as she herself did not doubt that her request for the blessing had been granted for the peace of her conscience, and that the most profound secrecy must be kept in reference to the act, I explained to her that it was impossible for me to comply with her request. But as she assured me that the Emperor gave his consent to the giving of the certificate, I deemed it my duty to accede to her request. But how great was my surprise, when on communicating the fact to the Emperor, I had to listen to bitter reproaches. He informed me that all that he had done had no other object in view but to quiet the Empress, and to accommodate himself to the circumstances of the case. He [the Emperor] declared to me that at the moment when he was founding an empire he could not renounce the hope of a direct offspring."

No matter what Napoleon's designs may have been in agreeing to the performance of the religious ceremony, it is at least plain what Josephine's were, and it is equally certain that the particular reason which he alleged to Cardinal Fesch for desiring a dissolution of his union with that ill-treated woman, could not have been in his thoughts or mind at the time of the first marriage.

I might multiply quotations but that I feel I have already largely encroached upon your space, and that I have already said enough to get rid of the danger of anyone assuming, as they might be led to assume from the tone of Father Scannell's paper, that the questions connected with Napoleon's marriage were properly or fairly investigated by the Paris ecclesiastical tribunal, or that its proceedings can ever be regarded as anything but hopelessly invalid in view of its assumption of jurisdiction to deal with a question which lay peculiarly and specially within the province of the Papal authority, and with regard to one phase of which the Pope possessed very special and very personal knowledge.

WILLIAM F. DENNEHY.

## Liturgical Questions.

---

### THE ECCLESIASTICAL CALENDAR.—VIII.

---

#### THE EPACKTS—(*continued*).

The connection between the Golden Numbers and the dates of the movable feasts is through the Epacts. In the unreformed calendar there was but one set or cycle of nineteen Epacts, corresponding respectively to the nineteen years of the lunar cycle. This cycle of Epacts never varied, either in itself or in its relations to the lunar cycle, but the two cycles, like two wheels of the same circumference fastened to the same axle, rolled side by side through the centuries. Hence all years having the same Golden Number had likewise the same Epact. Hence, too, the calculations for finding the movable feasts based on the Epacts having been once made, there was no necessity for introducing the Epacts into the calendar. For the Golden Number of the year had at any rate to be found. And if the Golden Numbers of the cycle were placed in the calendar in the order in which they would stand were they opposite their respective Epacts, they alone, without the Epacts would serve to indicate the movable feasts. This is exactly what was done, and what is to be explained in answering the first of the two questions asked above.

The Golden Numbers, then, in this column owe their present arrangement to the Epacts which corresponded with them in the old calendar. It will be seen on looking at the columns in this table devoted to the movable feasts, that they are arranged for the thirty-five days on which Easter can fall. The first date in the column, headed *Pascha*, is March 22, and the last March 25, and between the first and last are all the intervening dates in the natural order. The same is true of each of the other columns. Thus, the first

day on which Septuagesima Sunday can occur is January 18; and the last, February 21; and the column headed Septuagesima contains in their proper sequence all the dates from January 18 to February 21, both inclusive. From this it follows that in arranging the Golden Numbers in the calendar, it was necessary so to place them as to make them suit the arrangement of the dates in the other columns. At the top of the column should stand the Golden Number which would indicate the earliest possible date for Easter. Immediately below this should stand the Golden Number indicating the next earliest date, and so on to the bottom of the column, so that the last Golden Number in the column, 8, should indicate, as we have seen it to do, the latest possible date for Easter.

Now in the unreformed calendar the year having 26 as Epact had Easter on one of the seven earliest dates according to the Dominical Letter of the year; and the year having 28 as Epact had Easter on one of the seven latest dates. And as the Epacts diminished from 26 to 1, and then by 29 to 28, the dates of Easter in the years having these Epacts receded from the earliest towards the latest. Hence, by placing at the top of the column of Golden Numbers, opposite the earliest dates for Easter, the Golden Number corresponding with the Epact 26, and after it in succession the other Golden Numbers in that order in which they would correspond with the descending order of the Epacts, from 26 downwards through 1 and 29 to 28, each number would have immediately opposed to it in the other columns the seven dates on which the movable feasts might fall. And this is the order in which the Golden Numbers follow one another in the table as is made clear by the following tables, the first of which gives the Golden Numbers in the natural order from 1 to 19 with the corresponding Epacts for the old calendar, and the second the same Epacts in the descending order as above, and opposite each its corresponding Golden Number:—

TABLE A.

GOLDEN NUMBER.	EPACT.	GOLDEN NUMBER.	EPACT.
1	XI.	11	I.
2	XXII.	12	XII.
3	III.	13	XXIII.
4	XIV.	14	IV.
5	XXV.	15	XV.
6	VI.	16	XXVI.
7	XVII.	17	VII.
8	XXVIII.	18	XVIII.
9	IX.	19	XXIX.
10	XX.		

TABLE B.

GOLDEN NUMBER.	EPACT.	GOLDEN NUMBER.	EPACT.
16	XXVI.	1	XI.
5	XXV.	9	IX.
13	XXIII.	17	VII.
2	XXII.	6	VI.
10	XX.	14	IV.
18	XVIII.	3	III.
7	XVII.	11	I.
15	XV.	19	XXIX.
4	XIV.	8	XXVIII.
12	XII.		

It will be seen from Table B that the Golden Numbers are in exactly the same order in which they stand in Table I.

This arrangement of the Golden Numbers remained unchanged, as has been said, up to the time of the correction of the calendar. But as at that time an entirely new set of Epacts came into use, another arrangement of the Golden Numbers would be necessary in order that they might point out the movable feasts as of old; and a new arrangement would be required each time the Epacts change; that is, after each solar and lunar equation. The new arrangement,

however, for any particular set of Epacts is easily made. In the new calendar Easter occurs earliest in years having 23 as Epact, and latest in years having 24 or 25. To arrange the Golden Numbers, then, so that this may point out the movable feasts in a table arranged like Table I. the current set of Epacts are first put down in the descending order, beginning with 23, or, when 23 is absent, with the next lower one, and continuing by zero, and 29 down to 24. The Golden Numbers are then placed in that order in which they will correspond with their respective Epacts. For the present century the Golden Numbers would stand in the following order :—

14	16	18	1
3	5	7	9
11	13	15	17
19	2	4	6
8	10	12	

If Table I. be employed for finding the dates of the movable feasts in any year since the correction of the calendar, the Epact and Dominical Letter of the year are required. These having been found by one or other of the methods described, the corresponding Epact is sought for in the column of the table headed *Cyclus Epactarum*, and the dates of the movable feasts are found in the line in which the Dominical Letter of the year first occurs *below* the Epact. If the Dominical Letter stands in the same line as the Epact, it is necessary to descend seven lines to that in which it again occurs. Thus, to find the dates of the movable feasts for 1892, find the Epact, which is 1, and the Dominical Letter, which for the present purpose is B, the second of the two given to this year. Then seek this Epact in the column of Epacts in the table, and in the column of Dominical Letters look for the first line below the Epact 1 in which B is found. That line gives the dates of the movable feasts for the present year. The presence of 25 and XXV, opposite the Epacts XXVI and XXIV, will be understood from what has been previously said.

TABLE II.

TABULA PASCHALIS  
NOVA REFORMATA.

	Epacta Paschalis.	Septuagesima.	Quinquagesima.	Pascha.	Ascensio Domini.	Pentecostes.	Corpus Christi.	Dni coe inter Pont. & Adv.	Prima Dominica Advent.
D	22, 21, 20, 19, 18, 17, 16, 15, 14, 13, 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, *, 29, 28, 27, 26, xxv., 25, 24,	18 Janu. 25 Janu. 1 Febr. 8 Febr. 15 Febr.	4 Febr. 11 Febr. 18 Febr. 25 Febr. 4 Mart.	22 Mart. 29 Mart. 5 April 12 April 19 April	30 April 7 Maij 14 Maij 21 Maij 28 Maij	10 Maij 17 Maij 24 Maij 31 Maij 7 Junij	21 Maij 28 Maij 4 Junij 11 Junij 18 Junij	28 27 26 25 24	29 Nov. 29 29 29 29
E	20, 19, 18, 17, 16, 15, 14, 13, 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, *, 29, 28, 27, 26, xxv., 25, 24,	19 Janu. 26 Janu. 2 Febr. 9 Febr. 16 Febr.	5 Febr. 12 Febr. 19 Febr. 26 Febr. 5 Mart.	23 Mart. 30 Mart. 6 April 13 April 20 April	1 Maij 8 Maij 15 Maij 22 Maij 29 Maij	11 Maij 18 Maij 25 Maij 1 Junij 8 Junij	22 Maij 29 Maij 5 Junij 12 Junij 19 Junij	28 27 26 25 24	30 Nov. 30 30 30 30
F	22, 21, 20, 19, 18, 17, 16, 15, 14, 13, 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, *, 29, 28, 27, 26, xxv., 25, 24,	20 Janu. 27 Janu. 5 Febr. 12 Febr. 19 Febr.	6 Febr. 13 Febr. 20 Febr. 27 Febr. 6 Mart.	24 Mart. 31 Mart. 7 April 14 April 21 April	2 Maij 9 Maij 16 Maij 23 Maij 30 Maij	12 Maij 19 Maij 26 Maij 2 Junij 9 Junij	23 Maij 30 Maij 6 Junij 13 Junij 20 Junij	28 27 26 25 24	1 Dec. 1 1 1 1
G	23, 22, 21, 20, 19, 18, 17, 16, 15, 14, 13, 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, *, 29, 28, 27, 26, xxv., 25, 24,	21 Janu. 28 Janu. 4 Febr. 11 Febr. 18 Febr.	7 Febr. 14 Febr. 21 Febr. 28 Febr. 7 Mart.	25 Mart. 1 April 8 April 15 April 22 April	3 Maij 10 Maij 17 Maij 24 Maij 31 Maij	13 Maij 20 Maij 27 Maij 3 Junij 10 Junij	24 Maij 31 Maij 7 Junij 14 Junij 21 Junij	28 27 26 25 24	2 Dec. 2 2 2 2
A	23, 22, 21, 20, 19, 18, 17, 16, 15, 14, 13, 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, *, 29, 28, 27, 26, xxv., 25, 24,	22 Janu. 29 Janu. 5 Febr. 12 Febr. 19 Febr.	8 Febr. 15 Febr. 22 Febr. 1 Mart. 8 Mart.	26 Mart. 2 April 9 April 16 April 23 April	4 Maij 11 Maij 18 Maij 25 Maij 1 Junij	14 Maij 21 Maij 28 Maij 4 Junij 11 Junij	25 Maij 1 Junij 8 Junij 15 Junij 22 Junij	28 27 26 25 24	3 Dec. 3 3 3 3
B	23, 22, 21, 20, 19, 18, 17, 16, 15, 14, 13, 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, *, 29, 28, 27, 26, xxv., 25, 24,	23 Janu. 30 Janu. 6 Febr. 13 Febr. 20 Febr.	9 Febr. 16 Febr. 23 Febr. 2 Mart. 9 Mart.	27 Mart. 4 April 11 April 18 April 25 April	5 Maij 12 Maij 19 Maij 26 Maij 3 Junij	15 Maij 22 Maij 29 Maij 5 Junij 12 Junij	26 Maij 2 Junij 9 Junij 16 Junij 23 Junij	27 26 25 24 23	27 Nov. 27 27 27 27
C	23, 22, 21, 20, 19, 18, 17, 16, 15, 14, 13, 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, *, 29, 28, 27, 26, xxv., 25, 24,	24 Janu. 31 Janu. 7 Febr. 14 Febr. 21 Febr.	10 Febr. 17 Febr. 24 Febr. 3 Mart. 10 Mart.	28 Mart. 5 April 12 April 19 April 26 April	6 Maij 13 Maij 20 Maij 27 Maij 3 Junij	16 Maij 23 Maij 30 Maij 6 Junij 13 Junij	27 Maij 3 Junij 10 Junij 17 Junij 24 Junij	27 26 25 24 23	28 Nov. 28 28 28 28

This table serves only for years subsequent to the correction of the calendar. In using it for finding the dates of the movable feasts it is necessary first to find the Dominical Letter and the Epact of the year in question. Then in the column of Dominical Letters in the table is found the Dominical Letter of the year, and in the space opposite this letter in the column of Epacts the Epact of the year is sought for, and in the same horizontal line in which the Epact stands will be found the required dates. For

example, B is the Dominical Letter for 1892, and 1 the Epact. In the space opposite B in the column of Epacts, the Epact 1 is found in the fourth line, and in the same line are the dates of the movable feasts. The date given in this line for Septuagesima is February 13, whereas, as a matter of fact, Septuagesima fell on February 14. Is the table then unreliable? Not when properly understood. Septuagesima always occurs in January or February, its latest date being February 21. Hence in leap-years it occurs previous to the introduction of the intercalary day, and in all such years, therefore, the date given for this Sunday in the table must be increased by one. The same must be done with the date of Ash-Wednesday, in those leap-years in which it falls in February.

There is not much in this table to be explained. Looking at the column containing the dates of Easter, and headed *Pascha*, we see that the first date is March 22, and the last April 25. This is as it was in Table I. But whereas in Table I. the paschal dates ascended by one day at a time—thus, March 22, 23, 24, &c.—the dates in this column for the first five lines increase by seven days at a time—thus, March 22, 29; April 5, 12, 19. The construction of this table supplies the reason for this peculiarity. There are just five Sundays in the year on which Easter may fall. And though, theoretically, Easter may fall on any one of the thirty-five days that lie between March 21 and April 26, yet for all years having the same Dominical Letter it is confined to one of five fixed dates. And since the same letter recurs only every seven days, it follows that these fixed dates must be seven days apart. If, then, the thirty-five days on which Easter may fall be divided in this manner into seven series of five, one for each Dominical Letter, it will be found that the corresponding dates in each series will be consecutive. That is, the first date of series 2 will be that immediately following the first of series 1. This is what is seen in this table. The first date for Easter opposite the letter D is March 22, the first opposite E is March 23, March 24 is the first opposite F, and so on. The second and fifth dates opposite D are March 29, and April 19; the

corresponding dates opposite E and F are respectively March 30, April 20, and March 31, April 21.

The order of the Dominical Letters in this table merits a word of explanation. Why is D first and C last? The reason is that it is only when D is the Dominical Letter that Easter can fall on the 22nd March, just as it is only when C is Dominical Letter that Easter can fall on the 25th April. And as it was necessary to begin with the earliest date for Easter, and end with the latest, so it was necessary to have the letters in their present order.

Each of the seven spaces in the column of Epacts contains the thirty Epacts of the new cycle of Epacts, and in each space 23 stands first, and 24 last. For Easter is earlier in a year having 23 as Epact than in a year having any other Epact, and is later in a year whose Epact is 24 than in any other.

In the first space the Epact 23 has a line entirely to itself, while in each of the other spaces one additional Epact occupies the same line with it. Similarly the last line in the first space has nine nominal Epacts, while in each of the other spaces it has one fewer than in the preceding space. Why is this? In the first space 23 stands alone, because, as has been said already, it is only when the Epact is 23 that Easter can fall on the 22nd March, which is the date given for Easter in the line in which 23 stands by itself. And the reason why in the second space 23 and 22 stand in the same line, is that Easter may fall on the 23rd March, when the Epact is either 23 or 22. A similar explanation serves for the presence of an additional Epact in the line with 23 in each of the other spaces. And as the number of Epacts giving the earlier dates increase, the number of those giving the later diminish, so that in the last space only two Epacts occupy the last line. This is the reason for the gradual lessening of the number of Epacts in the last line of each space.

D. O'LOAN.

QUESTIONS REGARDING THE PUBLIC RECITAL OF THE STATIONS OF THE CROSS, AND THE WAY BY WHICH TO APPROACH AND DEPART FROM THE ALTAR.

“VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,—An answer to the following questions would, I believe, be of service to a great many priests:—

“1. Should a stole be worn by a priest when reading the Stations of the Cross for a congregation?

“2. If it should be worn, what should be its colour?

“3. Should the blessing with the crucifix be given at the end

“4. When the sacristy is behind the altar, on which side should the priest approach the altar when about to celebrate?

“5. When Mass is finished, on which side should he return to the sacristy?

“In the *Guide for Priests*, by Valuy, it is stated the priest should approach by the Gospel side, and leave by the Epistle side. Wapelhorst, I think, teaches the contrary. I have not a copy of the decision referred to.

“During the week, after Low Sunday, happening to enter a cathedral in which a Diocesan Synod was being held, I observed that the celebrant of the solemn Mass approached and left the altar by the Epistle side, also that the Deacon added *Alleluia* twice after the *Ite missa est*. Was this correct?

“VIATOR.”

1. It is quite certain that a priest publicly reciting the Stations of the Cross is not obliged to wear a stole. The only condition laid down for the priest is, that he should move from one Station to another, accompanied by two acolytes (*cum duobus clericis sive cantoribus. Decr. Auth. n. 210*). He should, of course, be vested in soutane and surplice, these being the ordinary vestments for the discharge of any public function. The acolytes should be similarly vested, and may or may not carry lighted candles, according to custom and circumstances.

Not only is a priest publicly reciting the Stations of the Cross not obliged to wear a stole, but he is, in our opinion, even prohibited from doing so. The officiant at vespers, however solemn the Feast may be—and the same is true of the other canonical hours—is forbidden the use of the stole, unless the vespers are sung in presence of the Blessed

Sacrament exposed. Now, the stole is a strictly liturgical vestment, solemn vespers a strictly liturgical function; and if the use of the stole be forbidden at vespers, it is *a fortiori* forbidden at the devotion of the Stations of the Cross, which is purely *extra-liturgical*.

2. The answer we have given to the first question includes the answer to the second; or rather it removes the reason for the second question altogether.

3. The blessing with the crucifix, at the conclusion of the Stations of the Cross, is certainly not necessary to enable those who have assisted at the devotion to gain the indulgences attached to it. The practice of blessing with the crucifix, at any time, must be a purely local custom, the origin or meaning of which, we confess, we are unable to explain.

4 and 5. We have not a copy of Valuy at hand, and do not, therefore, vouch for the opinion attributed to him. As stated by our correspondent, this opinion is incorrect, and Wupelhorst, who merely gives the general teaching, is correct. The confusion regarding this point has arisen from the apparent ambiguity of a reply of the Congregation of Rites. The question proposed to the Congregation was the following:—

“In Sacello majoris Seminarii stat Sacristia post altare, et Ministri accedere possunt tam ex parte Evangelii, quam ex parte Epistolæ. Quaeritur, Ante Missam quam ex parte exire debeant ad altare? Et qua parte post Missam redire debeant ad Sacristiam?”

To this question the Congregation replied:—

“A Sacristia e sinistra egrediendum a dextera ad illam accedendum.”

In this reply the words *sinistra* and *dextera* are apparently ambiguous, but in reality they are not so. For the Congregation had already decided that the right and left sides of the altar and of the church are to be determined by the crucifix on the altar; so that the left side of the altar is that towards which is the left of the crucifix; and the right, that towards which is the right of the crucifix. Hence,

the *left* corresponds with the Epistle side, and the *right* with the Gospel side. Consequently, the true interpretation of this reply of the Congregation is, that the celebrant should approach the altar from the Epistle side, and leave by the Gospel side.

From what has just been laid down, it follows that the celebrant and ministers, in the case referred to by our correspondent, should not have returned to the sacristy by the Epistle side. The deacon must have imagined that he was still in Easter week ; or, perhaps, he believed that the solemnity of the occasion justified him in adding *Alleluias* against the Rubrics. But though there may have been a subjective conviction of propriety, there was, nevertheless, an objective error.

---

#### THE REVERENCE TO THE CROSS ON THE HIGH ALTAR.

“VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I do not know if it is allowable to a nun to seek information through the medium of your valuable journal, which month by month gives so much useful information on various points of interest to Catholics.

“I am desirous to ascertain what is the law of the Church regarding the custom of genuflecting to the crucifix on Good Friday.

“After the Mass of the pre-sanctified, and supposing the sacred species are not kept in the church, ought the faithful to genuflect or not on entering the church ? An answer in your next issue will much oblige,

“A SUBSCRIBER.”

We have great pleasure in replying to our correspondent's inquiry. It seems not to be generally known that the faithful, entering a church at any time, should genuflect to the cross on the *High Altar*, even though the Blessed Sacrament is not preserved in the tabernacle. The celebrant, going to the altar to say Mass, or returning from saying Mass, prelates and the canons of the cathedral church are alone excepted from this rule. “So that,” to translate the words of De Herdt,<sup>1</sup> “all, except canons of the cathedral

<sup>1</sup> Tom. 1, n. 119.

church, and the others above mentioned, ought to genuflect before the cross of the High Altar, even outside of Mass." And the same author continues: "Hence, the rule which specially prescribes a genuflection to the cross of the High Altar on Good Friday, is to be understood as applying to canons, and all those who at other times are not obliged to genuflect."

Our correspondent will, then, understand that on Good Friday, *everyone, without exception*, should genuflect to the cross of the High Altar, and that at other times, all, except those above mentioned, should make the same reverence to it.

#### THE REVERENCES TO BE MADE BETWEEN THE LAST GOSPEL AND THE "DE PROFUNDIS."

"Some priests, after having finished the last Gospel (I speak of Low Mass) descend *per breviorē in planum*, and there *in plano*, without previous genuflection, commence the *De Profundis*; others, having finished the last Gospel, proceed to the centre of the altar, bow to the cross, descend to the foot of the altar, genuflect, become erect, and go on with the *De Profundis*. Which practice is to be observed?—Your obedient servant,

"A RURAL CLERGYMAN."

We have seen both practices referred to by our correspondent, and prefer the former. If the priest does not take the chalice when going to the foot of the altar to recite the *De Profundis* and the other prayers, it is not necessary for him to go to the centre of the altar. It would, however, be becoming if he turned towards the centre of the altar, and bowed to the crucifix while still on the predella.

There is no reason for genuflecting, or for making any other reverence at the foot of the altar before beginning the *De Profundis*. We do not say that it is absolutely wrong to make the suitable reverence, whether it be a genuflection or an inclination; but we can find no argument in favour of the practice, either from special legislation or analogy.

D. O'LOAN.

## Correspondence.

---

### THE CATECHISM.

“REV. DEAR SIR,—In the course of their work the members of the Dublin Diocesan Catechism Committee came to treat of the Sacrament of Order. At the outset a difference of opinion arose as to how ‘*Sacramentum Ordinis*’ was to be expressed in English.

“Some contended that the form in use, the ‘Sacrament of Holy Orders,’ ought to be followed; others held that the singular number should be employed, ‘Sacrament of Order,’ as in the Latin, French, Italian, &c., languages, quoting as authorities some modern English writers, but failed to convince their opponents.

“It occurred to me to write to the Very Rev. Father Bridgett, C.S.S.R., and ask his help, as I knew that he was well read in mediæval English Church literature. I received from him the accompanying interesting letter, which I ask you to publish. It will be a strong vindication of the action of the Committee, who have decided to depart from the usage so long established with us, and, translating ‘*Sacramentum Ordinis*’ into ‘Sacrament of Order,’ adopt what appears to be the more correct form of expression.

I remain, faithfully yours,

“A MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE.”

### “LETTER OF VERY REV. T. C. BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R.

“By a somewhat curious coincidence you touch in your letter on two subjects which have much interested me for a long time, and to which I have given, not indeed systematic study, but some desultory attention. These are—1st, the history of the Catechism; and 2nd, the English vocabulary, as regards religious words, and how it has been affected by the Reformation.

“I will, however, confine myself to the subject of your letter, which is, whether, in English, we should use the formula, ‘Sacrament of Order,’ or the plural form, ‘Sacrament of Orders.’

“ I take it for granted that we speak correctly of a man being ‘in Orders,’ or ‘in Holy Orders,’ ‘of giving Orders,’ or ‘receivin Orders.’ These expressions are commonly used by both Catholics and Protestants; by the latter, I fancy, in the Church of England only, because they have both diaconate, priesthood and episcopate (of a kind), and probably without any clear conception of the meaning of this word. I understand, however, your question to be confined to the rite by which orders are conferred.

“ Protestants speak of ordination, but as they do not regard it as a sacrament, it is no wonder that if they have to speak of it at all, from the Catholic point of view, they use their own phraseology, and say the *Sacrament of Holy Orders*. Dr. Ogilvie in the *Imperial Dictionary*, among seventeen meanings or usages of this word ‘Order,’ does not mention the Sacrament of Order, or of Orders, though he does speak of ‘Holy Orders,’ and of being ‘in full Orders.’ I will, therefore, confine myself to the Catholic usage of the word in English.

“ 1. As English mediæval priests thought in Latin, and formed their English by almost literal translation, we might expect *a priori* that since Latin theologians speak of *Sacramentum Ordinis*, and not *Ordiſum*, we should find the word in the singular, and not in the plural; and so it is; in fact, I do not remember to have seen the form ‘Sacrament of Orders’ before the sixteenth century.

“ 2. There is a book called *Ayenbite of Inwyrt* (i. e., *againbite*, or remorse of conscience), written in the Kentish dialect in 1340. Of the sacraments it thus speaks:—‘The seven sacraments that lyeth in Holy Church, that is to wyten, cristninge, confermyng, the sacrament of the wyefde [*wyfoð* = altar], ordre, sponschoð, the holy scrifte (shrift), and the last anoyling.’

“ 3. Thoresby, Archbishop of York, put out in 1357 a Catechism or formula of Christian Doctrine, to be read out in the churches, and taught to the people. The sacraments are thus enumerated:—‘Baptisme, confirmynge, penance, sacrament of the auter, the last enoynting; *order*, matrimonye.

“ In these two examples you have the northern and southern dialects of early English.

“ 4. John Myre, a canon of Lilleshall, in Shropshire, wrote in rhyme an instruction for parish priests (i. e., all engaged in parochial work). The MS. which has been printed, dates about

1440, or a century later than Nos. 2 and 3, and is rather in the Midland dialect, which finally prevailed in modern English. His words are :—

“ ‘SEPTEM SACRAMENTAE ECCLESIAE.

“ ‘To preeche also thou myght not yrke  
The 7 sacraments of Holy Chyrche.  
That is folghthe<sup>1</sup> that clenseth synne,  
And Confermynge after, as we may mynne.  
The sacrament of Goddis body,  
And also penannce that ye verrey (true).  
Ordere of prest, and sponsayle,  
And the last elyng wyth-out-feyle.  
So here the sevene and no mo (more).  
Look thou preche ofte tho (those).’

“ 5. John Colet, Dean of St. Paul’s, London, died 1519. He was founder of City of London School, and wrote a short Catechism for his scholars. He wrote as follows :—

“ ‘THE SEVEN SACRAMENTES.

“ ‘I believe also that by the seven sacramentes of the Chirche cometh grete grace to all that taketh them accordyngly.

“ ‘(1) By gracyous *ordre* is gyven power to mynyster in God.

“ ‘(2) By gracyous matyrmony we be borne into this worlde to God.

“ ‘(3) By gracyous baptysm we be borne agayn the sones of God.

“ ‘(4) By gracyous confyrmacyon we be stablysshed in the grace of God.

“ ‘(5) By gracyous Eucharistye, where is the very presence of the person of Chryst under forme of breed, we be nourysshed spirytually in God.

“ ‘(6) By gracyous pennance we ryse agayne from synne to grace in God.

“ ‘(7) By gracyous encalyuge and the last anonytynge we be in our deth commended to God.

“ 6. Blessed Thomas More, in a book written in 1529, says, ‘The Holy Sacrament of *order* is given by the imposicioun of the bishop’s hands upon him.’ (*Works*, page 432.) In another place, not naming the ‘sacrament explicitly, he writes: “That the Grace of God appoynted unto Holy Orders is geven with that putting uppon of the hands.’

<sup>1</sup> Anglo-Saxon *Fulkuht* = Baptism. In middle English *folghthe* and *folwyng* were used; but Christening and Baptism prevailed.

"7. Thomas Watson, the last Catholic Bishop of Lincoln, printed in 1558, the last year of Queen Mary, a volume of sermons on the sacraments that was intended to be read in the churches. He has one on the Sacrament of *Order*, and uses this formula over and over again, but not once the expression 'Sacrament of Orders.'

"8. On the other hand, in the time of Henry VIII., John Lambert was interrogated, 'whether thou dost believe Orders to be a sacrament of the Church;' and about 1536 came out a declaration of the functions and divine institutions of bishop and priests. It commences 'As touching the Sacrament of Holy Orders;' and again, that *Orders* are a sacrament since they consist, &c.

"9. In turning over modern Catholic books, I find that many of them use promiscuously 'Sacrament of Order' and 'Sacrament of Orders.' Thus Dr. Hay has a chapter with the title 'Sacrament of Orders;' but I observe that those who write carefully and theologically keep to 'Sacrament of Order.' See, for example, Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary*, Art. 'Order.' Also Canon Estcourt in his introduction to his learned work on *Anglican Orders*; Waterworth's *Faith of Catholics*; Dr. Donovan's *Translation of the Catechism of Council of Trent*, pp. 307, 317, &c. He speaks of promoting to Orders, but also of the Sacrament of Order.

"10. The English Catechism approved by the English bishops has, I think, uniformly since the sixteenth century kept to the singular form of 'Sacrament of Order.'

"From the above you will see that I am in complete agreement with your reverence. I do not think the formula 'Sacrament of Orders' is of Protestant origin, for it seems to have been used early in the sixteenth century; but the early usage, and the preponderance of Latin learned Catholic usage is decidedly in favour of keeping to the Latin 'Sacrament of Order.'

"I am very proud to be able to have even this small share in the labours of your excellent commission. We are looking forward to the result of your work with deep interest. But allow me to say that we shall not think a complete work is achieved, until all the English-speaking churches in Ireland, England, Scotland, America, Australia, Africa, unite in a uniform catechism and authoritative formula of English prayers.

"T. C. BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R."

## Documents.

---

### THE HOLY FAMILY ASSOCIATION.

[The following important Documents in reference to the Pious Association of the Holy Family have been issued by the Sovereign Pontiff and by the Sacred Congregation of Rites.]

#### I.

#### LETTER OF HIS EMINENCE THE CARDINAL PREFECT OF THE CONGREGATION OF RITES.

RME. DOMINE UTI FRATER,

Quo ubique terrarum cultus ac devotio erga Sacram Familiam magis magisque foveatur, atque a propria indole a natura nunquam deflectat, Sînus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII. universalem Consociationem appositis statutis per Sacram Rituum Congregationem nuper exaratis constituendam voluit, quam indulgentiarum quoque thesauro locupletare dignatus est. Haec omnia in Apostolicis Litteris in forma Brevis continentur, quae de mandato Sanctitatis Suae per praesentem epistolam ad Amplitudinem Tuam transmittuntur, quibus additur decretum ipsius Sacrae Congregationis ab eadem Sanctitate Sua adprobatum, quo nonnulla hac super re declarantur.

Erit itaque Amplitudinis Tuae tam salutarem institutionem apud commissos Tibi Fideles omni studio excitare ac promovere ; ita ut in unaquaque Parochiali tuae Dioecescos Ecclesia sub respectivi Parochi regimine, ad tramitem supradicti Apostolici Brevis, christianarum familiarum consociatio habeatur.

Hoc autem animadvertat Amplitudo Tua quod si aliae in tua Dioecesi erectae reperiantur Societates eiusdem nominis et instituti, illae amplius existere nequeunt, sed cum hoc universali ita coniungi debent, ut unum evadant corpus cum ipsa. Praeterea quaecumque preces seu orationes, etsi indulgentiis ditatae, ibidem usurpantur, nova indigent huius Sacrae Rituum Congregationis approbatione ; secus in posterum licite adhiberi nequeunt.

Si vero in ista Dioecesi extent Religiosae Familiae sub hoc ipso titulo, Amplitudo Tua earum Superiores de praesentibus Apostolicae Sedis dispositionibus ac statutis certiores reddere satagat.

Quae dum pro mei muneris ratione Amplitudini Tuae communico, Eidem diuturnam ex animo felicitatem adprecor.

Amplitudinis Tuae

Romae die 2 Iulii, 1892.

Uti Frater,

CAIETANUS CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA,

*S. R. C. Praefectus.*

Ruño Domino uti Fratri

Episcopo ———

VINCENTIUS NUSSI,

*S. R. C. Secretarius.*

## II.

### BRIEF OF HIS HOLINESS.

#### LEO PAPA XIII.

##### AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM.

Neminem fugit rei privatae et publicae faustitatem a domestica potissimum institutione pendere. Quo enim altiores domi egerit radices virtus, quo solertius parentum voce et exemplo fuerint puerorum animi ad religionis praecepta informati, eo uberiores in rem communem fructus redundabunt. Quapropter summopere interest ut domestica societas non solum sancte sit constituta, sed sanctis etiam regatur legibus; in eaque religionis spiritus et christianae vitae ratio diligenter constanterque foveatur. Hinc profecto est quod misericors Deus cum humanae reparationis opus, quod diu saecula expectabant, perficere decrevisset, ita eiusdem operis rationem ordinemque disposuit, ut prima ipsa eiusdem initia augustam mundo exhiberent speciem Familiae divinitus constitutae, in qua omnes homines absolutissimum domesticae societatis, omnisque virtutis ac sanctitatis intuerentur exemplar.

Talis quidem Familia extitit Nazarethana illa, in qua, antequam gentibus universis pleno lumine emicuisset, Sol iustitiae erat absconditus: nimirum Christus Deus Servator Noster cum Virgine Matre et Ioseph viro sanctissimo, qui erga Iesum paterno fungebatur munere. Minime dubium est quin ex iis laudibus, quae in societate et consuetudine domestica ex mutuis caritatis officiis, ex sanctitate morum, ex pietatis exercitatione proficiscuntur, maxima quaeque enituerit in sacra illa Familia, quae siquidem earum futura erat ceteris documento. Ac propterea benigno providentiae consilio sic illa constitit; ut singuli christiani qualicumque conditione vel loco, si ad eam animum advertant, facile possint cuiuscumque virtutis exercendae habere causam et invitamentum.

Habent revera patresfamilias in Ioseph vigilantiae providentiaeque paternae praeclarissimam normam : habent matres in sanctissima Virgine Deipara amoris, verecundiae, submissionis animi perfectaeque fidei insigne specimen : filii vero familias in Iesu, qui *erat subditus illis*, habent divinum obedientiae exemplar quod admirantur, colant, imitentur. Qui nobiles nati sunt, discent a Familia regii sanguinis quomodo et in edita fortuna se temperent, et in afflicta retineant dignitatem : qui dites, noscent ab ea quantum sint virtutibus posthabendae divitiae. Operarii autem et ii omnes, qui, nostris praesertim temporibus, familiarum rerum angustiis ac tenuiore conditione tam acriter irritantur, si ad sanctissimos illius domesticae societatis consortes respectent, non deerit eis caussa cur loco, qui sibi obtigit, delectentur potius quam doleant. Communes enim cum sacra Familia sunt illis labores ; communes curae de vita quotidiana : debuit et Ioseph de mercede sua vitae rationibus consulere ; imo ipsae divinae manus se fabrilibus exercuerunt. Nec mirum sane est si sapientissimi homines divitiis affluentes, eas abiicere voluerint, sociamque cum Iesu, Maria et Ioseph sibi eligere paupertatem.

Quibus e rebus iure meritoque apud catholicos sacrae Familiae cultus mature invecutus, maius in dies singulos incrementum capit. Id quidem probant tum christianorum sodalitates sub invocatione Sacrae Familiae institutae, tum singulares honores ei redditum tum potissimum a decessoribus Nostris ad excitandum erga eam pietatis studium impertita privilegia et gratiae. Huiusmodi cultus magno in honore habitus est iam inde a saeculo decimo septimo, lateque per Italiam, Galliam et Belgium propagatus, totam fere Europam pervasit : deinde praeteregressus vastos Oceani tractus, in America per Canadensem regionem, cura praesertim atque opera Venerabilis Servi Dei Francisci de Montmorency-Laval primi Quebecensis Episcopi, et Venerabilis Servae Dei Margaritae Bourgeois, sese extendit, faustisque effloruit auspiciis. Postremis hisce temporibus dilectus filius Franciscus Philippus Francoz Societatis Iesu piam Consociationem a Sacra Familia Lugduni fundavit, quae fructus laetos atque uberes, Deo iuvante, de se pollicetur.

Consociationi tam auspicato conditae illud est salutare propositum : nimirum familias christianas arctiori pietatis nexu Sacrae Familiae devincire, vel potius omnino devovere, eo etiam consilio, uti scilicet Iesus, Maria et Ioseph familias sibi deditas tamquam rem propriam tueantur et foveant. Qui sociorum in numerum sunt adsciti, debent ex instituto cum iis qui domi com-

morantur, in unum convenire, coram imagine Sacrae Familiae decreta pietatis officia praestare: providere, ea opitulante, ut inter se colligatis fide mentibus, caritate voluntatibus in amore Dei atque hominum, vitam ad propositum exigant exemplar.

Piam hanc consociationem Bononiae ad instar Lugdunensis institutam decessor Noster felicis recordationis Pius IX. similibus litteris approbavit, deinceps Epistola die v. Ianuarii MDCCCLXX. ad pium auctorem data, singularis laudis proeconio est prosequutus. Ad Nos quod attinet, cum summopere curemus, et diligamus quaecumque ad animarum salutem iuvandam maxime valent, nolimus desiderari laudem et commendationem Nostram; datisque ad dilectum Filium Nostrum Augustinum, S. R. E. Cardinalem Bausa, ex dispensatione Apostolica Archiepiscopum Florentinum, litteris eam Consociationem utilem ac salutarem, nostrisque temporibus valde accommodatam esse significavimus. Quas vero Nostra sacrorum Rituum Congregatio, suffragante dilecto Filio Nostro Caietano S. R. E. Presbytero Cardinali Aloisi-Masella eidem Congregationi Praefecto, consecrationis christianarum familiarum formulam, et precationem coram imagine Sacrae Familiae recitandam Nobis proposuerat, probavimus, et utraque ad locorum Ordinarios transmittendam curavimus.

Deinde veriti ne germanus memoratae devotionis spiritus tractu temporis oblanguesceret, eidem Nostrae Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi mandavimus, ut Statuta concinnaret, quibus in universo catholico orbe piae consociationes sacrae Familiae instituendae adeo inter se coniunctae forent, ut unus omnibus praeficeretur praeses, qui eas auctoritate summa regeret et moderaretur. Statuta post accuratum examen ab eadem Sacra Congregatione exarata, sunt eadem quae subscribuntur.

STATUTO DELLA PIA ASSOCIAZIONE UNIVERSALE DELLE FAMIGLIE  
CONSACRATE ALLA SACRA FAMIGLIA DI NAZARET.<sup>1</sup>

1. Scopo della pia Associazione si è che le famiglie cristiane si consacrino alla Sacra Famiglia di Nazaret e la propongano alla propria venerazione ed esempio, onorandola davanti la sua immagine con preghiera quotidiana, e modellando la vita sulle sublimi virtù, delle quali essa diede l'esempio ad ogni classe sociale, e particolarmente all'operaia.

2. La Pia Associazione ha il suo centro in Roma presso l'Ennio

<sup>1</sup> For the official translation of these Statutes, see page 756.

Cardinale Vicario *pro tempore* di Sua Santità, che ne è il Protettore. Egli coadiuvato da Monsignor Segretario della Sacra Congregazione dei Riti e da due altri Prelati a sua scelta, ed oltre a questi da un Ecclesiastico coll'ufficio di *Segretario*, dirige l'Associazione medesima in tutte le parti del mondo, procurando che essa conservi lo spirito e il carattere della propria istituzione, e sempre più si propaghi.

3. In ogni Diocesi o Vicariato Apostolico, l'Ordinario per meglio promuovere la Pia Associazione tra i suoi fedeli, si varrà dell'opera di un ecclesiastico a sua scelta, col titolo di *Direttore Diocesano*.

4. I Direttori Diocesani terranno corrispondenza coi Parrochi, a' quali soli è affidata l'iscrizione delle famiglie della rispettiva loro Parrocchia. Nel maggio poi di ciascun anno i Parrochi comunicheranno ai Direttori Diocesani, e questi, sotto la dipendenza dell'Ordinario, alla Sede centrale di Roma il numero delle nuove famiglie ascritte alla Pia Associazione.

5. La consacrazione delle famiglie si farà secondo la formola approvata e prescritta dal Sommo Pontefice Leone XIII. Essa può farsi in particolare da ciascuna famiglia, ovvero da più famiglie riunite nella Chiesa Parrocchiale presso il proprio Parroco, o suo delegato.

6. L'immagine della Sacra Famiglia di Nazaret dovrà trovarsi in ciascuna delle famiglie ascritte, ed i membri di esse almeno una volta al giorno, e possibilmente la sera, pregheranno in comune innanzi la medesima. Si raccomanda a tal uopo in modo particolare la formola di preghiera approvata dal Regnante Sommo Pontefice, ed altresì l'uso frequente delle tre note giaculatorie :

*Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria, vi dono il cuore e l'anima mia.*

*Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria, assistetemi nell'ultima agonia.*

*Gesù, Giuseppe e Maria, spiri in pace con Voi l'anima mia.<sup>1</sup>*

7. L'immagine della Sacra Famiglia può essere o quella menzionata nella Lettera della sa. me. di Pio IX. del 5 Gennaio 1870, o qualunque altra in cui sia rappresentato il Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo nella sua vita nascosta che menò con la Bina Vergine Sua Madre e col castissimo Sposo di Lei, San Giuseppe. Rimane però sempre nell'Ordinario, a norma del Tridentino, il

<sup>1</sup> *Indulgenza toties quoties di 300 giorni per le tre unite, e di 100 giorni per ciascuna.*

*Pio Papa VII, 28 Aprile 1807.*

diritto di escludere quelle immagini che non fossero secondo il concetto proprio di questa Associazione.

8. Le famiglie ascritte all' Associazione godono delle Indulgenze e dei vantaggi spirituali concessi dai Sommi Pontefici, come viene indicato nella pagella di aggregazione.

9. Il Cardinale Protettore col suo Consiglio formerà e pubblicherà, un Regolamento, nel quale si troveranno particolari disposizioni intorno a ciò che può tornare più utile alla Pia Associazione, e specialmente s'indicheranno le sue Feste proprie, il giorno della Festa Titolare, la rinnovazione annua dell'atto di consacrazione da farsi collettivamente, le adunanze da tenersi ecc.

Quae quidem Statuta, cum de iis supradictus Cardinalis Praefectus ad Nos retulisset, comprobavimus et Apostolica Auctoritate Nostra rata habuimus et confirmavimus, derogatis abrogatisque quae super hanc rem scita actaque sunt, nominatim Apostolicis Litteris die III. Octobris anno MDCCCLXV. datis, et omnibus actis, quae ad primariam Lugdunensem Consociationem spectant. Volumus autem, iubemus ut Consociationes omnes Sacrae Familiae cuiuscunque tituli, quae nunc existunt, in hanc unicam et universam coalescant. Excipimus tamen religiosas Congregationes huius tituli, quae constitutionibus utantur ab hac S. Sede adprobatis, et Confraternitates proprie dictas, dummodo canonicae sint erectae, et ad regulas et normas dirigantur a Romanis Pontificibus praescriptas, nominatim a Clemente VIII. in Constitutione *Quaecumque*, die VII. Decembris anno MDCIV. Hae vero Confraternitates ac religiosas Congregationes, quae fortasse adscribendis familiis operam haecenus dederunt, in posterum ab huiusmodi cura, quae solummodo Parochis commissa est, prorsus abstineant. Haud tamen necesse est ut familiae iam alieni Consociationi adscriptae, pro indulgentiis aliisque muneribus spiritualibus obtinendis iterum adscribantur, dummodo servant ea quae in novis hisce Statutis praescripta sunt. Consociationis universae Praesidem eligimus, renuntiamus Nostrum in hac alma Urbe Vicarium in spiritualibus generalem pro tempore, atque in perpetuum Patronum damus cum omnibus iuribus et facultatibus, quae nimirum potestatem gerenti iudicentur necessariae.

Illi autem Concilium adesse volumus Urbanorum Antistitem, in quibus Secretarius pro tempore Nostrae Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis. Quod superest, Nobis spes bona est omnes,

quibus est animarum credita salus, maxime Episcopos, studii huius Nostri in hac pia Consociatione provehenda socios ac participes sese facturos. Qui enim cognoscunt et Nobiscum deplorant christianorum morum demutationem et corruptelam, restinctum in familiis religionis et pietatis anorem, et accensas supra modum rerum terrestrium cupiditates, ipsi siquidem vel maxime optabunt tot tantisque malis opportuna afferri remedia.

Et siquidem nihil magis salutare aut efficax familiis christianis cogitari potest exemplo Sacrae Familiae, quae perfectionem absolutionemque complectitur omnium virtutum domesticarum. Quapropter curent ut familiae quamplurimae, praesertim operariorum, in quas insidiarum vis maior intenditur, pia huic Consociationi dent nomen. Cavendum tamen est ne a proposito suo Consociatio deflectat, neve spiritus immutetur; sed quae et quomodo decretae sunt pietatis exercitationes et preces integrae servantur. Sic implorati inter domesticos parietes adsint propitii Iesus, Maria et Ioseph, caritatem alant, mores regant, ad virtutem provocent imitatione sui, et quae undique instant mortales aerumnae, eas leniendo faciant tolerabiliores. Decernentes haec omnia et singula uti supra edicta sunt, firma rataque in perpetuum permanere, non obstantibus constitutionibus, litteris Apostolicis, privilegiis, indultis, Nostris et Cancellariae Apostolicae Regulis, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die XIV. Iunii MDCCCXCII. Pontificatus Nostri Anno xv.

S. Card. VANNUTELLI.

### III.

#### OFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF THE STATUTES EMBODIED IN THE PRECEDING PAPAL BRIEF.

Official translations in French, Spanish, German, and English, of the Statutes embodied in the preceding Brief, are printed as an Appendix to the Brief. The following is the English version :—

#### STATUTE OF THE UNIVERSAL PIOUS ASSOCIATION OF FAMILIES CONSECRATED TO THE HOLY FAMILY OF NAZARETH.

1. The scope of the Pious Association is that Christian Families be consecrated to the Holy Family of Nazareth, placing it before themselves for veneration and imitation, offering up in

its honour every day prayers before its image, and practising in their lives the sublime virtues, which the Holy Family offered for imitation to every grade of society, especially to the working class.

2. The Pious Association has its central seat in Rome, and is under the protection of the Cardinal Vicar *pro temp.* of His Holiness the Pope. He, assisted by the Secretary of S. Congregation of Rites and of two other prelates of his selection, together with an Ecclesiastic, as Secretary, will direct the Association in all parts of the world, procuring that it preserve the character and spirit of its foundation, and that it becomes always more widely diffused.

3. The Ordinary of each Diocese or Apostolic Vicariate, the better to promote the Pious Association among the faithful, may make use of an Ecclesiastic of his choice, with the title of Diocesan Director.

4. The Diocesan Directors will correspond with the parish priests, to whom alone is confided the enrolment of families in their respective parishes. In the month of May each year, the parish priests will communicate to the Diocesan Directors, and these, under the direction of the Ordinary, will forward to the central seat in Rome, the number of families enrolled in the Pious Association during the year.

5. The consecration of the families will be performed according to the formula approved and prescribed by His Holiness Leo XIII. The consecration may be performed by each family separately at home, or by many families united in the Parish Church in the presence of the Parish Priest or his delegate.

6. The picture of the Holy Family ought to be in the homes of every family enrolled. The members of the family shall offer up at least once a day, if possible in the evening, prayers in common, in presence of this picture. The formula of prayers approved by Our Holy Father Leo XIII. is recommended especially for that purpose, as well as the frequent use of the three well-known ejaculations :

Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, I offer you my heart and soul.

Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, assist me in my last agony.

Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, may I breathe out my soul in peace with you.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For each recital of the above three ejaculations, 300 days Indulgence. And for the recital of any one of them, 100 days.—Pius PP. VII., 28 April, 1807.

7. The picture of the Holy Family required shall be either that mentioned in the Letter of Pius IX. January 5th, 1870, or any other in which our Lord Jesus Christ is represented in the hidden life which He led with the Blessed Virgin His Mother, and her most chaste spouse St. Joseph. The Ordinary has the power, according to the rules of the Council of Trent, to exclude those pictures or images which may not be in harmony with the peculiar idea of the Association.

8. The families enrolled in the Association enjoy all the indulgences and other spiritual advantages conceded by the Sovereign Pontiffs, as indicated in the cards of enrolment.

9. The Cardinal Protector with his Council will draw up and publish Regulations, in which will be found particular dispositions concerning those things which may be of utility to the Pious Association, and especially there will be indicated the Feasts, proper to the Association, the date of its Titular Feast, the annual renewal of the Act of Consecration to be made collectively, the meetings to be held, &c.

#### IV.

#### FURTHER BRIEF OF HIS HOLINESS.

#### LEO PAPA XIII.

#### AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM.

Quum nuper Nobis obtigisset, ut nova Statuta Consociationis Sacrae Familiae Apostolicis litteris probaremus et sanciremus, satis muneri atque Officio Nostro facturos esse duximus, si eandem Consociationem amplissimis verbis collaudaremus, eamque christianis Familiis summopere commendaremus. Laudavimus autem, et commendavimus ea voluntate eoque proposito, ut nimirum populus christianus, cuius aeterna salus est Nobis commissa, ad christianarum virtutum laudem exemplo sacrae Familiae et invitatione Nostra tempestive revocarentur. Christiana quippe virtus tam est efficax, tantumque pollet, ut in ea magnam partem posita sit vel sanatio malorum, quae premunt, vel depulsio periculorum, quae metuuntur. Ad virtutem vero mirifice excitantur homines exemplo: quod quidem eo magis imitatione dignum indicatur, quo integrior et sanctior est persona, unde petitur. Quare haud mirum est si Nos, qui nihil magis cupimus atque optamus, quam posse, excitata ubique virtute christiana, praesentibus malis mederi, et proxima pericula deprecari, Conso-

ciationem Sacrae Familiae singulari benevolentia et studio prosequimur, utpote quae sanctitatem divinae illius Familiae sibi proponit exemplar. Omnes enim ii, qui in huiusmodi Consociationem adseiti sunt, praeclarissimas Iesu, Mariae, et Ioseph virtutes contemplantes, necesse est ut similitudinem earum aliquam adripiant, fierique studeant imitatione meliores. Quare vigeat floreatque haec pia Consociatio quum sodalium numero, tum recte factorum laude; augeatur et ad plures in dies singulos propagetur: ea enim florente, facile fides, pietas, et omnis christiana laus in Familiis revirescent.

Quum vero soleant homines permoveri maxime praemio; Nos, quod in facultate Nostra est, praemium spiritualium bonorum, non quidem fragile et caducum, illis, quasi invitamentum, proponimus. Ceterum maiora expectent ab iis, quibus se devoverunt, nimirum a Iesu, Maria, et Ioseph, qui sint servis suis praesentes propitii in omni vitae cursu, et postmodum efficiant, ut sua sanctissima ac suavissima nomina illorum morientium labris insideant.

Quare quod bonum sanctumque sit, Deique gloriae, et animarum saluti benevertat, Nos auctoritate Nostra Apostolica, his litteris, poenarum remissionibus seu indulgentiis, privilegiisque, quae infra in apposito indice recensentur, omnes et singulos sodales Consociationis sacrae Familiae tam praesentes quam futuros uti posse volumus et iubemus.

#### INDEX INDULGENTIARUM ET PRIVILEGIORUM PIAE CONSOCIATIONI SACRAE FAMILIAE TRIBUENDORUM.

##### *Indulgentiae Plenariae.*

Sodalibus Consociationis Sacrae Familiae ex utroque sexu singulis, qui admissorum confessione ritu christiano expiati sacram Eucharistiam sumpserint, et Parochialem aedem, vel oratorium publicum, devote visitaverint, ibique aliquandiu ad mentem Nostram orando perstiterint, indulgentiam plenariam consequendi ius esto diebus, qui infra scripti sunt.

I. Die quo Consociationem adierint, emissa Consecrationis formula a Nobis per Nostram Rituum Congregationem probatam, et in fine huius indicis relata.

II. Quo die in anno generalis conventus habebitur, iuxta cuiusque loci, in quo extat Consociatio, consuetudinem, ad sodalium pactum renovandum.

## III. Diebus festivitatum

- |                           |   |             |
|---------------------------|---|-------------|
| 1. Nativitatis            | } | D. N. I. C. |
| 2. Circumcisionis         |   |             |
| 3. Epiphaniae             |   |             |
| 4. Resurrectionis         |   |             |
| 5. Ascensionis            | } | B. M. V.    |
| 6. Immaculae Conceptionis |   |             |
| 7. Nativitatis            |   |             |
| 8. Annuntiationis         |   |             |
| 9. Purificationis         |   |             |
| 10. Assumptionis          |   |             |
- item diebus festis.

11. S. Ioseph Sponsi B. M. V. die undevigesima mensis Martii.

12. Patrocinii eiusdem, Dominica tertia post Pascha.

13. Desponsationis B. M. V. die vigesima tertia mensis Ianuarii.

## IV. Die festo titulari universae Consociationis.

V. Die per menses singulos sodalium arbitrio eligendo, dummodo mense ipso in Familiis praescriptas preces coram Sacrae Familiae imagine una simul recitaverint.

VI. Morituris si, non compotes sacra Confessione atque Eucharistia, animi dolore culpas expiaverint, et sanctum nomen Iesu aut voce, aut si loqui posse desierint, voluntate imploraverint.

*Partiales.*

## I.

Sodales Consociationis Sacrae Familiae ex utroque sexu singuli, qui corde saltem contriti Parochialem Ecclesiam, in qua est sedes Consociationis constituta, vel aliquod templum sacrariumve celebraverint, Deoque pro rei christianae incolumitate supplicaverint, lucrari possint et valeant partiales indulgentias septem annorum totidemque quadragenarum

- |                        |   |          |
|------------------------|---|----------|
| 1. Die Visitationis    | } | B. M. V. |
| 2. Die Praesentationis |   |          |
| 3. Die Patrocinii      |   |          |

4. Quolibet die iidem sodales una simul in propriis Familiis adscriptis congregati, ante imaginem sacrae Familiae statas preces corde contrito recitaverint.

5. Diebus, quibus sodales interfuerint conventibus, quos haberi contigerit.

## II.

Idem sodales indulgentias lucrentur trecentorum dierum quoties corde contrito sequentem Orationem ante imaginem Sacrae Familiae quocumque idiomate recitaverint.

## ORATIO

QUOTIDIE RECITANDA ANTE IMAGINEM SACRAE FAMILIAE.

“O amantissime Iesu, qui ineffabilibus tuis virtutibus et vitae domesticæ exemplis Familiam a te electam in terris consecrasti, claudenter aspice nostram hanc domum, quæ ad tuos pedes pro-voluta propitium te sibi deprecatur. Memento tuam esse hanc domum; quoniam tibi se peculiari cultu sacravit ac devovit. Ipse benignus tuere, a periculis eripe, ipsi in necessitatibus occurre, et virtutem largire, qua in imitatione Familiae tuæ sanctæ iugiter perseveret; ut mortalis suæ vitæ tempore in Tui obsequio et amore fideliter inhærens, valeat tandem æternas tibi laudes persolvere in caelis.

“O Maria, Mater dulcissima, tuum praesidium imploramus, certi divinum tuum Unigenitum precibus tuis obsecuturum.

“Tuque etiam, gloriosissime Patriarcha sancte Ioseph, potenti tuo patrocinio nobis succurre, et Mariae manibus vota nostra Iesu Christo porrigenda submitte.”

Si vero sodales, qui vel infirmitate, vel alia causa impediti hanc Orationem recitare nequiverint, eandem indulgentiam lucrari poterunt, si devote quinquies recitaverint Orationem dominicam, et salutationem Angelicam cum *Gloria Patri*.

## III.

Ducentorum dierum indulgentiam sodales Consociationis consequantur semel in die, si iaculatorias preces quocumque idiomate effuderint ut infra:

“Gesù, Maria, Giuseppe illuminateci, soccorreteci, salvateci. Così sia.”

## IV.

Centum dierum indulgentiam lucrifaciant sodales, qui operam dederint, ut Christianae Familiae huic piac et universali Consociationi sese adscribant.

## V.

Indulgentiam sexaginta dierum lucrentur sodales, quoties hi:

1. in Ecclesia Parochiali, in qua sedem habet Consociatio

sacrosancto Missae sacrificio, aliisque divinis officiis devote adstiterint: 2. vel quinquies recitaverint Orationem dominicam et salutationem Angelicam pro sodalibus defunctis: 3. vel familiarum dissidia composuerint, vel componenda curaverint: 4. vel Familias a iustitiae tramite devias, in viam salutis reducere studuerint: 5. vel pueros sive puellas christianis praeceptis imbuere sategerint: 6. vel aliud quodcumque pium opus peregerint, quod in bonum Consociationis cedat.

Sodalibus, si maluerint, omnibus et singulis indulgentiis supra dictis sive plenariis, sive partialibus labes poenasque defunctorum expiare liceat.

### PRIVILEGIA.

#### *Pro Sodalibus universis.*

Missae, quae pro sodalibus defunctis quocumque in altari celebrabuntur, iisdem suffragentur ac si in altari privilegiato celebrarentur.

#### *Pro Parochis.*

I. Privilegium altaris personalis tribus in qualibet hebdomada diebus; dummodo simili privilegio alia de caussa non perfruantur.

II. Facultas benedicendi extra Urbem Coronas, Rosaria, Cruces, Crucifixos, parvas statuas ac numismata, eisque applicandi omnes et singulas indulgentias, quas Summi Pontifices adtribuere iisdem solent, ut describitur, in apposito clencho; sed tantummodo exercenda pro sodalibus in Consociationem adscitis, die quo 1. christiani piam ingrediuntur Consociationem: et 2. sollemniter renoveter pactum Consociationis.

### FORMULA.

RECITANDA QUOCUMQUE IDIOMATE A CHRISTIANIS FAMILIIS QUAE  
SE SACRAE FAMILIAE CONSECRANT.

“O Iesu Redemptor noster amabilissime, qui e caelo missus ut mundum doctrina et exemplo illustrares, maiorem mortalis tuae vitae partem in humilis domo Nazarena traducere voluisti, Mariae et Iosepho subditus, illamque Familiam consecrasti, quae cunctis christianis familiis futura erat exemplo; nostram hanc domum, quae Tibi se totam nunc devovet, benignus suscipe. Tu illam protege et custodi, et sanctum tui timorem in ea confirma, una cum pace et concordia christianae caritatis: ut divino exemplari Familiae tuae similis fiat, omnesque ad unum quibus ea constat, beatitatis sempiternae sint compotes.

"O amantissima Iesu Christi Mater et mater nostra Maria, tua pietate et clementia fac ut consecrationem hanc nostram Iesus acceptam habeat, et sua nobis beneficia et benedictiones largiatur.

"O Ioseph, sanctissime Iesu et Mariae custos, in universis animarum et corporis necessitatibus nobis tuis precibus succurre; ut tecum una et beata Virgine Maria aeternas divino Redemptori Iesu Christo laudes et gratias rependere possimus."

Atque haec omnia et singula, uti supra decreta sunt, ita firma, stabili, rata in perpetuum esse volumus: non obstantibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die xx. Ianii MDCCCXCII. Pontificatus Nostri Anno xv.

S. CARD. VANNUTELLI.

## V.

### DECREE OF THE S. CONGREGATION OF RITES.

#### DECRETUM.

#### *Dubia.*

Postquam litterae a Sacra Rituum Congregatione, die 10 Decembris 1890, de cultu Sacrae Familiae singularum Dioecesium Ordinariis transmissae fuerunt, eidem Sacrae Congregationi sequentia Dubia proposita sunt, nimirum:

I. An Seminaria, Collegia, Congregationes et Religiosae Familiae possint per formulam novissime a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leone Papa XIII. approbatam semet Sacrae Familiae consecrare, itemque Paroeciae, Dioeceses ac Regiones?

II. Preces ab eodem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro itidem approbatae atque indulgentiis ditatae a singulis Familiis coram imagine Sacrae Familiae recitandae, possuntne in Ecclesiis publicis usurpari?

III. Licet ne familiis, quae iam speciali ratione Sancto Ioseph se consecrarunt, semet Sacrae Familiae dedicare?

IV. Quum permultae orationes, litaniae, formulae consecrationis Sacrae Familiae et alia huiusmodi in pluribus locis circumferantur, quomodo providendum?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio in Ordinario Coetu ad Vaticanum subsignata die coadunata, referente me infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto, omnibus rite perpensis, sic rescribere rata est:

Ad I. Quoad Seminaria, Collegia et singulas Domos Congregationum ac Familiarum Religiosarum, *Affirmative*; quoad Paroecias, provisum per consecrationem familiarum in singulis Paroeciis; quoad cetera *Non expedire*:

Ad II. *Affirmative*, sed coram Imagine Sacrae Familiae:

Ad III. *Affirmative*:

Ad IV. Quoad litanias, comprehendi sub universali vetito Litaniarum, quae explicite approbatae non fuerint a Sede Apostolica; quoad orationes, formulas consecrationis aliasque preces sub quovis titulo ad Sacram Familiam honorandam adhibitae, mittendas esse ab Ordinariis locorum, nec non a Superioribus Religiosarum Congregationum, ut debito examini subiiciantur; secus in posterum licite usurpari nequeant. Die 13 Februarii 1892.

De his autem facta Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII. per me infrascriptum Cardinalem Praefectum relatione, Sanctitas Sua resolutiones Sacrae eiusdem Congregationis ratas habuit, et confirmavit. Die 18, iisdem mense et anno.

CAIETANUS Card. ALOISI-MASELLA,

*S. R. C. Praefectus.*

L. ✠ S.

VINCENTIUS NUSSI,

*S. R. C. Secretarius.*

## Notices of Books.

CHAPTERS TOWARDS A LIFE OF ST. PATRICK. By the Very Rev. Sylvester Malone, P.P., V.G., M.R.I.A., F.S.A. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son.

As a work of historical criticism, this small volume must prove extremely valuable to all Irish scholars. There is nothing so unsatisfactory about the study of the life of St. Patrick as the uncertainty that so often besets us, as to whether we are on solid ground or merely on shifting sands. Anyone who contributes to remove these doubts, to make clear to us what is true and certain, what is beyond all contradiction and criticism, and what, on the

other hand, is mere conjecture or romance, renders a real and substantial service to the students of Irish ecclesiastical history. In truth, the mass of contradictions that has grown up around the life of our great apostle, and the vast amount of literature that has been consecrated to perpetuate these contradictions, make it difficult, even for the most learned and skilled of historical critics, to discern what is real in the midst of so much fiction. The great merit of Dr. Malone's work is, that he goes to the original sources, and discusses them with the skill of an experienced critic. He shows what the original texts are worth, and what reliance can be placed on the glosses founded on them. In destructive criticism Dr. Malone seems to us particularly successful. Whether his own theories as to certain events of the saint's life will stand the test which he has so successfully applied to others, remains to be seen.

With regard to the great and much-discussed question of St. Patrick's birthplace, Dr. Malone sets aside both Boulogne and Dunbarton, and declares himself in favour of a place called Usk, in Wales, some half dozen miles from Caerleon. This theory or contention of the learned author was already explained in the I. E. RECORD of May, 1889, and *prima facie*, at all events, and to one who is not a professional student of the subject, it would seem that his reasons are entitled to very serious consideration, if they are not absolutely conclusive.

In this hurried notice, written in the midst of the holidays, we can do no more than invite the attention of our readers to the excellent chapters on St. Patrick's relatives, on the question of the relationship between him and St. Martin of Tours, and especially to the chapters on his Roman mission and literary remains. All these give proof of a vast amount of study and patient labour. They do away with many long-accepted theories, and show conclusively on what false or fanciful evidence they were based. Our readers may not agree with all the author's conclusions; but, at least, they must admit that he never makes an assertion without a solid reason behind it; and no one who desires to find out the truth about St. Patrick can afford to dispense with his work. We congratulate the respected Vicar-General of Killaloe on this latest contribution of his to Irish ecclesiastical literature, and we trust that he may continue for many years to give us the benefit of his valuable critical studies.

TOM PLAYFAIR. By Francis J. Finn, S.J. New York : Benziger Brothers, 1892.

FEW of those who have had the direction of Catholic schools and colleges, will not confess to a certain dissatisfaction, often and often expressed, at the limited supply of Catholic school stories. There are, of course, hundreds of very excellent and most unobjectionable stories of Protestant college life, but Catholic boys who are fond of school stories, and have only those to satisfy their taste, insensibly learn to despise their own colleges, that seem unable to furnish materials for any ennobling histories of boy-life.

*Tom Playfair* goes a good way to fill up the gap, and Father Finn is to be congratulated on the success which has attended his efforts, so far, in the particular direction of boy's stories. *Tom Playfair* is only one of many of the same character which he has written. Amongst them *Percy Wynn* and *Harry Dee* deserve special mention. *Tom Playfair* is the history of a boy who begins life with rather unsatisfactory propensities, and, on account of wildness, is relegated to the restraint of college life. The masters in the college, instead of beating the natural disposition out of the boy, and striving to denaturalize him—a most difficult and almost impossible thing to do—seek to mould that disposition into a good fashion. Tom is surprised himself one fine day to receive praise for his obstinate inclinations, whereas, at home, he had ever been punished for his stubbornness, and the Prefect encourages him to preserve his obstinacy, but in a proper direction. He says: "Columbus, Washington, St. Francis Xavier, were, in a sense, stubborn men. Indeed, I think, all truly great men must have a fair share of stubbornness in their composition. . . . Stubbornness is merely the sign of a strong will—a strong determination. If you exert your stubborn strength of will to doing what is good, you are all the better and nobler for your stubbornness." The system succeeds with Tom, and the many freaks and pranks of school-life, which are related in the book, and other more tragic events of romantic interest, are only a prelude to a most sensible after-life. As is said in the last chapter, "All the events, dating from his first introduction to the reader—delay, disappointment, reverse, disaster—all had converged into the moulding of a noble character."

It may appear strange to enter so into detail about a school story in the I. E. RECORD, which few boys read; but there are

many masters read it. The latter know well how reading fashions the mind, especially of the young, and it is most necessary that any new Catholic schoolboy tale should be brought under the notice of those in charge of boys. As far as style, &c., goes, they will find also that *Tom Playfair* can take its place with *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, *Frank Fairleigh*, or any of those other celebrated boy's books.

FIFTY-TWO SHORT INSTRUCTIONS ON THE PRINCIPAL TRUTHS OF OUR HOLY RELIGION. From the French, by Rev. Thomas F. Ward. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1892.

MOST sermon-books have one great fault—that they contain no sermons at all, but a series of well-written essays. The language used, and the subtlety of the arguments in treatises are totally useless for ordinary congregations; and readers of them often ask themselves, were they, or could they, ever have been preached as sermons. Another great fault in sermon-books is the length of the sermons contained in them. Neither of those faults can be found with the *Fifty-two Short Instructions*. They are short—very short—plain and practical, just such sermons as one might preach to the most simple congregation. They contain, however, all the most suitable texts of Scripture, and that real, solid matter of which every good sermon should be made.

As they are translations from the French, we naturally find each of those very short sermons divided into three parts. Divisions, such as these, make it an easy matter for the preacher to remember the sermon. They are certainly, so far, an aid; but the generality of priests, nowadays, find by experience that for ordinary Sunday sermons to have one leading idea in the sermon, and to leave that in the minds of the people, is much better. Divisions, of course, are necessary in long sermons, such as mission sermons; but on these occasions the people come prepared to listen to the sermon, and carry it away with them, as is said. But it is different with a congregation at Mass on ordinary Sundays. They come, most of them, to hear Mass, and not the sermon, and it is better not to show that you wish to force a sermon on them by these formal divisions, &c., but simply to impress on them in a quiet way some one idea about their salvation, more as if you were giving a friendly hint than preaching a set sermon.

Father Ward has done good work in translating these sermons

and placing them before us in this volume. He says in the introduction: "Well-nigh eighteen years in the practical exercise of the Sacred Ministry have convinced me that the average priest is a very busy man, and that he has need of all the available assistance he can find, which will aid him in the successful completion of his work. After reading these instructions, in the original French, and finding them eminently practical, I concluded to place them at the disposal of my brother priests, with the hope that they also would find them helpful and useful. . . . There are many pious souls who feel the necessity of spending some days in the consideration of the great truths. They have not the opportunity of making a regular retreat with the assistance of a preacher. For such souls these little instructions may also prove useful." A perusal of these sermons will confirm the truth of this latter remark. The order of the sermons, the subjects chosen, and the manner in which they are dealt with, would form for a pious soul a perfect spiritual retreat.

THE REASONABLENESS OF THE PRACTICES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. By the Rev. J. J. Burke. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1892.

FATHER BURKE, in this small volume, has put before us in plain language the reasonableness of the different practices of the Catholic Church. The practices treated of include vespers, benediction, honouring the Blessed Virgin, indulgences, praying for the dead, praying to the saints, crucifixes, relics, and images, many sacramentals, and everything pertaining to the seven sacraments. Though, at first sight, everything in the Catholic Church appears so mysterious, it will easily be found, on examination, that Catholic practices are of all things the most natural. To make Protestants examine into these things is the difficulty, and it is most necessary to have a cheap book at hand, such as Father Burke's, in which the reasonableness of the practices of the Catholic Church is explained in simple language.

---

# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

SEPTEMBER, 1892.

LEO XIII. AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.—V.

SOCIALISTS AND SOCIALISM.

TO define socialism is like trying to bind Proteus. Many economists, indeed, have given up the attempt as hopeless, declaring that “*perhaps* the term is not capable of any exact definition,” but is only “a convenient expression for a certain growing tendency.” They would describe it simply as “the reaction against extreme individualism—a reaction running naturally, as reactions generally do, into the opposite extreme, and sometimes (as in the case of anarchism) apparently returning upon that against which it is a reaction, and reasserting it in a still more extreme form, becoming (as Shaffle puts it) *individualism raised to a higher power*.”<sup>1</sup> Mr. F. A. Walker maintains it to be next to impossible to give a definition which shall be satisfactory to all. “One man invidiously calls another a socialist, only to receive the same appellation himself from a third person differing from him in political opinion.”<sup>2</sup> Among the general public there are the haziest notions regarding socialists and socialism, and it is probably true to say that a speaker or lecturer mentioning these terms before any given audience would be understood in almost as many senses as there are hearers. Were we to make a catalogue of all

<sup>1</sup> *Economic Review*, October, 1891.

<sup>2</sup> *Polit. Econ.*, page 517.

the notes included in these two ideas, and endeavour to form some life-like image of the reality therefrom, I am afraid we should get simply a nondescript of contradictions for our pains.

One cause of this confusion and difficulty is, doubtless, the intensity of unbalanced sentiment in many large-hearted and honest philanthropists, who, with the best intentions in the world, rush into the land of glowing Utopias without counting the costs, in order to remedy evils which undoubtedly make all good men's hearts ache and minds grow weary. "This style of legislation wears a good face and an air of philanthropy," says Aristotle; "no sooner is it heard than it is eagerly embraced under the expectation of a marvellous love to grow out from it between man and man, *especially if the proposer goes on to inveigh against the evils of existing institutions*, setting all down to the want of a community of goods. These evils, however, are due not to the want of a community of property, but to the depravity of human nature."<sup>1</sup>

Then, besides this predominance of ultra-eloquent sentiment, which crushes out all scientific treatment of social difficulties, there is another obstacle in the way of defining socialism. "No working-drawing, so to speak, of socialism has yet been made by its architects." Writers of the socialist persuasion prefer to leave everything vague and general. "Or if anyone has come forward with a scheme more detailed than the rest, the others are sure to protest that they are not answerable for the absurd details of his addition."<sup>2</sup>

It is highly important, therefore, for anyone who would understand the utterances of Leo XIII. to determine precisely, by the aid of careful discrimination, what are the leading characteristics of socialism as understood by our Holy Father; and, considering the treacherous nature of this mass of bog and quicksand into the midst of which we are come, it may even be necessary to plant something

<sup>1</sup> Sin, not systems, must be abolished in order to introduce the new era. See No. IV.

<sup>2</sup> Father Rickaby, *Socialism*, C. T. S.

permanent and consistent beneath our feet by the adoption of new terms.<sup>1</sup>

I. First of all, then, to be strictly accurate, socialism is not pure and undiluted *communism*. They are often spoken of as identical, it is true, because of the identity of their *end*, which is, explicitly or implicitly, the abolition and destruction of private property. "*Saepe tamen in sermone familiari confunduntur simul communistae et socialistae*," says Father Farotti, "*nee immerito: nam duo haec systemata ad unum eundemque finem tendunt, et si reciperentur, unum eundemque gignerent effectum, destructionem dominii privati: diverso tramite, eundem spectant terminum*." Still there are essential differences which it is of importance for the philosophical critic, and much more for the politician and statesman, to notice and remember.

(a) The first great difference—one which, I think, makes modern socialism the most formidable enemy of Christianity—is that there is no power, civil or ecclesiastical, no form of energy, spiritual or material, and no human interest, temporal or eternal, which socialism, no matter in what land or in what shape it has appeared, does not claim to control and enlist for its purposes. Communism confines itself almost exclusively to wealth.

(b) In the second place, where both these systems agree in their subject-matter—viz., wealth—there is a difference of treatment in the two proposals. Communism regards wealth not *in fieri*, but *in facto esse*, as already produced, and takes on itself to regulate the mode and measure of the *distribution* of wealth on what it deems equitable principles of economy. Socialism, on the other hand, claims that all power is given to it over the production of wealth; *i. e.*, over wealth *in fieri*; and, whether accepting or rejecting the doctrine of an equal division among producers, it claims the right to inquire into and control the consumption of wealth for the general good by means of State enactments.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The measure is desperate, I grant, when we are already well-nigh crooked with words and phrases; but the confusion is so great that even this *doctrina ultimæ* seems warranted.

<sup>2</sup>In other words, communism affects distribution *per se* and *immediate*; socialism touches distribution principally through the mediation of production and consumption.

(c) Thirdly, communism is negative: "thou shalt not have more than another." Socialism is positive and aggressive, declaring that each man shall have enough. New forces are to be introduced into society and industry, and thus an end is to be put to the idleness, waste, and misdirection which for the most part result from individual initiative; while none but the better and nobler section of mankind is to determine, by the sheer force of intelligence, the direction of the general body of humanity.

(d) Fourthly, communism may admit, and does admit, of a voluntary element: socialism is always compulsory. "Communism," says Walker, "might conceivably be established upon the largest scale, and has in a hundred experiments been upon a small scale established." But mark, by voluntary consent.<sup>1</sup> There is no such voluntary consent in socialism: the individual is to be swamped in official collectivism. Socialism begins with the use of the powers of the State, and proceeds and operates through them alone. "It is by the force of the law that the socialist proposes to whip up the laggards and the delinquents in the social and industrial order. It is by the public treasurer, armed with powers of assessment and sale, that he plans to gather the means for carrying on enterprizes to which individual resources would be inadequate. It is through penalties that he would check wasteful or mischievous expenditures."<sup>2</sup> There is here, however, a good deal of divergence among writers, very many speaking of communism as *merely the extreme of socialism*. It is more accurate, it would seem, to say that communism may partially overlap with socialism

<sup>1</sup> *e. g.*, the Pythagorean communities of old times in Magna Græcia, the early Christians who "had all things in common," monastic life, &c. "We would not be disposed to deny," writes H. George (*Open Letter, &c.*, page 957), "that *voluntary* communism might be the highest possible state of which men can conceive. . . . St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Thomas of Aquin, and Fra Angelico, the illustrious Orders of the Carmelites and Franciscans, the Jesuits, whose heroism carried the cross among the most savage tribes of American forests; the societies that, wherever your community is known, have deemed no work of mercy too dangerous or too repellant—were or are communists." These are brave words from one, the apostles and founders of whose faith hunted down *monasticism* with hatred and scorn, as nought but dangerous folly, if not designing madness.

<sup>2</sup> Walker, as above.

by being made compulsory, but that the invariable characteristic—the very quintessence of socialism, strictly so called—is compulsion by the State of the individual, in order to what is deemed the general well-being. Thus far, then, it would appear necessary in scientific treatment, and most advisable in ordinary speech, to avoid the usual confusion between communism and socialism; more particularly as this confusion is very much resented by men who, from mistaken and uncontrolled sentiment have been led into the error of modern socialism. “Communism is, if not moribund, at the best everywhere at a standstill, generally on the wane; nor does it show any sign of returning vitality. On the other hand, socialism was never more full of lusty vigour, more rich in the promise of things to come, than now;”<sup>1</sup> and it is for this reason I have dwelt on the distinction in order that we may not block the way to conviction when dealing with earnest believers in socialism, by identifying their living systems with the futile aspirations of a dead and buried past.

II. In the next place, socialism must not be confounded with anarchism. In the heat of present controversy nothing can be more fatal than such a misrepresentation of the ideals of our modern misled democracy. Anarchists want no government at all; socialists would have nothing but government. We urge that the evil and destructive passions which are the offspring of our corrupt natures, prone to evil from our childhood, necessitate government beyond the possibility of question. The socialist so far agrees, but advances further, alleging that these passions are mere *accidents* to mankind, and by a sufficient dose of government will ultimately be purged out of humanity. The anarchist, however, professes to believe all government to be mischievous, because it is the generative principle of all moral depravity. Were men to cease to make laws for their fellow-men, or to place restraint upon their actions; were the State no longer to repress individual activity for good, no longer to paralyze forces which continually operate for the betterment

<sup>1</sup> Walker.

of the conditions of life, and for the harmonization of social relations; were human efforts to be left free to strive at once for the good of the individual and of the community,<sup>1</sup> the fiction of original sin and its consequences would soon be swept from off the earth. This was largely the position taken up by Rousseau, and those who after him made a supposititious state of nature the primal perfection from which man had fallen, and to which, when the ripe time of the millennium came, he would finally return. Others nowadays found their system of disorder on the doctrine of Herbert Spencer and Darwin, and imagine that the point of maximum human perfectibility will be reached along the lines of natural selection and struggle for existence.<sup>2</sup>

Thus socialism and anarchism are seen to be antipodal. The former magnifies the power of the State to the exclusion of all private choices and aims in aught that may be thought to be connected with the community. "The complete establishment of socialism would, therefore, involve a tyranny more far-reaching and searching than that of the most absolute despotism ever founded among men. Anarchism, on the contrary, aims at the complete abolition of government, the removal of every form of restraint, leaving personal aims and choices wholly unchecked by law or authority, subject only to moral influences, to persuasion, and to the force of public sentiment."<sup>3</sup>

Here, again, however, we must bear in mind that many writers use the term anarchist to denote the party of violence, as distinguished from the "constitutional means" party, or the party of "gradual social and economic evolution" among the socialists. And so Mr. Rae writes thus:—"Mr. Hyndman and other socialists would fain disclaim the anarchists altogether, and are fond of declaring that they are the very opposite of socialists—that they are individuals of the boldest stamp. But this contention will not stand. . . . These individualist anarchists are very few in number anywhere; and the

<sup>1</sup> This is the gratuitous justification of the egoism, or, plainly speaking, *selfish-system*, of *laissez faire* ethics.

<sup>2</sup> Prince Krapotkin, *Nineteenth Century*, August, 1887.  
Walker.

mass of the party whose deeds are now making a stir on both sides of the Atlantic is undoubtedly more socialist than the socialists themselves." According to this view the anarchists are merely the extremer and more violent element of socialism.

III. Above all, it should be strongly urged that sympathy with poverty, misery, and toil, and the earnest desire to remedy the evils of existing conditions by *Christian conduct* and *legislation*, should not be dubbed "Christian socialism." The State has its sphere of legitimate intervention as well as its sphere of bungling interference; and for my part I have never been able to understand why those who merely assign the rightful limits of individualism, leaving personal interests and energies still unfettered, should therefore be ranged under the same category as those who would compress the individual into the cold dull framework of a cast-iron collectivism. "Christian socialism" is, to my mind, a misnomer, or else a contradiction in terms, and a phrase often caught up by our adversaries to discredit the action of the Pope and the Church in favour of the people. Our Holy Father's words, in the Encyclical *Quod Apostolici Muneris*, December 28, 1878, should have sufficed to banish this noxious phrase for ever out of the mouths of Catholics: "The socialists, abusing the very Gospels, are wont to twist and turn them to suit their own opinions, in order more easily to deceive the unwary; but so great is the difference between their wicked dogmas and the pure doctrine of Christ, that there can be no greater: *quæ enim participatio iustitiæ cum iniquitate? aut quæ societas lucis ad tenebras.* (2 Cor. vi. 14.)"

Not even terms should be common between us and the types or forerunners of antichrist. But what can be plainer—(1) from the repeated declarations of the Vicar of Christ; (2) from the history and associations of socialism; (3) from its end, means, and doctrines, than that the new socialist movement which invaded Europe in 1862, and now occupies all the land, is but the latest manifestation of the "mystery of iniquity," working from the beginning against the "mystery of godliness"? that, in other words, this "revolutionary socialist democracy" is the pedagogue to antichrist?

(1) This was clearly pointed out by our Holy Father in his very first public act,<sup>1</sup> wherein, after speaking of socialism as “a deadly plague, creeping on to the dissolution of the inmost bonds of human society, which it keeps in a constant fever of revolution and ruinous disorder,” he tells us that those who spread it through the world are unprincipled men, veiling their evil and ambitious designs under the hypocritical pretences of liberty and justice and patriotism. And in the *Quod Apostolici Muneris*,<sup>2</sup> he speaks in the strongest words of persistent warning: “Nullo autem negotio intelligitis nos de illa hominum secta loqui, qui diversis ac pene barbaris nominibus *Socialistae, Communistae, vel nihilistae* appellantur, quique per universum orbem diffusi, et iniquo inter se foedere arctissime colligati, non amplius ab occultorum conventuum tenebris praesidium quaerunt, sed palam fidenterque in lucem prodeuntes, quod jampridem inierunt consilium cujuslibet civilis societatis fundamenta convellendi, perficere adnituntur. ‘Naught,’ he says ‘that has been prudently ordained by human and divine law for the security and decency of life, do they leave whole and unassailed. The higher powers, to whom the Apostle bids every soul be subject, they would soon pull down, and instead proclaim the perfect equality in rank and rights of all mankind. Marriage they dishonour, and the bond of wedlock—the stay of family life—they loosen or abandon to the mercy of lustfulness. The natural law of private property and all hereditary title, in the unbridled passion for material good, they seek to annul. And these their monstrous tenets they scatter abroad among the people by means of clouds of daily papers.’” Again, in the Encyclical *Humanum Genus*,<sup>3</sup> he identifies the socialists with the Masonic sects; and the Masonic sects belong to the kingdom or city of the adversary or Satan, which is ever warring against the Kingdom of God on earth—the Church of Jesus Christ; and to these two cities—the one of Christ, the other

<sup>1</sup> *Inscrutabili Dei*, April 21, 1878 (*De malis humanae Societatis, eorumque causis et remediis*).

<sup>2</sup> Dec. 28th, 1878 (*adversus Socialistarum sectas*).

<sup>3</sup> 20th April, 1884.

of antichrist—he applies the words of St. Augustine “fecerunt civitates duas amores duo: terrenam scilicet amor sui usque ad contemptum Dei; coelestem vero amor Dei usque ad contemptum sui.”

And what is the love which characterises modern socialist democracy? It is the very passion of Lucifer—the love of equality, or rather the hatred of all subjection—joined with “the unreined love of material gratification.” “For equality their passion is ardent, insatiable, insistent, invincible,” writes De Toqueville.<sup>1</sup> “They call for equality in freedom, and if they cannot obtain that, they still call for equality in slavery.” Better to reign in hell, I suppose, than serve in heaven! Their highest ambition is for material comfort above all other things; and they are absorbed “in the pursuit of material well-being to the disparagement and disregard of every ideal consideration and interest, as if the chief end and whole dignity of man lay in gaining a conventional standard of comfort.” Can either of these passions, which place the *whole* good of man *within* himself, and generally within the lower portion of his being, be made to accord with Christianity, which sets the final end of humanity outside and beyond the poor weak elements of temporal felicity, and far above “the howling senses’ ebb and flow”?<sup>2</sup>

Nothing has been so strongly insisted on, therefore, by Leo XIII., as that socialism is a strictly anti-Christian movement, against which Catholicism—the only corporate force in the world capable of coping with it—must wholly set its face. “A man who fully and conscientiously follows the Gospel precepts,” he writes,<sup>1</sup> “must of necessity be far above all suspicion of socialism.” Finally, in the great Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, he describes socialists as those who, “working

<sup>1</sup> Vide Rae, *Contemporary Socialism*, page 24.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the powerful words of Cardinal Manning (*The Present Crisis of the Holy See*, Lecture iii., uttered on the eve of the appearance of Lassalle's *The Working Man's Programme* (called by its supporters *The Wittenberg Thesis* of the new socialism), and almost at the time of the organization of the International, 1862. Men like Mr. Stead, who are infected with this heresy of material civilization, can never reason on religious matters without this pestilential dogma for the *suppositum* of their whole argument.

<sup>3</sup> *Epist. Quod multum*, 22nd August, 1886.

on the poor man's envy of the rich, endeavour to destroy private property, and maintain that individual possessions should become the common property of all, to be administered by the State or by municipal bodies. . . . But their proposals are so clearly futile for practical purposes, that if they were carried out the working-man himself would be among the first to suffer. Moreover, they are emphatically unjust, because they would rob the lawful possessor, bring the State into a sphere that is not its own, and cause complete confusion in the community."

How, then, can our "Christian Socialists" in London accept Marx as their expounder of Christian ethics? and how can "the orators at English Church Congresses speak of socialism as if it were a higher perfection of Christianity?" and how could "a very distinguished Irish bishop at the Church Congress of 1887" declare that "socialism was only a product of Christian countries (what of the socialism of savage tribes, or of the Mahdi, or of the Chinese?); that the sentiment and aspiration of socialism were distinctly Christian, and every Christian is a bit of a socialist, and every socialist a bit of a Christian?"<sup>1</sup> Mr. Stead replies that it is a necessity of the age to be "*socialistic*" and democratic: that the Pope's condemnation is directed against "the *bad socialists who want to confiscate property*" without compensation: that Leo XIII. is himself at least half a socialist, and Cardinal Manning was so wholly." As we all are socialists now, so we are all for compensation. And when once we admit compensation, the Pope has no more to say."

We may say of Mr. Stead, as Saint-Beuve said of the Jansenists, he always seems to know the Pope's mind better than the Pope does himself. But, I repeat with Leo XIII. "What participation has *justice* with *injustice*, or what communion has *light* with *darkness*?" You might as well talk of Christian idolaters as "Christian socialists." Granting that socialism springs from a vehement love of justice, it is still in its essence simply a mistaken view of social justice;

<sup>1</sup> Rae, as above, page 24. Cf. Prigment Series, *The Churrgress*, page 266.

and that means, I take it, *injustice*. Idolatry may possibly be elicited by what is called the religious sentiment, but its essential foundation is, for all that, a distorted view of divine things, the perversion of all ideas of religion. Who, then, would call it Christian? "Justice," says Mr. Rae, "the greatest and rarest of the virtues, is also the most difficult and most easily perverted. It needs a balance of mind, and in its application to complicated and wide-reaching social arrangements, an exactitude of knowledge and clearness of understanding, which are ill-replaced by sentimentalism, or even by honest feeling; and the fault of the current talk about the identity of socialism with Christianity is that it does not conduce to this clearness of understanding, which is the first requisite for any useful dealing with such questions."<sup>1</sup>

If we look even cursorily at the history of socialism, we shall be still more convinced of its unchristian character. From paganism it sprang, and by paganism it was trained and nurtured. Sparta and Crete gave it shelter; Plato defended it; and thus, having passed through the *practical* and *philosophical* form, it found itself confronted by a religious force, before which it was obliged to recoil. But Satan soon inspired it with new tactics, and it became, under a philosophico-religious form, the insidious enemy of Christianity. The Gnostics and the Neoplatonists, having patched up out of doctrines philosophical and religious, Pagan and Christian, a monstrous composite of errors, set to work to spread the poison of their system among the people by mysterious initiations. Their principles and arguments bear a striking resemblance to those advanced by "the apostles of humanity" in our own times. (a) Like those who now proclaim the sovereign will of the people to be the will of the Deity (Hegelians, &c.), these early "*Christian socialists*" set up an independent morality, more thorough than Kant's system, by proclaiming that the quality of human actions depended solely on the "social sanction." (b) The order of divine justice, they declared, required

<sup>1</sup> *Contemporary Socialism*, page 246.

equality and community ; and (c) the laws of private property had broken the divine decrees, and were, consequently, the cause of all crimes. Almost in the very words of our modern agrarian socialists they argued thus: the heavens are open for all equally to gaze upon, the stars shine equally for all, all animals in common enjoy the light and heat of the sun, who then shall monopolize the free gifts of the Creator?

From this time onwards till the sixteenth century socialism was ever one of the main elements of heresy. As the pagan constitution of society gradually became transformed by Christianity, we find St. Epiphanius,<sup>1</sup> against the *Apostolici* and *Renuntiatores* of Asia Minor, and St. Augustine<sup>2</sup> against the Pelagians of Syracuse, laying down the true principles of Catholic politics—principles, which, resting no less on reason than on the Gospel, which these heretics, like those of our own time, twisted about to suit their own whims and fancies, presented a complete confutation of the absurd error that our common Christianity requires the adoption of State socialism. Their system of a necessary community of goods and of women was again advanced in the twelfth century by the poor men of Lyons, and by the Cathari, the Albigenses, and the Waldenses in France and Germany. In the thirteenth and fourteenth century, we have the *Fraticelli* (condemned by John XXII., 1318)<sup>3</sup> proclaiming that Christian Society must be established on a socialistic basis; that the Gospel was to be applied simply to the material conditions of life, and that the spiritual Church, now given over into the hands of these “little brethren,” *was to be transformed into a carnal Church*, in which none should hold rule or dominion. Then came the Dulciniani, founded in Lombardy by Segarelli da Parma (who was condemned by Honorius IV. and Boniface VIII.), but propagated principally by Dulcino da Ossola, who gave his name to the heresy.

<sup>1</sup> See *Adversus Hæreses*, lib. ii., Haer. xli. (or lxi.?). See Fr. Steccanella, *Il Comunismo*, page 15, *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Epist. clvi.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide Enchirid. Dogmat.*, No. 412, 418. Cf. also 419, *De Paupertate Christi*. Cf. the outpourings, for instance, of Cabet and St. Simon.

The error of this sect regarding the civil constitution of States was founded on a distortion of the principle of Christian charity. Christ's Church, they said, had ceased, because it had been only a preparation for the Church of the spirit of love, who was henceforth to hold supreme dominion, and to govern all things in conformity with the law of charity. The Gospel was thus to receive its fulfilment, and that precisely in the new sect of the Dulciniani, who exhibited to the world the Church of the Holy Spirit. But all private property and private tenure was to be abolished, as inimical to the law of charity. Two of their propositions bear an interesting similarity to some of the supra-transcendental style of language and aspiration which we sometimes hear in our own days, and the sense in which they are condemned may throw some light on the mistaken ideals of our modern "Christian socialists." (1) "This blessed, nay thrice blessed, love destroys all property and dominion:" *falsa, erronea, haeretica*. (2) "The cordial renunciation of all temporal power of dominion or authority founds and displays the most perfect state:" *universaliter intellecta, falsa, erronea, haeretica*. Next in England up rose Wickliffe, "the morning star of the Reformation," to preach—(1) that nothing is to be admitted as obligatory but what can be proved such from the Scriptures: hence all prelates were to be despoiled of their unlawful authority; (2) Christ was born poor and humble, and preached poverty and humility: hence the possession of wealth and of temporal overlordship must cease, because it is sinful and contrary to the civil and social rights established by Christ; (3) God created us all equal, and Christ has made all free with the freedom of equality: down, then, with all constraint of our fellowmen, and down with all social inequality.<sup>1</sup>

Last of all came Protestantism—a sort of Devil's burning glass, which concentrated the rays of all heresy in order to cast the collective heat of Satanic fire on after ages, and blast the faith of the nations yet unborn. "It is

<sup>1</sup> Vide *ibid.*, Decrees of Martin V., and of the Council of Constance against Wickliffe and Huss.

Protestantism," writes Cardinal Manning, "which, above all other heresies, bears the three notes of the inspired writers (viz., schism, the rejection of the office and presence of the Holy Ghost, and the denial of the Incarnation) in the greatest breadth and evidence. Other heresies have opposed parts and details of the Christian faith and Church; but Protestantism, taken in its historical complex, as we now are able with the retrospect of three hundred years to measure it, reaching from the religion of Luther, Calvin, and Cranmer at the one end, to the Rationalism and Pantheism of England and Germany at the other, is of all the most formal, detailed, and commensurate antagonist of Christianity. I do not mean that it has as yet attained its full development, for we shall see reasons to believe that it is still pregnant with a darker future; but even as 'the mystery of iniquity has already worked,' no other antagonist has as yet gone so deep in undermining the faith of the Christian world." Luther cried down with all external authority: "among Christians there is no superior, but only Christ;" "we are all equal in the order of redemption, why then should the flock of Christ continue longer to groan under the power of the clergy or under the dominion of the laity?" "Let them rise and throw themselves upon the bishops and their palaces; let them carry devastation with them, and extirpate the government of these men from the world. Then would they be the beloved sons of God, true Christians, and observers of the Divine precepts." The rest we may learn from the oft-repeated declaration of Leo XIII: "Revera," he writes,<sup>1</sup> "illam, quam *Reformationem* vocant, cujus adjutores et duces sacram civilemque potestatem novis doctrinis funditus oppugnaverunt, repentini tumultus et audacissimae rebelliones, praesertim in Germania, consecutae sunt; idque tanta cum domestici deflagratione belli et caede, ut nullus pene locus expers turbarum et cruoris videretur." Luther's socialistic and anarchic doctrines had been sown on fruitful soil; Münzer and his Anabaptists were thorough both in theory and practice. "Ex illa haeresi,"

<sup>1</sup> *Ency. Diuturnum De Politico Principatu*, 20th June, 1881.

goes on our Holy Father, "ortum duxit saeculo superiore falsi nominis philosophia, et jus quod appellant *novum*, et imperium populare, et modum nesciens licentia, quam plurimi solam libertatem putant. Ex his ad finitimas pestes ventum est, scilicet ad *Communismum*, ad *Socialismum*, ad *Nihilismum*, civilis hominum societatis teterrima portenta ac pene funera." "Modern socialism," writes Mr. Rae, "was generated out of the notions about property and the State which appeared towards the close of last century in the course of the speculations then in vogue on the origin and objects of civil society, and which were proclaimed about the same time by many different writers—by Brissot, by Mably, by Morelly, and above all by Rousseau." The state of nature was to be restored when the earth belonged to none and the fruits to all. Property had no other foundation than need, and he who had more than he needed was a thief. Society rested on a social contract, "the clauses of which reduce themselves to one, viz., the total transfer of each associate, with all his rights, to the community." The individual is thus to be swamped in the State, which is to regulate and supervise all his rights: "he is to think, speak, train his children, or even beget them, as the State directs and allows, in the interest of the common good."

Until 1793 these vague ideas were not adopted by any party or system. "But when Joseph Babouf, discarding his Christian name of Joseph (because, as he said, he had no wish for Joseph's virtues, and so saw no good in having him for his patron saint), and taking instead the ominous name of Caius Gracchus, organized the conspiracy of the Egaux in that year, then modern socialism began, and it began in the form in which it still survives."<sup>1</sup> And so from Paganism it came, and to Paganism it has returned. "At this day," wrote Denoso Cortez, in 1849,<sup>2</sup> "the world is on the eve of the last of its restorations—the restoration of *socialist paganism*." And again: "European society is dying. The extremities are cold: the heart will be so soon. And do

Rae, as above.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Card. Manning, *The Present Crisis of the Holy See* (1862), Lecture iii.

you know why it is dying? It is dying because it has been poisoned; because God made it to be nourished with the substance of Catholic truth, and the empirical doctors have given it for food the substance of rationalism. It is dying, because, like as man does not live by bread alone, but by every word which comes out of the mouth of God, so societies do not perish by the sword only, but by every word which comes out of the mouth of their philosophers."

Can anything be plainer than that socialism from first to last has been the leaven of Satan hidden in the flour till the whole has become his leaven? If we seek for further proof of the anti-Christian character of socialism, we have only to consider its advance during the last half century. How it allied itself with any and every form of Atheism, springing naturally from the rationalism and naturalism of the German humanists, being the necessary expression of the young Hegelians (to whom the State was God), leading to the ridiculous apotheosis of Lassalle, who after his death was honoured by a special cultus, and declared to have died for the working class, and to be coming again to save them. But enough! can *socialism*, after all this, be called Christian? "Quae participatio justitiae cum iniquitate? Aut quae societas lucis ad tenebras?"<sup>1</sup>

It is now plain, I trust, why a man like Cardinal Manning, who has so often of late been styled a socialist and a democrat, is found to condemn alike socialism and democracy.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Since writing the substance of this paper, I have read a confirmation of all I have here said in Mr. C. S. Devas's excellent manual of *Polit. Econ.* (Stonyhurst Series), page 481. "We denounce Socialism," he writes, "as *essentially* irreligious, and therefore *essentially* untenable. In vain socialists may repudiate the open Atheism of many of their writers . . . and protest that Mr. Bellamy's scheme even provides for having religion turned on to houses through tubes, like gas or water. For, in truth, the foundation of their doctrine is the glorification of wealth *as the one thing necessary*."

<sup>2</sup> He points, for instance, with evident significance, to the words of St. Hippolytus, who says that in the end of the world the Roman Empire (*i.e.*, Christendom, as springing from Rome, and resting on Rome) shall pass *eis δημοκρατίας* "into democracies;" and side by side with these words he places De Tocqueville's description of the tendency in our times of every government in the world, and of every nation in the world, to democracy—"that is to say," he adds, "to the development of the licence of the popular will, so as to resolve all law into

He was far too keen and clear a thinker to be taken by catch-words. Socialism means something essentially mischievous : "Socialism," he tells us, "*is a disease as rationalism is—both name and thing.*" Democracy—the spurious sovereignty of the people, or rather the blasphemous apotheosis of the popular will preached by the socialist democrats—he represents as the very seed of antichrist. Yet the hope of the coming age lies neither with the capitalists nor with the commercial classes, but with the people. "The people are yielding to the guidance of reason, even to the guidance of religion. If we can gain their confidence we can counsel them ; if we show them a blind opposition, *they will have the power to destroy all that is good.*"

In spite, however, of all attempts to cast out confusion and party spirit from the discussion of the all-important question of our times, the term socialistic will continue to be applied to sentiments and opinions emanating from men who are the greatest enemies of socialism, and also to a great variety of political schemes, which by no means imply excessive State intervention. According to some people, "I have compassion on the multitude" would seem to have been, and to be, "socialistic sentimentality." But these stony-hearted specimens of humanity, whose sympathies have been petrified by the pride of wealth and ascendancy, gain but little hearing nowadays ; they have run their course. As for political schemes and measures which are characterized as socialistic, we may say at once that the term in this connection is frequently nothing better than what Whately calls "a question-begging epithet." The Factory Acts of 1812 to 1832 were denounced as socialistic ; and what was the phrase in the mouth of the professional economists of that time but a gross *petitio principii* ? Cardinal Newman somewhere says that no nation on the face of the earth is so extensively governed by phrases as the English

the will of the multitude." (*Present Crisis of the Holy See*, Lecture iii.) Again, "The terms socialistic and socialism have an essentially ill signification. Socialism is to society what rationalism is to reason—an abuse, an excess, a deordination. *It implies, therefore, a laxity of thought, or, at least, of terminology, to speak of Christian socialism or of Catholic socialism.*"

people. The majority do not seek logical consistency, or test the meanings of words; "they want only phrases and figure-heads." How many questions are settled in the minds of very many Englishmen by the magic phrases, "the Church by law established," "our glorious constitution"? and these "tavern-toasts," says the Cardinal, serve them "for the marks of the Church." So it is with the term socialistic. Declare a proposal socialistic, and you have brandished a red rag in front of John Bull, which will bring almost certain ruin on the best of schemes. It would seem, therefore, of immense importance to fix by means of a new term—if there is not a reliable one existing already—the precise distinction between out-and-out socialism and the legitimate demand for the statutory protection of the labouring classes. At present, according to Walker, "whenever and wherever, for any supposed public good, measures are undertaken or proposed, from a popular impulse, or in obedience to a popular demand, which carry, or would carry, the functions of Government beyond a certain necessary minimum line of (police) duties, the term socialistic is properly to be used, not as a term of reproach or contumely, but as a strictly descriptive title." Public schools are distinctly socialistic; the owning and working of the telegraph in England by Government is described as "a policy from which we in the United States shrink as dangerously socialistic;" public roads and bridges managed by public authority exhibit the socialistic character in a highly marked degree; and lastly, protectionism is set down as purely and highly socialistic. In the same way, and in the same sense, we have Mr. H. George taking Leo XIII. to task for his supposed ignorance of the nature of socialism.<sup>1</sup>

Now all this appears to me to be simply anarchy in terminology, or else a juggling with words—an utter confusion of like and unlike, of negative and positive. For the sake of scientific accuracy, would it not be well to use some term

<sup>1</sup> *Open Letter*, page 82, where he accuses our Holy Father of doing injustice to the socialists! But among socialists he includes trades-unionists and protectionists. Leo XIII. knows socialism better. See *Contemporary Socialism*, page 158.

such as "social politics" for the *ensemble* of those measures which really involve the legitimate action of the State, or *πολλοφυλαξίς*—the safeguarding of the many, while thorough-going socialism might be designated as politocracy—pure State domination?<sup>1</sup>

The outcome of what we have got so far, then, is that the socialist is—(1) not a communist, strictly speaking; nor (2) is he an anarchist necessarily, but rather the very opposite; much less should he (3) be confounded with the mine worker for the people; nor lastly, can everyone who proposes measures which are spoken of as socialistic be called a Socialist (*e.g.*, the protectionist).

But who is the socialist, and what is socialism? Here I come to the positive part of the definition by contrast which I am attempting. The extreme socialist is he who would make the State all in all. According to him, the powers and rights of the State are the resulting sum of all the powers and all the rights of the individuals who compose it; and, therefore, "private enterprise, personal choices and aims must be lost in the general movement of a society, dominated and directed by a majority vote, and Government must become the organ of society in respect to all its interests and all its acts." Such is the socialist; and socialism is thus statolatry or politocracy, the quasi-deification of public power, the erection of the State into a "co-operative commonwealth," the "creation of an industrial army," the regulation of all distribution and consumption by the State, and the consequent absorption of all the powers, agents and aids of production into the organism of government. "Socialism," writes Father Rickaby, "would mean a posture of affairs in which a government of sheer democracy would keep in its hands the whole of the capital, or producer's wealth of the country. The people collectively would be sole proprietor, not of all the wealth of the country, but of all the wealth that may lawfully be employed for producing other wealth by means of buying and selling or other contracts. The State

<sup>1</sup> Often styled statolatry; i.e., the *latria* of red-tapism: *e.g.*, at Congress of Liege ["statolatric"].

will be sole landlord, sole manufacturer, sole owner of shipping and railroads; . . . in a word, sole capitalist.' But we shall perhaps get the best idea of socialism from the socialists themselves. The programme adopted by the combined Marxist and Lassalleian socialists at the Gotha Congress of 1875 gives us the most generally received doctrine of the social democrats. It consists in reality of three programmes—to-day's, to-morrow's, and the day after to-morrow's—the last of which thus sketches the socialist state of the future:—"As labour is the source of all wealth and civilization, and as productive labour is made possible only in and through society, *the entire produce of labour belongs to society*; that is, it belongs by an equal right to all its members, each according to his reasonable needs, *upon condition of a universal obligation to labour*. The dependence of the labouring class, which results from the instruments of labour being the monopoly of the capitalist class, is the cause of misery and servitude in all forms. Hence the emancipation of labour requires the conversion of the instruments of labour into the common property of society, and the management of labour by association, and the application of the product with a view to the general good and an equitable distribution." The socialistic party, therefore, seeks by all lawful means to establish a free state and a socialistic society; to break asunder the iron law of wages by the abolition of the system of wage-labour, the suppression of every form of exploitation, and the correction of all political and social inequality.<sup>1</sup> And now comes the all-important question: How are we to refute this most formidable enemy of society, which has grown to such enormous proportions in these latter days? And by what practical means shall we retard his advance?

Of course we may make use of many excellent arguments drawn from ethics, economics, and political philosophy—arguments convincing enough in their own order, but insufficient by themselves, because merely natural. The problem of socialism is a religious problem, involving a deadly struggle

<sup>1</sup>See Rae, *Contemporary Socialism*, page 253, n.

between the principles on which Christian society was originally founded, and on which it stood for well-nigh twelve hundred years, and the principles of anti-Christian revolution. Consequently, our arms in the combat before us must not be fashioned—not *ex sanguinibus et ex voluntate carnis et ex voluntate viri*—not by man, and of flesh and blood, but of faith and of the Spirit of God. The eternal principles of Christian politics, as taught by Catholic theologians in conformity with the maxims of Holy Scripture and the writings of the fathers and doctors of the Church; the principles of Christian politics, as laid down so clearly by Leo XIII.,<sup>1</sup> must be preached in season and out of season." For this purpose it will be necessary—(1) to determine with absolute precision<sup>2</sup> the sphere and scope of the Church in the war with socialism, and so make plain the fundamental article of our social warfare, the liberty of the Pope; (2) to trace out the lines and limits of State action; (3) to cast out the demon of vagueness and confusion from the body of ethics, economics, and politics—the fruitful sources of so much modern mischief; and with this view (4) to apply the scholastic principles and methods of St. Thomas to the study of the social sciences with uncompromising thoroughness in our colleges.

"There is no salvation for society," writes Donoso Cortez,<sup>3</sup> "because we will not make our sons to be Christians, and because we are not true Christians ourselves. There is no salvation for society, because the Catholic spirit, *the only spirit of life*, does not quicken the whole; it does not quicken

<sup>1</sup> "Gravis enim et perniciosa socialismi pestis quae in dies magis serpit, et rectum populorum sensum alte corrumpit, cum inde vim suam nanciscatur, quod lux aeternorum veritatum in mentibus plurimorum hominum velut errorum tenebris obscuratur . . . nunquam profecto compesci, et sisti poterit, nisi in eorum qui decepti sunt animos supremæ justitiae rationes revocentur." *Epistola ad Archiepisc. Coloniensem*, Feb. 24, 1880. Cf. the whole of the *Inmortale Dei*, Nov. 2, 1880, and *Quod Apostolici Muneris ad finem*.

<sup>2</sup> "Et cum ad socialismi pestem avertendam tantam Ecclesiae Christi virtutem in esse noverint (populi et principes) quanta nec humanis legibus inest nec magistratuum cohibitionibus nec militum armis, ipsam Ecclesiam in eam tendem conditionem libertatemque restituant, qua saluberrimam vim suam . . . possit exerere." *Quod Apost. Mun.*

<sup>3</sup> *Enfers*, vol. i., page 575.

education, government, institutions, laws, and morals. To change the course of things in the state in which they are, I see too well would be the enterprise of giants." Hence we must train up giants—giants in heart and mind rather than in the body, of the pen rather than of the sword—giants fed on the food of Catholic dogma and of Catholic science, who will be ever ready to fight with all their strength to the last extremity for the freedom of the Church and for the independence of the Holy See.

A. HINSLEY.

## TWENTY YEARS ON THE MISSION :

### ITS THOUGHTS AND EXPERIENCES.

IT is now nigh close on twenty years since first I came on the Mission, and during that time I have been engaged in constant active work in populous country parishes and towns and cities, not only here in Ireland, but for some time, in the beginning, in England and Scotland as well. I have met with many persons—clerical and lay; I have heard many things, relating to our work, discussed over and over again by the clergy; I have seen the working of many parishes; and so it occurred to me that if, after these experiences, I strung a few thoughts together they might, perhaps, be of some use to those who are preparing for the priesthood, or who are just entering upon, or not long engaged in, the work of the ministry.

And first :—I have often heard it said how necessary it is for the priest to be well educated and refined, gentlemanly, self-respecting, and very prudent in his words and conduct. These qualifications were, of course, always necessary in the ministry of the Church, but more than ever in these days of enlightenment and fierce political passion here in Ireland. The priest, to hold his own, must needs keep up with the times in point of culture; must be well up in his own professional studies; and, should he enter into politics, must be

gentlemanly, and just, and prudent, so that even in his public life he may reflect honour on the Church and on his state.

Professional study ought to command his chief attention, that he may be well fitted to discharge the various duties of his calling. A fair knowledge of moral theology is an absolute necessity to the priest in case of souls; and to keep up this it will be necessary to study continuously. It is only after a few years' work on the Mission we come to understand moral theology in all its bearings. We may, in our college course, get up principles; but it is only after some experience, and then going back on our theology by careful study, that we really come to understand it, and to reap the full fruit of our course in college. In my mind, no student in Maynooth, or elsewhere, can take in and fully understand his moral theology. It is only the priest, with some experience on the Mission, who can do this; and, with that experience, he will gain more practical knowledge by carefully reading over his theology from time to time, than he did, perhaps, by his years in the schools. He will realize how little, after all, he knew when leaving college, and that, even after his three or four years' divinity, he was only then at that point where he might begin to learn and understand theology in its practical application. Gury, amongst the clergy, is considered the handiest manual of theology; and I have heard it said that if a man knew Gury thoroughly, there would be very few cases he would not be able to decide—at least to doubt about. Lehmkuhl is, it would seem, the best of all; and it would well repay any priest to study carefully that fine, strong theologian. Bleeck's theology, too, is very good for those on the Mission, inasmuch as he is very simple, and practical, and modern. But theology, as we all know, is not enough in the hearing of confessions. Great charity and great patience are also required; at the least, as much zeal as would lead us to hear each confession carefully, and send each person away satisfied.

With regard to dogmatic theology, it is the foundation of all, and is every day becoming more and more important. It is, compared with moral theology, what the solid meats at dinner are to the *obsonia* that follow. Without it no priest

can ever be well established in professional knowledge, and without it he must ever feel a great sense of weakness. Without it I cannot conceive how his sermons and instructions are to be substantial and correct, or how he is to explain the catechism accurately to the children ; and, without it, he must feel, even in society, sometimes uneasy, and especially in England. There, at hotels and watering-places, on steamboats and railroads, you will meet many, from time to time, who are anxious to know what we Catholics really hold ; to have their difficulties cleared up, and their prejudices, perhaps, removed. Hence students cannot read their dogmatic theology too carefully ; and, afterwards, on the Mission, they ought to try and keep up its knowledge by, at least, a little continuous study.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the scholastic treatises, it would be well to read over two or three popular books on the subject, in which the points most commonly turning up are fully brought out and discussed. Many of our young priests have to go for a time on the English and Scotch Missions, where they will have to do with Protestants and Dissenters, and receive converts into the Church ; and hence the necessity of being well made up on the ordinary points of controversy.

Dogmatic and moral theology, however, are not enough for us priests. We must have a good knowledge of the English language, so as to be able to speak and write it grammatically and fluently, and pronounce it correctly. It is the great medium through which we exercise our ministry, and use our knowledge and influence for the advantage of the people. I have often heard it said it is a pity this subject is not more attended to in the education of the clergy, and particularly in their primary course. Of late years, however, we are all glad to know there is a great improvement in this respect.

Recitation and elocution, too, are things that ought to be well attended to in the education of those intended for the Church. It is a subject that in the past has been woefully

<sup>1</sup> Perrone, I understand, is the class-book in Maynooth ; Hurter, S. J., is very good ; and for those who do not wish for lengthened study, Schonpfe's *Elementa Dogmaticæ*.

neglected, and with great loss to the people to whom we preach. Over and over again our sermons and instructions are lost upon the people, because they cannot follow us, or catch up half what we say. We speak too fast or too low; oftener we completely fail in distinct articulation; we make a jumble of the whole thing; and the poor people, after a little while, give up all efforts at hearing us, and resign themselves to their fate until we think well of bringing our oratory, such as it is, to a close. Well, what is the great use of going to the trouble of preparing sermons and instructions, and delivering them, unless the people can hear, and follow, and understand us? Not much. What can even the Word of God do unless it be heard and understood? *Fides ex auditu*. To this end young priests ought to accustom themselves to speak slowly, deliberately, and, above all, *distinctly*, so that not only each word, but each syllable, may get its full value, and be easily heard. We ought to speak as *loud* as will enable us to be heard by everyone present, a point that is not unfrequently overlooked, and generally unconsciously. As a rule, our churches in Ireland are not very large, and there ought to be no difficulty in "filling" them, if we but speak deliberately and distinctly. This want of deliberation and distinctness in the clergy, when they read and preach, seems to be felt by the people everywhere. At a meeting of the Catholic Truth Society, held in London three or four years ago, a lady present undertook to give a subscription of £10 if they would try and get the priests to read the Epistles and Gospels on Sundays more distinctly. Hence I was not surprised, in looking through the life of St. Charles Borromeo some time ago, to find that he made a regulation in his seminary to have all the young ecclesiastics exercised three or four days in the week in reading and recitation.

It would be very necessary also to encourage a taste for literature in those intended for the Church. Besides refining and educating their minds, and giving them information, it will help them to spend many an hour on the Mission agreeably and usefully; will add many a pleasure to their lives, and save them, perhaps, from many a danger. In

many of the country missions of Ireland there is comparatively little to be done in the way of active ministerial work; and, unless the priest has a taste for reading, it must be hard to pass the time. Hence I have heard it said more than once by priests of experience, that they would be very cautious in recommending anyone to enter the priesthood who had not, at least, some literary tastes.

Ecclesiastical singing, too, is a subject to which many think more attention might be paid. It ought to be commenced in the seminaries, and carried on to the very end of the course, so that when young priests come out they ought to be able to sing High Mass and the Gospel and Epistle fairly well, and chant the offices of the Church with propriety. The pieces usually sung are not very difficult, and anyone with an ordinary ear, and a little care and perseverance, could get passably through them. In my time in college the students seemed to take scarcely any interest in the singing classes, which, I think, ought to be looked upon as a great mistake; and up to this there seems to be room for improvement in the young priests still as they come out.

These few things may, perhaps, suffice for the present paper. I may continue the subject at some future time—not that I have anything new to say on missionary life and its work; but bringing these things, from time to time, before our minds does us all good; and they may, perhaps, be of some little use to those who have less experience, and are not so long on the Mission as we are ourselves.

P. D. F.

THE HISTORY OF DAVID GRIEVE.<sup>1</sup>

AS it is well known, some four years ago, the reading world was agreeably surprised to find that a new writer of genius had arisen in our midst. *Robert Elsmere* was published, and, though the work of an unknown writer, was soon in everyone's hand. Nor was this surprising, for although England, we gladly admit, is still too deeply imbued with Christian tradition to allow the drift of the tale to command general sympathy: yet, the beauty and power of the story were sufficient to make its appearance a matter of pleasure and interest to the literary world. When, therefore, it was announced that a new work from the pen of Mrs. Humphrey Ward was in the press, it was eagerly expected, and as soon as it appeared was read with avidity; and it may not be uninteresting to some of our readers, who may have neither time nor opportunity to study the work for themselves, to read some account of a book written by one who may fairly claim to be the first novelist of the day.

It is a difficult task to give a true impression of the volumes before us. Of tale and adventure there is but little, nothing in fact, beyond what is necessary as a back-ground on which to hang the various portraits which make up the book. Its whole interest lies in the careful study and minute drawing of those portraits. Highly imaginative, powerful and skilful sketches, no doubt, they are; but whether life-like or not, is another question. We cannot but hope that they are not—for, taken as a whole, the characters in *David Grieve* are singularly unattractive. We cannot remember one of whom in real life we should care to make a friend; and with the whole wealth of a forcible imagination to draw on, we are at a loss to imagine why Mrs. Humphrey Ward should depict those who, at best, are vulgar, like Lucy; or ill-mannered, like Lady Driffield; or spiteful hypocrites, like Lucy's father: whilst in Hannah and in Louie we have

<sup>1</sup> By Mrs. Humphrey Ward. Fifth Edition. Three Vols. London: Smith & Elder, 1892.

characters so outrageous in their language and conduct, and so repulsive in their nature, that we doubt their being fit subjects for literary art at all. Indeed, we cannot but suspect the uglier and more repellent side, both of human beings and of circumstances, has an attraction for Mrs. Humphrey Ward. The story opens with the suicide of David's mother, a worthless Frenchwoman, who succeeds in ruining his father's career, and shortening his life. Then Ancrum, a dissenting minister, and, on the whole, the character with whom we find ourselves most in sympathy, is deformed in body, and carries about with him a broken heart and the tragic remembrances of a ruined vocation. Margaret, the devoted and self-sacrificing wife of a schoolmaster, who plays a part in the earlier chapters of the book, we see fall into a state bordering on idiotcy, and tortured by mocking children, her sole friend being a cat, who itself is half starved. The object of David's first passionate and illicit love is seen in the end tending a husband who has in some way been poisoned and reduced to a crippled and helpless state; and we are taken through the lengthy scenes of David's own wife's illness and death from a hideous and appalling malady. Moreover, there are no pleasing pictures of bright sun and beautiful scenes, and happy men and women, to relieve these sad events. Where things are not black and tragic, they are simply gray and dull representations of ugly English middle-class life, in the smoky atmosphere of Manchester.

The first section of the story is not only the most pleasing, but, on the whole, is the part in which there is least to object to from every point of view, moral and religious. The descriptions of wild country life are well drawn; and the girl Louie, although far removed from a pleasing picture of childlike innocence, is preferable to Louie when grown into a violent, bold, and uncontrollable woman. The tale, as we said before, is of the slightest. Two orphan children, the son and daughter of a working-man who had so far prospered as to leave behind him £600 for their support, are consigned to the care of an uncle and aunt who live in the wildest part of the Derbyshire mountains and moors. The uncle is a well-meaning man, but so deplorably

weak as to be entirely overruled by his wife Hannah—a woman who, we sincerely hope, is entirely the offspring of Mrs. Ward's imagination, whose prototype exists nowhere in reality. Louie and her aunt are fairly well matched in temper, greed, and selfishness, and both are so unbridled in their language, and so indecorous in their conduct, that, as has been already remarked, we cannot but hold that neither are fit subjects for literary treatment, and that Mrs. Humphrey Ward exceeds the bounds of what it is permissible to describe, in some of the scenes in which the two women figure. David (Louie's brother) is the hero of the book; and the tale, so far as there is a tale, is devoted to the history of his development. From a child he is unlike other boys. He takes a keen pleasure in reading, and in the talk of a half-crazy old schoolmaster, whose wits have been unbinged by an unexplained apparition of a witch, who, in former days had been drowned in a pool amongst the neighbouring mountains. David has also attracted the attention of the minister of the small dissenting body to which his uncle and aunt belong, the Mr. Ancrum mentioned above; and the latter is anxious that the lad should be brought into a more congenial atmosphere, apprenticed to a trade in Manchester, and placed where his abilities would stand a better chance of being developed than on a Derbyshire farm. The opposition to this scheme proceeds from Aunt Hannah. Money would be required for an apprenticeship, and she would never willingly relinquish any portion of the children's fortune, which she has quickly come to look upon as her own, whilst in them she sees more paupers dependant on her for their subsistence. They themselves know nothing of the £30 a-year which she receives as the interest of their father's legacy, and Uncle Reuben, although his conscience pricks him severely for the practical dishonesty, stands far too much in awe of his wife to prevent the misappropriation of the children's fortune. Eventually, however, David gets into a scrape, breaks the net, and escapes into freedom. A revivalist preacher is in the country, and we can well believe that, although by no means religiously disposed, a clever lad would be attracted by the preaching of a sincere man,

made eloquent by the force of his convictions, and striking his hearers mainly by the power he possessed of picturing to them vividly their own feelings and occupations. At first, David had only scoffed; but he was induced one evening to attend a prayer-meeting; and here, probably for the first time, he was initiated into the pleasure of listening to oratory which possessed a certain rough force, and which to a boy suffering from intellectual starvation, appeared even more powerful than it actually was. David was no hypocrite; but it was not unnatural that he should be taken for one, when after a season of religious exaltation, a sudden reaction set in, and after the abrupt breaking up of a prayer-meeting, caused by a mad freak of Louie's, he falls from the spiritual heights he fancied he had gained, and becomes the principal actor in a vulgar, drunken brawl in the village public-house. David gets a severe thrashing from a local bully, which causes him so deep a humiliation, that he feels he can never again face his neighbours or live the old life, and he runs away to struggle as best he can at Manchester.

Thus ends the first part of *David Grieve*, which, although in no sense a graceful or pleasing picture of life, is, on the whole, the most attractive part of the book. The pictures of wild mountain country are graphically drawn, and form a fitting frame-work for the rough country life of the Derbyshire farm-house; whilst the revivalist preacher seems a not inappropriate pastor for these strong-willed, uncultured folk. The sermon which first impresses David is likely to have affected him and the other lads to whom it was addressed: the fear produced by the preacher's vivid picture of hell, the sudden change to an appeal to look away from ourselves, from sin, from pain and death, and to draw near to our blessed Lord, are powerfully portrayed; and although Mrs. Humphrey Ward is out of sympathy with such teaching, taken in its literal sense, yet even she admits its eternal power in the words with which she concludes her description of the revivalist meeting:—

“Redemption—Salvation—the deliverance of the soul from itself—thither all religion comes at last, whether for the ranter or the philosopher. To the enriching of that conception, to the

travail having it not in his ideal shape, have gone the noblest poetry, the purest passion, the intensest spiritual vision of the highest races, save the human mind began to work. And the historical shape may crumble; but the need will last, and the travail will go on: for man's quest of redemption is but the eternal yielding of the clay in the hands of the potter, the eternal answer of the creature to the urging indwelling Creator."

Four years are supposed to elapse between David's flight from the Derbyshire farm to our meeting him again in Manchester, as the prosperous assistant to a second-hand bookseller. Here David is in his element. His love for books makes him a keen and intelligent critic: he quickly learns their relative value, and he becomes of great service to his master, who is, however, the last to admit the obligation. He reads voraciously, and fast develops into a free-thinker of the most pronounced type, revelling in the grosser kind of scoffing infidelity of Voltaire and the French school of the last century, and frequenting a certain "Hall of Science," where secularists of an extreme school often gathered together to expound their unbelief. Two girls, who for the rest of the story are amongst its principal characters, are now introduced to us: Lucy Purcell, the daughter of David's master, and her cousin, Dora Lamax. The former is a witty, thin-matured school-girl; the second is a pious Ritualist, the self-denying and unselfish daughter of an eccentric and very trying father, whose only joys are her prayers and the services of a "High Church," which she attends, helps to decorate, and loves with the devotion which Ritualistic churches and their ministers will sometimes arouse in their members. Both girls are attracted by David, but, with her usual self-abnegation, Dora relinquishes any chance she may have had of winning his love in favour of Lucy, and to the last remains the devoted sister and friend to both.

David, meanwhile, thinks but little of either. Women have slight attraction for him: he has no thought of marriage, and is deeply engrossed in business and study. Indeed, if we are to accept as literally true the languages and sciences with which he becomes acquainted before he is twenty, we can well believe that the acquisition of such a

marvellous amount of learning would leave him but little time for anything else. He has mastered French, German, Latin, and has begun Greek; he is deeply read in philosophy, and his readings have convinced him that the Bible, and the religion which is founded on Holy Scripture, are glaring impositions, and has decided that the most which is required to shiver in pieces the recognised forms of Christianity is "a good education Bill." He lives like a Spartan, saves money, and before he has been five years in Manchester he establishes a book-stall of his own, and sends for his sister Louie to live with him. All now goes well with him. His uncle, in spite of his wife, hands over to him the £600 left by his father. With this he enlarges his business, adds to it a printing press, and a long vista of material success opens out before him. Dora teaches Louie her own trade, that of church embroidery; and, though the latter behaves to all around after the outrageous fashion in which it is her nature to act, Dora, for David's sake, bears with her, and things are generally prosperous.

Unfortunately, at this moment David is urged to visit Paris with the idea of extending his business, and making the sale of foreign books a part of his trade. He is unwilling to go as a simple tourist or as a mere commercial traveller, to put up at a common-place inn, and thus to see French life only as an outsider. He is, however, acquainted with a French refugee living in Manchester, and the latter assists him in securing an apartment in the studio of an absent nephew. Thus David and Louie, who insists on accompanying him, on first arriving in Paris, find themselves at once in the centre of an artistic clique.

What follows can be but slightly indicated here, for Mrs. Humphrey Ward allows herself a liberty, not to say a licence—with what excuse we are at a loss to imagine—in painting the vicious scenes of this part of the book, which is supposed to be denied to English novelists. Suffice it to say, David falls in love with a girl artist, Elise, who, whilst she too loves him, yet loves her painting and her chance of fame far more. After a few weeks of wild passion

and delight spent together in the forest of Fontainebleau, she deserts him, as being a disturbing element in her art, and leaves him to fight out his sorrow alone. Louie, David selfishly leaves alone to take her chance of standing or falling in Paris, and whilst he is spending his days with Elise, she has been posing as a model to a sculptor, a man with whom, though described as one to whom no decent woman would speak, David takes no effectual steps to prevent his sister being intimate. It is all very well to say no one could control Louie; he simply never tries to control her. He only cares for liberty and freedom to pursue his own passion; and, placing his sister under the care of people who, with half an eye, he must have seen were untrustworthy, he goes off with Elise to enjoy the Arcadian delights of a summer in the forest.

The reaction after Elise's flight from him is severe. He spends some days in a futile search for her, and when finally satisfied that were he even to find her it would be useless, that she is truly lost to him for ever, he makes arrangements for Louie's marriage with the sculptor by a bribe of his father's £600, and resolves on suicide. From this he is rescued by the unexpected arrival on the scene of Mr. Ancrum, the dissenting minister and schoolmaster of his youth; and, having passed through the conventional illness, David at last reaches his home again, and after a severe struggle is brought back, mainly through Ancrum's instrumentality, to a state when he may be described as again "clothed, and in his right mind."

At this point Lucy once more crosses his path, and, critically speaking, we are at a loss to say why, for she inspires David with no deeper feeling than lukewarm gratitude. He resolves on marrying her. Dora has assured him that she will prove an affectionate helpmate, and with this he is content. More than this it is not possible that poor Lucy should be; and in the event she proves to be less. Her nature is essentially common-place and vulgar, and after the first early feeling of triumph and gratified vanity which she experiences at having secured a man so far above her usual intellectual surroundings, she

developes into a pettish, querulous woman, unable to rise above small social vanities and troubles, and falling into a kind of peevish irritation with her husband, which not only is lowering to herself, but of which he himself must feel it humiliating to be the victim. And yet David's marriage is supposed to be the turning-point in his life, and for the future the right road is distinctly seen and bravely followed by him.

We now lose sight of David for eight years, and when we find him again he is a prosperous man of business, making a large income, which he shares with his workmen in the spirit of a philanthropist and a true social reformer. His scoffing Voltairianism has fallen from him, and is replaced by a reverent secularism, which, whilst it refuses to accept the supernatural elements of Christianity, is enamoured, or fancies itself enamoured, by the spiritual beauty of our Lord's teaching and character. Of the true tendency of his belief, we must speak later on. David is also a devoted husband and father, and, in all other relations of life, has left his stormy youth behind him. During these years Louie has been away in Paris, and although she has suffered the natural consequences of her marriage with a worthless man, she has also developed in an unexpected way. She has a child, and for this little girl she feels a wild, passionate love, which, although it does not force her to control her violent temper, and the poor child is the victim of alternate bursts of love and rage, yet is a redeeming feature in a preternaturally wicked nature. Moreover, Louie has also become a Catholic, attracted apparently by the grandeur and majesty of Catholic ceremonial; and also, in some inexplicable way, is controlled by a skilful French director, who so far influences her, that she conducts herself with decorum, fearing to lose her position in the Catholic circle, of which she is represented to be an influential member. Her account of her Catholic experiences, and the beauty and reality of the Church's services and ceremonial, are detailed for the poor Ritualistic Dora's benefit with a certain amount of humour. She writes to her brother:—

“Dora was especially to be told that she need not suppose that St. Damian's was a patch on the real Catholic churches.

because it wasn't. She—Louie—had been at the Midnight Mass in Toulouse Cathedral on Christmas Eve. That was something like. And down in the crypt they had a 'Bethlehem'—the sweetest thing you ever saw. There were the shepherds, and the wise men, and the angels—dolls, of course, but their dresses were splendid, and the little Jesus was dressed in white satin, embroidered with gold—*oh* embroidery, tell Dora."

And when she pays David a visit in Manchester:—

"She would go to St. Damian's on Sunday . . . and afterwards, when Dora, as her custom was, came out to early dinner with the Gieves, Louie could not contain herself on the subject of the dresses, the processions, the decorations, the flowers, and ceremonial trappings in general, with which *she* might, if she liked, regale herself either at St. Eulalie or the Madeleine, in comparison with the wretched show offered by St. Damian's. Dora, after an early service and much Sunday school, sat looking pale and weary under the scornful information poured out upon her. She was outraged by Louie's tone; yet she was stung by her contempt. Once her gentleness was roused to speech, and she endeavoured to give some of the reasons for rejecting the usurped authority of the 'Bishop of Rome,' in which she had been drilled at different times. But she floundered and came to grief. Her adversary laughed at her, and in the intervals of railing Cecile for having inked her dress, flouted some shrill controversy which put them all staring. Louie vindicating the claims of the Holy See with much unction and an appropriate diatribe." It seemed to David as he listened, that the irony of life could hardly be carried further."

It is sad to compare the two women, and to feel that however hateful may be Louie, there is much truth in her contempt for all the make-believe at St. Damian's, which is so much to Dora, and which, as a fact, has brought her far along the road of Catholic discipline and self-denial. She, in the midst of her errors, is all but a saint; whilst Louie, in the blaze of truth, is only just saved from the lowest depths by the insight she has been vouchsafed of true light. In the end, however, Louie's religion is seen to rest only on her love for her child: and when Cecile is taken from her, she, as it were, revenges herself upon God, by falling into sin, and finally closes a wretched life by her own hand. Thus ends poor Louie!

David, too, is tried in the furnace. Lucy's vanity has

received a severe shock during a visit which she and her husband pay to a large country house, where she is treated, as we would fain hope no guest was ever treated by a hostess, however great may be the social disparity between the two. The result is, that, when thus bruised and wounded, David's chivalrous kindness and consideration are appreciated, and cause her to turn to her husband with the clinging humble affection of their early married life. She no longer thwarts his philanthropic plans, which, till now, as they crippled their means and retarded the process of "getting on" in society, she had steadily opposed. She even tries to sympathise with his religious views; and a happier life for David seems on the point of beginning, when Lucy is struck down by a terrible and malignant disease, to which, after a few months of pain and sorrow, months of wholesome discipline both to her and David, she succumbs. After a few more pages, in which are gathered together the various threads of the tale, we take leave of David Grieve, hardly knowing how his future may shape itself. He is still a young man, and his true life may yet have to be lived; we, at any rate, refuse to admit that the final answer to the struggles of a life is to be found in the concluding chapter of Mrs. Humphrey Ward's novel. She has brought David onwards to the point where his soul and her's are at one, and there she leaves him; and so far as the story goes, the conclusion is simply unsatisfactory.

We are, however, well aware that to tell a story was amongst the slighter objects which Mrs. Humphrey Ward had in view in writing this book. This was altogether second to her desire to put forward her own religious belief in so attractive a form as to obtain a hearing. We take David's final words as containing this belief; and of it we must now say a few words.

We find, at starting, that, of course, Mrs. Ward dispenses with all authority, whether written or traditional, and that both the Church and the Bible share the same fate, and are discarded when not at one with her views. At least, so we gather; but a religious novel is at best a bad medium for controversy, and the reflexions in this book, contained

mainly in a fragmentary journal kept by David, are even more unsatisfactory than usual. Thoughts are stated baldly, unproved assumptions are made, and difficulties are raised which Mrs. Ward must well know have already been answered. Whether she accepts such answers or not, no religious controversy can honestly ignore them, and they are by no means silenced by vague allusions to "German criticism"—criticism, by the way, which has not always been simply destructive, as she is well aware. Moreover, is there anything new in David's creed? Have not the Gospels been criticised, and by many rejected, since the very age in which they were written? Let anyone who supposes that Biblical criticism is a new science, read Cardinal Manning's small volume on the *Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost*, or the introduction to the recently published *Life of Jesus Christ*, by Pere Didon. Is the denial of our Lord's Divinity a new heresy? Are Arius and Socinus unknown names? Have not those who, whilst claiming to retain the title of Christian, refused to admit that Christ was more than man, existed from the beginning of Christ's religion? The struggle between reason and faith is an old one, and no "education Bill" can be passed that will settle the controversy. Certainly, David Grieve hardly advances it, for he seems not even to understand the grounds on which his enemy rests. Thus he expresses himself as follows, in criticising an Anglican dignitary who justifies his refusal to enter the lists with him, and discuss the first elements of the faith, by saying that he, the Dean, leaves to experts who have made scepticism their special study, the task of answering it.

"Strange! He leaves to experts such questions as those of the independence, authenticity, and trustworthiness of the Gospel records; of the culture and idiosyncrasies of the first two centuries as tending to throw light on those records; of the earlier growth of dogma; as, thanks mainly to German labour, it may now be exhibited within the New Testament itself. . . . Yet a better, a more God-fearing, a more sincere, and, within certain lines, a more acute man than Dean Manley it would certainly be difficult to find at the present time within the English Church. It is an illustration of the dualism in which so many minds tend

to live, divided between two worlds, two standards, two wholly different modes of thought—the one applied to religion even in its intellectual aspect; the other applied to all the rest of existence. Yet—is truth divided?”

Certainly, the main contention on which Christianity rests, the fact of a divine revelation having been vouchsafed to us, is “divided,” altogether “divided,” from the grounds on which all other knowledge relies; and this is as true of Protestantism as of Catholicity. Yet, David Grieve altogether passes it by. That science and revelation in a Christian occupy altogether different planes of thought, seems unknown to him. Later on he returns to the same point, and considers that he wins in a controversy with an opponent whose critical sense is less keen when arguing on the authority of Scripture than when arguing on more human topics. “He cannot handle the New Testament in the spirit of science, for he approaches it on his knees,” David exclaims in despair; and again, in answer to the same opponent, who concludes the discussion by saying, “Faith must take a leap. . . . if there is to be faith at all,” David writes:—

“Yes, but *where*? at what point? Is the clergyman who talks with sincere distress about infidel views of Scripture, and preaches against them, whilst at the same time he could not possibly give an intelligible account of the problem of the Synoptic Gospels as it now presents itself to the best knowledge, or an outline of the case pressed by science for more than half a century with increasing force against the historical character of St. John’s Gospel—is he justified in making his ignorance the leaping-point?”

“His ignorance” we, however, believe to be simple loyalty to God’s revelation; whilst what David dogmatically describes as “the best knowledge,” we hold to be the ephemeral and passing opinion of a school of writers, who even were we to grant, which, however, is not necessary, that they are unanswerable on their own ground, have in no way touched ours. That the finite should have difficulties to overcome when it attempts to explain the revelation of the Infinite, is what, from the nature of the case, might be expected. We, however, simply accept God’s revelation, as contained in the Bible and the Church’s teaching; and

the difficulties of those who attempt to criticise, to qualify, or to reject such revelation do not affect us. Superficial discrepancies may be discovered; but when such appear we know that in God's hands there is also a key, and that we can trust Him, in His good time, to make things clear.

And, at best, what is the worth of such criticism? Of David's own powers of unravelling the truth from the myth on which it is supposed to rest, we are given an instance—an instance so inadequate in its reasoning from accepted facts, so childish in its incompleteness, that we cannot but wish that the tables were turned, and that Voltaire's keen scent for anomalies might be applied to heresy as severely as it has been turned against the truth.

Naturally, to those who see in Christianity no more than a human development, the fact of our Lord's resurrection is a stumbling-block. That the Apostles were impostors, who were knowingly untruthful, is now an exploded theory, and has passed away like other fashions of a day. No; by the scripture they are now held to be simply amiable, misguided men, who succeeded in deceiving themselves even more effectually than they deceived anyone else. That the miraculous could happen, David would not, of course, admit; yet, if the Apostles did not lie, how can we account for the story of the risen Christ? He reasons as follows, writing shortly after his wife's death:—

"Two nights ago I thought I was standing beside her. . . . There seemed to be a strange mixed sense at the bottom of my heart that I had somehow lost her and found her again. . . . Then in a flash I saw that it was not my living Lucy; that it could only be her spirit. . . . It has often seemed to me lately that certain elements in the Resurrection stories may be originally traced to such experiences as these: I am irresistibly drawn to believe that the strange and mystic scene beside the lake, in the appendix chapter to the Gospel of St. John, arose in some such way. There is the same mixture of elements—of the familiar with the ghostly, the trivial with the passionate and exalted—which my own consciousness has so often trembled under in these last visionary months. The well-known lake, the old scene of fishers and fishing-boats; and, on the shore, the mysterious figure of the Master, the same, yet not the same; the little, vivid, dream-like details of the fire of coals; the broiled fish and bread; the awe

and longing of the disciples—it is borne in upon me with extraordinary conviction that the whole of it sprang, to begin with, from the dream of grief and exhaustion. Then, in an age which attached a peculiar and mystical importance to dreams, the beautiful thrilling fancy passed from mouth to mouth; became almost immediately history instead of dream . . . was, after a while, added to and made more precise in the interest of apologetics, or of doctrine, or of the simple love of elaboration; and so found, at last a final resting-place as an epilogue to the fourth Gospel.”

Does David offer us the above surmise as the explanation of all the accounts of our Lord’s various appearances after His resurrection? If he does not, it has but little value; if he does, and if all the apparitions are but visions which troubled the sleep of His affectionate and bereft apostles, then how can we account for the effect of these dreams on the world? Dreams do not, in themselves, work miracles; and how else than by a miracle shall we explain the sudden change of shrinking, cowardly followers into the heroic founders of the Church that has vanquished the world? Does David’s dream greatly affect him: are his life and character in any way changed from the night he dreamed? No; it is simply noted in his journal as exciting tender memories and bitter regrets, and then passes out of his life. Could so slender a thread account for the central doctrine of Christianity: a doctrine resting on definite accounts of our Lord’s various appearances during the time, distinctly chronicled, which He willed to spend on earth after His resurrection? If the above be a fair specimen of the reasoning which forms the basis of Mrs. Humphrey Ward’s creed, the Christian faith need hardly fear her attacks.

David, we are told, spends both time and money in spreading broadcast sceptical tracts on the New Testament. He is asked: “Could anyone be so sure of supposed critical and historical fact as to be clear that he was right in proclaiming it, when the proclamation of it meant the inevitable disturbance in his fellow-men of conceptions whereon their moral life depended?”

We hold that the fact underlying this suggestion is true, and has been proved to be true. All growth is slow, destruction is often rapid. It has taken ages to build up in

the hearts and minds of the multitude the Christian ideal both of morality and religion; but faith and conduct are delicate plants, growing very nearly together, their roots being so intertwined, that, in tearing up our faith, David works havoc with the fibres from which springs our morality. We know full well that the basis of our love for our fellow-men, of our Christ-like works, of our deeds of mercy and kindness, is our love of Jesus our God; and though we do not deny that for the moment, in a world still impregnated with the Christian ideal, philanthropists may arise, who, in their zeal for their brother's welfare, may emulate our works, and may even cause the lukewarm Christian to quicken and enlarge his charity for very shame, lest he be outdistanced in his Master's work by one denying his Master's claim—yet, though this we grant, is it not open to us to doubt whether such philanthropy is worth more than the green shoots which will often burst from the rootless trunk of a felled tree? The foundation has been destroyed: will not the superstructure shortly collapse? It never existed before the Gospel "*fable*;" is it likely to be long-lived after this "*fable*" is exploded? And in the realms of morality, do we not already see, in the modern and legalized relaxation of the marriage tie, the undermining of one of the great triumphs of Christianity, in the standard erected by the Church for the regulation of an important side of life?

If this is to be the end of the study of "German criticism," Mrs. Humphrey Ward must pardon us if we fail to recommend its being commenced. At best, it is but the views of certain students, working with avowedly imperfect weapons. What they may bid us discard to-day, they may to-morrow, with fresh knowledge, press on our acceptance. The last word can never be said, because the ultimate authority can never be discovered. Meanwhile, if the first hasty views of these new reformers are accepted, the main-spring of faith is weakened, and the machinery which has gradually remodelled the world is put out of gear.

We have no fear for ourselves: a Catholic knows too well the sin of tampering with such evil; and we trust that

our Protestant fellow-countrymen, who, on however inadequate grounds, still are at one with us in holding firmly the central doctrines of our faith, may be warned by what has happened elsewhere, and may resist such assaults on Holy Scripture as are contained in these volumes. That *David Grieve* has been severely handled by the majority of its critics is a favourable sign; and we trust that the reading public, whilst enjoying Mrs. Humphrey Ward's talent for drawing life-like portraits and graphic pictures of English scenery, may discard her altogether undogmatic and hardly moral teaching. May she herself, for the future, confine her novels to the proper sphere of fiction, and not attempt to give a one-sided exposition of religious views, which, to be discussed or argued in any satisfactory fashion, require an entirely different medium, and which, even were they to find acceptance, must, if gathered from such books as *David Grieve*, be finally adopted upon inadequate grounds.

EVELYN MORDAUNT.

---

#### ST. FINNIAN OF CLONARD.

**S**AINTE FINNIAN of Clonard, "Tutor of the Saints of Ireland," lived in the sixth century. He was a native of Leinster; his birthplace is generally supposed to have been near the present town of New Ross. Saint Finnian was of the race of Ir, and belonged to the Clan na Rudraidhe. His name appears to be a diminutive of *Finn*, "white." He was a contemporary of Finnian of Moville, whose name comes next in the list of saints of the second class.

Saint Abban baptized Finnian, and at an early age he was placed under the care of Bishop Fortchern of Trim. With him he remained thirty years. At the end of that period Finnian proceeded to Britain, and settled at Kilmuine or Menevia, where he placed himself under David, Gildas, and Cadoc. David was grandson of an Irish prince, Bracan. He taught St. Aidan of Ferns, was first Bishop of

Moneva, and died A.D. 589. Gildas was the author of *De Ecclesia Britannia*, according to the Annals of Ulster. He died A.D. 570. Cadoc is represented as cousin to St. David, and was a pupil of St. Thaddeus, an Irishman. Saint Finnian is said to have founded three churches in Britain, but they have not been identified. While a monk at the monastery of St. David, Finnian on one occasion was asked to supply the place of oeconomus, or house steward, in the absence of the monk who generally filled that office.<sup>1</sup> Finnian replied that he would be unable to do so, as he was unprovided with the necessary requirements for carrying wood and provisions. His superior having insisted on his undertaking the task, Finnian obeyed, and we read in his life that an angel came to his assistance. What before had seemed an impossibility he was able to accomplish by the aid of this heavenly messenger.

How long Finnian remained at St. David's monastery is uncertain. Lanigan thinks he returned to Ireland about A.D. 520. Before leaving Britain Finnian determined to undertake a journey to Rome, but an angel warned him not to do so, but to return to his own country—"Redite ad vestras phocas, Deus enim accipiet intentionem Vestram." Finnian was accompanied to Ireland by several friends, among whom special mention is made of Bitcus and Genoc. On his passage to Ireland, says Dr. Lanigan, he stopped a while with his friend Caimin, and landed at the port *Kille-Caireni*, in Wexford.

Finnian sent messengers to Muiredach, sovereign of Ky-Kinsellagh,<sup>2</sup> asking permission to enter his territory. The king generously acceded to his request, and came himself to see Finnian, in whose presence Muiredach prostrated himself on the ground, and promised the saint a site for a monastery. Saint Finnian erected an establishment at *Achadh Abhla*; i. e., "Field of the Apple-Tree," which now bears the name Aghowle, or Aghold, in the barony

<sup>1</sup> Oeconomus was the office of procurator. The Irish word *Fíotighis* literally signifies houseman. — Todd, *Life of St. Patrick*.

<sup>2</sup> Muiredach was grandfather of the celebrated Brandubh, King of Leinster, in the latter part of the sixth century. (Lanigan, vol. i., page 468.)

of Shillelagh, County Wicklow. It was anciently called *Crosalech*. Here St. Finnian resided for sixteen years.<sup>1</sup> At Mughna, County Carlow, he erected another monastery, and is said to have lectured there for seven years on the Sacred Scriptures. It is probably while there that he preached on one occasion in presence of St. Brigid.

We now approach the most important event in St. Finnian's life in his settlement at Clonard, County Meath, which during his lifetime became the most celebrated sanctuary in Ireland for piety and learning. *Cluain-Erard*—i. e., Erard's Lawn or Meadow—is the derivation given by O'Donovan. Erard was a man's name, very common in Ireland, signifying lofty or noble. Again, we find it related in the saint's life that an angel appeared to him directing him as to where he should take up his abode. Saint Finnian entered Clonard repeating the psalm—"Haec requies mea in Sacculum Saeculi hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam."

The date of the saint's arrival at Clonard is said to be about A.D. 530. It is a matter of doubt whether St. Finnian was a bishop. The Four Masters simply term him abbot. Such is the title accorded to him in the *Martyrology of Donegal* and other Irish calendars.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Lanigan seems to think that St. Finnian was only abbot. It is, doubtless, a fact that Clonard was an episcopal see, but it is quite possible that it did not become so till after Finnian's time. His successor at Clonard, St. Seanach, is called bishop by the Four Masters. The school of Clonard in a short time became famous in Ireland. Those great men who were afterwards

<sup>1</sup> *Four Masters* (O'Donovan), vol. ii., page 791. Archdall erroneously places Achadh Athla in County Wexford.—*Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Colgan says:—"Erard idem quod nobilis, altus vel eximius, erat autem hoc nomen inter Hibernos olim non infrequens, ut patet ex illo a quo Cluain-Erard nomen accepit."—*Acta*, page 28. There was also St. Erard of Arda, who preached to the Bavarians. It was also the name of King Malachy's secretary, a man deeply versed in Irish history. Some of his writings were extant in Colgan's time. (See Dr. Kelly's *Calendar of Irish Saints*.)

<sup>3</sup> The *Drummond Calendar* calls Finnian abbot, so does the *Martyrology of Aberdeen*; but in the *Life of St. Columb of Tir-da-ghlas* he is called bishop. Ware says he was a bishop, and Alban Butler confidently states Finnian was consecrated bishop on his return to Ireland. However, Butler gives no authority for his assertion.

called the Twelve Apostles of Ireland came to seek instruction from Finnian—viz., Columba, the two Brendans, Ciaran of Saighor, his namesake of Clonmacnoise, Columb of Tir-da-ghlas, Mábhí Claurineach, Molaish, Canice, and Ruadhan of Lethra. Three thousand scholars are said to have been educated at Clonard during the saint's lifetime, and the holy founder was justly termed "Magister Sanctorum Hibernie sui temporis." In the *Life of St. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise*, we read:—"In schola sapientissimi magistri Finniani plures Sancti Hibernie erant;" and in that of St. Columb of Tir-da-ghlas:—"Audiens famam S. Finniani Episcopi de Cluain-Eraird, ut Sacram Scripturam addisceret accessit;" and, lastly, we find it said of St. Ruadhan:—"Legebat diversas Scripturas et multum proficiens in eis."<sup>1</sup> Colgan enumerates thirty-two saints who received instruction from St. Finnian, and bears testimony of the fame of Clonard, where students assembled from various parts of Europe.

Saint Finnian did not permit his multifarious labours in behalf of learning to interfere with his duties towards the needy and afflicted. We read in his life that he was a father to all who sought help from him:—"Flebat cum flentibus." "Infirmabatur enim cum infirmis."<sup>2</sup> On a certain occasion a bard named German presented St. Finnian with a beautiful poem, in which many of his virtues were extolled; the bard demanded from the saint not gold or silver, or any worldly substance, but only fertility of produce in his lands. Finnian answered him, and said:—"Sing over water the hymn which thou hast composed, and sprinkle the land with that water." The bard did as he was directed, and his land produced abundant fruit.

In the historical tale "The Expedition of the Sons of Carra," published by O'Curry in his *MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History*, we have a description of St. Finnian's interviews with the three brothers, who had plundered the churches of Connaught. O'Curry observes that while these tales often contain matter without resemblance to facts,

<sup>1</sup> Colgan, also Reeves' edition of *Adamnan*, page 196, note.

<sup>2</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, Colgan.

we are not to reject them wholly on that account, but rather make allowance for poetic embellishment, at the same time having good ground for believing that a foundation of truth exists. The story is as follows:—

“Three brothers actuated by an evil spirit plundered the churches of Connaught. In their wicked enterprise they were joined by a band of adventurers as daring as themselves. They commenced by pillaging the Church of Tuam, and never ceased till they had laid waste more than half the churches of the province. When the three brothers arrived at the Church of *Clothar*, they determined to kill the old man, who was the *Airchennech* of that place; he was their grandfather; but he, though suspecting their evil design, treated them with kindness, and assigned to them a comfortable resting-place. Lochan, the eldest of the three brothers, that night had a vision, which alarmed him so much that he became conscience-stricken. He saw represented before him the eternal joys of heaven and the torments of hell. When morning came he acquainted his brothers of what he saw, and like him they felt remorse for their wicked deeds. The brothers Carra sought the pardon and prayers of their grandfather. They took counsel with the old man as to what course they should pursue in order to obtain God's forgiveness and to make reparation for the past. He told them to repair to St. Finnian, the great teacher, and to submit themselves to his spiritual direction. The Ua Carra immediately put off their warlike attire, and donned the garb of pilgrims, and with staves instead of swords hastened to Clonard. At their approach the inhabitants fled, for the fame of their evil deeds had spread far and wide. St. Finnian alone came out to meet them; the brothers threw themselves on their knees, and besought his friendship and pardon. ‘What do you want, said Finnian.’ ‘We want,’ said they, ‘to take upon us the habit of religion and penitence, and henceforward to serve God.’ ‘Your determination is a good one,’ said Finnian, ‘let us come into the town, where my people are.’ They entered the town, and Finnian took counsel with his people respecting the penitents. It was decided that they should be placed for the space of a year under the direction of a certain divinity student, with whom alone they were to converse during that period. The Ua Carra faithfully complied with the mode of life laid out for them, and when the year expired presented themselves before St. Finnian for his benediction. The saint blessed them, saying, ‘You cannot restore to life the innocent ecclesiastics whom you have slain, but you can go and repair, and restore as far as is in your power, the churches and other buildings which you have ruined.’ The sons of Ua Carra took an affectionate leave of St. Finnian, and as the Church of Tuam was the first which suffered from their plundering, they wished it

to be the first that they should restore. They repaired it, and proceeded from place to place, making amends for the injury they had inflicted on the churches of Connaught. Having restored all the churches but one, the Ua Carra returned to St. Finnian, who inquired if they had finished their work. They replied, 'We have repaired all the churches but one.' 'Which is that?' asked Finnian. 'The Church of Ceann Mara (Kinvara),' they said. 'Alas!' said the saint, 'this was the first church you ought to have repaired—the church of the holy man Coman; return now, and repair every damage you have done to that place.' The brothers obeyed St. Finnian's command, and restored the church. By the advice of St. Coman they built a canoe, and undertook a voyage on the Atlantic Ocean."

Thus far the tale refers to St. Finnian; the voyage and its results does not come within the scope of this paper.

St. Finnian's mode of life was very austere, his usual food was bread and herbs; on festival days he allowed himself a little beer or whey; he slept on the bare grounds, and a stone served him for a pillow.

In his last illness the saint was attended by his former pupil St. Colomb, of Tir-da-Ghlas, who administered to him the Holy Viaticum. The Four Masters record his death A.D. 548; but the year 550 or 551 appears to be the correct date. It is stated in some of our annals that Finnian died of the plague; there is no doubt that the plague was in Ireland during this period, viz., 548 and 551. In the *Chronicon Scotorum*, under 551, we read: "A great mortality, i.e., the Chronn Conaill." St. Finnian is enumerated among its victims.

This great saint is commemorated by Ænghus in the following verse:—

"A Tower of Gold over the sea,  
May he bring help to my soul,  
Is Finnian fair, the beloved root  
Of the great Cluain-Eraird."<sup>1</sup>

JOHN M. THUNDER.

<sup>1</sup> St. Finnian's sister, St. Regnach, was Abbess of Kilreynagh, near the present town of Banagher, King's County. Hardy, in his *Descriptive Catalogue of British History*, mentions four lives of St. Finnian: viz., Ex. MS. Salmonsteeensis (which is given by Colgan); MS. Life, Duke of Devonshire; MS. Trinity College, Dublin, referred to by Bishop Nicholson in his *Irish Historical Library*; and MS. Bodleian Library, which begins thus: "Fuit vir nobilis in Hiberniæ partibus." (Hardy's *Catalogue*, p. 128, vol. i., part 1.) December 12th (the day of his death) is observed as his Feast.

## POETRY AND TRUTH.

LITTLE more than two years ago, a great English poet was taken from us, in the height of his fame. After a long period of undeserved neglect, he had at length made good his position in the front rank of our singers. The once narrow circle of his readers was steadily widening: and his death was felt to be nothing less than a national loss. This was a great change, surely, from the time when Robert Browning was described as a "poet without a public." It is likely enough that much that was then said in his praise is hardly worth recalling now; for critics too often go with the tide of popular feeling, and pass from undeserved censure to praise that is wanting in sincerity. In some cases, however, a deeper and truer note was sounded. Thus many drew attention to the fact that Browning was a great teacher of men; nay, a witness to the truth of religion. This judgment found expression in such very different quarters that we may safely regard it as having, to say the least, some foundation. When we think of the vast influence his writings are likely to have on the future of English thought, we may well find matter of consolation in this fact, if such indeed it is. And the statement that his writings bear witness to the truth will hardly be gainsaid, though opinions may differ as to the extent and the worth of his testimony. It would, of course, be idle to look for the orthodoxy of a Catholic, or the accuracy of a theologian, in the writings of Robert Browning. Nay, more, there are some things in his works that betray a strange misconception of the Catholic Church, and a consequent hostility to her teaching. Nor could it well be otherwise; for even his vigorous genius could not wholly shake off the trammels of the Protestant tradition in which his youth was trained. And Browning was far too honest to see the whole truth and remain where he was.

It is not our present purpose to inquire how far the truth contained in his writings may bear with it a refutation of the unsound portions, or whether the latter may not seriously impair the good influence of the whole. This would be an

inquiry both fruitful and full of interest. But the facts suggest another question of yet deeper import, which may well claim our attention first. Is it a mere coincidence, that of all the "kings of modern thought" the poet should thus be foremost in bearing witness to the truth of religion? or is there not some real connection between poetry and the perception of moral and spiritual truth?

First, then, let it be observed that the fact which is the occasion of this inquiry does not by any means stand alone. The widespread unbelief and irreligion of the day is unhappily nothing new. This is felt even by those who are disposed to take the most gloomy view; for they not unfrequently speak of it as a return of paganism. Now, when we look back to that old pagan world, we find luminous points that break through the darkness. In the midst of the prevailing evils there are witnesses to religious and moral truth; and these, too, are the poets. Browning himself somewhere speaks of a "chorus fragment of Euripides" as one of the dangers from which the jealous sceptic can scarcely "guard his unbelief." And what a multitude of noble passages come back to the memory at the mere mention of those old Greek poets! Here, Sophocles sings of the heaven-born, everlasting laws, or comforts the sufferer with the thought of God in heaven seeing and ruling over all. Here, Pindar warns the sinner of his coming doom, or in another strain sings how God can make light to shine out of the blackest darkness. There are just three pagan writers cited in Holy Scripture, and all three are poets.

Thus, when we look at the old heathen world, we find evidence of religion in the poets. In like manner, when we turn to the bright light of Revelation, we can hardly fail to see tokens of poetry in religion. And, first, a considerable portion of the inspired writings is cast in a poetic form: a fact which we are likely to forget in using a translation in place of the original. But the poetry of Holy Scripture is by no means confined to the metrical books. In the ringing music of its language, and the rich imagery of its types and parables, a true poetic vein runs through the whole. Passing to the uninspired writers, we come upon fresh evidence of

this constant union of poetry with religious truth. There are poets among the early Fathers of the Church, such as, for instance, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and Synesius, in the East; and St. Ambrose and Prudentius, in the West. To judge by the lines quoted in St. Irenæus, the use of religious poetry must date from the very earliest days of the Christian Church. In Syriac literature, poetry holds a still more conspicuous place, for the two chief Doctors of this Church are the poets St. Ephrem and St. James of Sarug. Syriac poetry may, perhaps, be regarded as an echo or prolongation of the kindred strains of Hebrew song. In natural freshness and beauty, it will probably be allowed a higher place than the poetry of the Latin or the Greek Fathers. The latter can hardly fail to suffer from comparison with the more perfect work of the older Greek singers. And it would be taxing the richest soil to look for much vigour and freshness in the aftermath of that golden harvest.

The fulness of Christian poetry in the West was yet to come. The sublime ideal must sink deep into the mind and heart of the convert races before it could bear its full measure of fruit. At an early age we can find what may be called the faint beginnings of a new poetry. Frederic Ozanam has traced its course from its spring in the martyrs' inscriptions and the rivulets of the early Franciscan poets, till it issues in the full broad stream of Dante's verse. Here, at length, was the great Christian poet, one of the world's first singers; and Catholic theology was the very soul of his poetry.

It was religious inspiration, again, that hallowed the cradle of our English Muse. The foremost poet of the early Saxon period is the monk Caedmon, who sang the glories of creation, as the legend tells us, by a miraculous gift. And there is much in the later history of English poetry which is quite in keeping with the happy omen which marked its rise. In the ages of faith, it was only natural that poetry should thus be consecrated by the religious influence which was then felt everywhere. But the golden period of German poetry began in a very different age. The voice of its great singers was first heard towards the close of the last century, amidst

the convulsions of revolution and the rise of new philosophies. Yet, in spite of the confusion of thought, and the decay of faith, the first strains of German poetry find their inspiration in religion. The grand figure of Klopstock stands forth in striking contrast with the evils of his day. The full clear note sounded in his religious odes awakened a new life in his countrymen; and much of the later glory of German literature is really owing to him.

Much more might be added, but the above facts are, surely, enough to show that there is some bond of union between poetry and religious truth. We may, therefore, pass by, however reluctantly, such tempting subjects as the Latin hymns of the middle ages and the poetry of the Oxford movement. It remains to ask what is the real origin and explanation of these facts. One answer will readily suggest itself to many. Both poetry and religion are matters of the heart, as well as of the head. The heart, as Pascal tells us, has reasons of its own which the intellect knows not. And the true poet must have some qualities of heart which may very well be wanting in a mere metaphysician or man of science. The latter may be a shining light in his own profession, yet open to the scathing rebuke of Wordsworth:—

“ Physician art thou? one, all eyes;  
Philosopher! a fingering slave;  
One that would peep and botanize  
Upon his mother’s grave?”

And such a man would, surely, be as deaf to the claims of religion as to the charms of poetry. It may be allowed that this explanation gives us some help; but it is by no means sufficient in itself. To find a satisfactory answer, we must go further and deeper. What, then, is poetry? Aristotle, in the 9th chapter of his *Poetics*, warns us away from one definition, which might otherwise occur to us. For, he says, that history and poetry do not differ from one another, because the one is metrical, and the other is not. Herodotus in metre would still be simple history. And, in the same way, Pindar’s *Odes* would still be poetry in a prose translation. This is true, no doubt; but would not both the history and the poetry come before us in ‘an alien garb’?

Metre is not poetry itself; but it is the form in which true poetry finds its most appropriate expression, and the harmony and proportion of the verse supply us with the best definition of the ideal beauty which it enshrines and symbolizes. We can see this in the sublime yet simple poetry of the Hebrew Psalms, which Ewald has well described as *Gedankenrhythmus*—a rhythm or rhyme of thoughts. When we turn from this primitive thought-metre to the masterpieces of Greek poetry, what is the difference that strikes us at once? The beauty and harmony of the thoughts has permeated and quickened the very words and syllables in which they are clothed. To borrow a phrase of the schoolmen, it is the soul *informing* the body, and recalls a striking passage in the *Purgatorio*, where the departed souls are described as exercising their power upon the surrounding atmosphere, and giving it the form and feature of the living body:—

“ La virtù formativa raggia intorno  
 Così e quanto nelle membre vive.  
 E come l’aere quand’è ben piorno  
 Per l’altrui raggio che ’n se sì riflette,  
 Di diversi color si mostra adorno;  
 Così l’aer vicin quivi si mette  
 In quella forma che in lui suggella  
 Virtualmente l’anima che ristette.”<sup>1</sup>

From this we may see that the poet has need of two things: the ideal beauty which is the soul of poetry, and the power of expressing that ideal in living words. Without the first he is but a versifier; while without the other he can only be one of Wordsworth’s hidden poets:—

“ Endowed with highest gifts,  
 The vision and the faculty divine  
 Yet wanting the accomplishment of verse,  
 Which in the docile season of their youth  
 It was denied them to acquire (through lack  
 Of culture and the inspiring aid of books)  
 Or a nice backwardness afraid of shame ”

These lines suggest some of the means by which the poet may get his secondary power. But where does he find

<sup>1</sup> *Purgatorio*, xxv. 89.

the first and most important element of true poetry? Here we are confronted by that great question, which Schopenhauer truly calls the chief point of all philosophy—the relation of the ideal to the real. Who can say how this problem has puzzled the minds of men from the days of Plato and Aristotle to our own, or count the bewildering and conflicting answers that have been brought to solve it? There are those who would banish all that is ideal, telling us that nothing exists but the real material world around us; while, at the other extreme, there are those for whom the visible world itself is but the “baseless fabric of a vision;” a dream without a dreamer to dream it. So again, there are men who separate the phenomenal from the noumenal by an impassable gulf; and others who tell us that thought and being are simply one. In the midst of all these theories, stands the solid system of Catholic philosophy—Catholic not merely because it is cultivated mainly by Catholics, but because it grasps the *whole* truth, while the others take each some stray fragment. Combining the scattered elements of truth contained in the various conflicting systems, it welds them together in one consistent whole. While it admits the reality of the visible world as firmly as any materialist, it soars to spiritual heights beyond the wildest dreams of idealism. Holding fast the distinction between the ideal and the real, it seizes and sets forth their true relations. All this is no idle subtlety of the schools. False answers to this philosophical question are at the root of a whole legion of heresies from the time of the early Gnostics to our own day. And, on the other hand, the true answer which the schoolmen did but set forth with greater fulness and precision, runs through the whole range of theology, natural and revealed, from the doctrine of Creation to the Sacramental system. The visible world exists; for God has made it out of nothing. It is not of itself, or for itself; for it has an end, and bears a meaning. It is the realization of divine ideas; and He who is its maker is also the perfect pattern or exemplar, whose infinite beauty and perfections it reflects and shadows forth in ever-varying degrees of light and shade; and the manifestation of His glory is its consummation.

There is not one grain of sand, not one drop in the mighty waters, but it bears its message and meaning, and fulfils its purpose, blending in the beauty and harmony of the whole, where all things are ordered sweetly in measure, and number, and weight. Is not all this a poem in very deed? Nay, it is the one true poem of all. What has poetry to do with truth? Let us rather ask, What have poets and poetry to do with falsehood and idle dreams?

“ Truth is fair : should we forget it ?  
 Can we sigh right for a wrong ?  
 God Himself is the best poet  
 And the real is His song.”

This is one side of the true philosophy, and the other half does but fit in with it, and complete it. To read, and in some measure understand a poem, the reader must have something of the poet in him. So is it with the great poem of nature. To read it, we need something more than the senses, which only touch the surface, or the passive intellect, which is capable of receiving ideas. We must have a power of seizing and appropriating the truth contained in the visible world, piercing through the letter of the particular and material, and grasping the universal ideas which are realized, and, as it were, embodied in them. This poetic faculty is what is known in scholastic philosophy as the *intellectus agens*. It may be well to add that ποιητικόν is the very word used by Aristotle, and rendered, not very adequately, by the Latin phrase, *intellectus agens*.<sup>1</sup> “ Making ” or “ creating ” is obviously the real force of the word ; and this “ creation ” of the universal is just that “ making ” which belongs to poetry, and gives it its name. Hence, Aristotle says in another place, that poetry differs from history in this, that it deals with the universal, not the particular ; and, for this reason, is the more philosophical of the two.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *De Anima*, lib. iii., c. 6. A Greek commentator on this book observes as follows :—ἔστιν οὖν φύσει μὲν νοητὸν ὁ νοῦς, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα νοητὰ τέχνη τούτου καὶ τούτου ποιήματα. Cf. the recent Berlin edition of Alexander of Aphrodisias, page 111.

<sup>2</sup> *De Poetica*, c. 9 : ἡ μὲν γὰρ ποιήσις μᾶλλον τὰ καθόλου, ἢ δ' ἱστορία τὰ κατ' ἕκαστα λέγει.

There is, thus, what may be called a poetic element in every perception of truth; and a poetic faculty in all who are endowed with the light of reason. But there is a great variety in the extent and character of the power in different individuals, and the measure in which it is exercised is fully as various. The poet *par excellence* is one who has a specially keen sense of the world's beauty, and a power of readily grasping its hidden meaning. To the man of dull prosaic mind, much of nature's music sounds in vain. As Wordsworth sings of Peter Bell:

“A primrose by a river's brim,  
A yellow primrose was to him,  
And it was nothing more.”

On the other hand, to the poet,

“The meanest flower that blows can give  
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.”

It is here, in the real world, in the beauty of truth that shines forth in the least of the works of God, that the true poet seeks his inspiration. He finds, in very deed,

“Tongues in the trees, books in the running brooks,  
Sermons in stones, and good in everything.”

He cries out with Browning, in his *Guardian Angel*:

“O world, as God has made it, all is beauty.  
And knowing this is love, and love is duty!”

Or, with Dante:

“La gloria di Colui Che tutto muove  
Per l'universo penetra e risplende  
Di una parte piu e meno altrove.”

And what he learns here, he sets forth and symbolizes in the music of his own verse. In this music, we can see both the nature of that beauty which it reflects, and the objective reality of the truth which is the foundation of beauty. What is it that charms us in metre? St. Augustine has considered the subject at some length in his work on music; and he tells us that the source of this delight is the perception of the unity, or the harmony and proportion of the parts. Thus,

a verse may be said to supply us with a definition of beauty : subjectively, in the pleasure with which it affects us ; and objectively, in the harmony and proportion discovered by analysis. It is true that Plotinus raises a plausible objection when he asks how there can be proportion in that which is simple ;<sup>1</sup> for there is true beauty in a single note or a simple line, as well as in concerted harmony or in a whole picture. But the answer is ready to hand. The simplest note is really made up of many vibrations, and its beauty depends on the proportion of the numbers. So again, every curve is but the realization or expression of an equation ; or, in other words, of unity in dissimilitude. This is the characteristic of all created beauty ; and the many combining, and tending to unity, shadow forth the simple and infinite beauty of the Godhead, where all is one, and one is all.

In all these instances, the beauty can be felt before its source is discovered. There is need of elaborate research ere we can find the number of vibrations in two different notes, and the relation they bear to one another. But the ear of the musician can detect their agreement or dissonance instantaneously. The rhythm of verse can be appreciated without the help of metrical analysis ; and the beauty of a curve may be felt, though its equation is unknown. Much more is this the case with the great poem of creation. It is a long and arduous task to analyze it, and discover the proportion of its various parts. But here also the truth is felt in beauty ; and the poet is one who has a keen ear for this heavenly music. As Lamartine sings of the poet's gift :—

“ Les cieux l'appellent grace et les hommes génie,  
C'est un souffle affaibli des bardes d'Israel,  
Un echo dans mon sein qui change en harmonie  
Le retentissement de ce monde mortel.”

It is thus that scientific discoveries are often due to the insight of genius, and objective truths which are afterwards verified by experiment are first seen by the bold vision of the poet or the artist. Let us take an instance of this from a field of science which has been cultivated chiefly in the present century, and has already borne abundant fruit.

<sup>1</sup> *Ennead*, i., Book vi.

"The first," says Professor Max Müller, "who in the broad daylight of European science, dared boldly to face both the facts and the conclusions of Sanscrit scholarship was the German poet Frederick Schlegel. He had been in England during the Peace of Amiens (1801-1802), and had acquired a smattering of Sanscrit from Mr. Alexander Hamilton. After carrying on his studies for some time in Paris, he published, in 1808, his work on *The Language and Wisdom of the Indians*. This work became the foundation of the science of language. Though published only two years after the first volume of Adelung's *Mithridates*, it is separated from that work by the same distance which separates the Copernican from the Ptolomean system. Schlegel was not a great scholar. Many of his statements have proved erroneous; and nothing would be easier than to dissect his essay, and hold it up to ridicule. But Schlegel was a man of genius; and when a new science is to be created, the imagination of the poet is wanted even more than the accuracy of the scholar. It, surely, needed something of poetic vision to embrace in one glance the languages of India, Persia, Greece, Italy, and Germany, and to rivet them together by the simple name of Indo-Germanic. This was Schlegel's work, and in this history of the intellect it has been truly called the "discovery of a new world."<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to add that at the very time in which he was laying the foundation of this new science, it was given to Frederick Schlegel to grasp a far more important unity and truth, and enter the bosom of the Catholic Church.

There is, thus, no reason to wonder if poets are among the foremost to seize and set forth the truths of natural religion; but there is yet another region of spiritual truth, beyond the reach of earth's highest seers. The visible creation is a wondrous poem, where truth shines forth in beauty; but "the perfect poet" has vouchsafed us another and a loftier song. The beauty of eternal truth has a fresh and more luminous manifestation in the mystery of the Divine incarnation, and all the wonders of grace that flow from that full source. God Himself was manifest in the flesh,

<sup>1</sup> *Lectures on the Science of Language*, vol. i., page 90.

and His mercy and goodness were shown forth in those healing works which, as St. Augustine tells us, were both deeds and words ; and the indwelling of the Spirit of Truth is made manifest in the unity and harmony of the Catholic Church ; while in the holy sacraments heavenly graces are given to us under earthly symbols. All this is a poem, and to discern its beauty we have need of a new faculty, the light of divine faith. And who are the teachers who can best read this heavenly music, and interpret it to us ? Those in whom the natural genius of the poet is enlightened and elevated by a double measure of divine light and grace. Such a one was St. Thomas Aquinas. He was a true poet, as we may see in his musical hymns, or in the rich imagery of his prologues to the *Books of Sentences*. And the same gift enabled him to grasp the unity and beauty of the revealed teaching and its harmony with natural philosophy. The *Summa* is a poem in all but metre ; or, rather, it is a return to the "thought-rhythm" of the Hebrew psalmody : and the threefold structure of every article, the balance of question and answer, of objection and solution, recalls the music of Dante's *terza rima*. It is, unhappily, true that there are many poets of undoubted genius whose writings by no means further the cause of truth. But this is not a valid objection to anything that has been asserted here. For if poets have special powers of coming to the knowledge of truth, and setting it forth in its native beauty, it does not, therefore, follow that they will all make a good use of their gift. Moreover, when we come to look into the matter more closely, we shall find that the evil and falsehood which stains the writings of some poets is something distinct from the poetry itself. Whatever is really beautiful and sublime is so far a reflection of nature's truth and beauty, and as such it cannot be evil. And, on the other hand, all that is at variance with truth, or with the moral law, breaks the higher harmony of real poetry with a discord far more fatal than the false metre that only mars the outward form. The poet is beset by two great dangers. On the one side is the paganism which rests in earth's fair forms, and worships there instead of passing onward and upward ; while at the other extreme, there is the pessimism which feels the limit

and insufficiency of all natural beauty, but, seeing no further than this, recoils in blank despair. Not so the true poet who is faithful to his mission. The beauty of the visible world bears him on to the thought of the one infinite beauty and truth: while the evils and imperfections tell him that the enjoyment of that beauty is not to be found here, nor yet, but in a world to come. Such a one was St. Augustine, who had the heart of a poet, and passed through both of the poet's dangers. He felt the attractions of earthly beauty, and fell into the practical paganism of sensual indulgence; while, on the other hand, he saw the evil and darkness, and became a prey to the pessimism of the Manichee. But, at length, touched by grace, he learned how to pass through earth's fair forms to the knowledge and love of the "first and only fair." Then he saw and felt that evil is overcome by good, and balanced and compensated, the sin with its punishment, the suffering with its reward. Thus did he learn the harmony and music of Divine Providence, so that he likened the whole universe to a great poem.<sup>1</sup> In his teaching on evil and good, and on the beauty of the world, he seems to say to us with Browning's *Abt Vogler*:—

"There shall never be one lost good! What was, shall live as before.

The evil is null, is naught, is silence implying sound;  
What was good shall be good, with, for evil, so much good more:

On the earth the broken arcs; in the heaven, a perfect round.

And what is our failure here, but a triumph's evidence

For the fulness of the days? Have we withered or agonized?

Why else was the pause prolonged, but that singing might issue thence?

Why rushed the discords in, but that harmony should be prized?

Sorrow is hard to bear, and doubt is slow to clear.

Each sufferer says his say, his scheme of the weal and woe;  
But God has a few of us whom He whispers in the ear;  
The rest may reason and welcome: 'tis we musicians know."

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

<sup>1</sup> On this see his *De Musica*; also *Epist.* 130, *ad Marcellium*, and *e Vere Religione*, cc. 22 and 40.

## THOMAS DE BURGO :

AUTHOR OF THE "HIBERNIA DOMINICANA," AND BISHOP OF  
OSSORY.—III.

**I**N more than one town in Ireland tradition reverently points out a little house in a squalid and narrow lane as the bishop's house in the old times, by which old times we may generally understand the long period of obscurity and poverty that followed the penal days. It was in such places, and amidst such wretched surroundings, that the rulers of God's flock lived, worked, and died in humble contentment. What a pity it is that we know so little about them except their names ; that no biographers, after they had passed to their heavenly reward, collected their letters, treasured up incidents and anecdotes, expatiated on their virtues, and, in thus giving us an insight into their inner lives, handed down to us a living picture of the period. We must not be too hard on the clergy for having written so little, and for having neglected the preservation of materials which would serve future historians and biographers. The incessant calls of the sacred ministry left them little time or taste for literary effort of any kind, and the scanty accommodation they possessed in their dwellings is a sufficient excuse for the loss and destruction of valuable documents. Besides that, as the actual persecution had ceased, and as there were no martyrs, nothing but a daily martyrdom to duty, there seemed to their minds nothing worthy of record.

It is impossible, however, to form a correct idea of Dr. Burke's episcopal career, without some knowledge of the state of the times, of the drift of events, and the position and character of the people entrusted to his care. Judging merely by numbers, the Catholics, during the latter half of the last century, made wonderful progress ; and while they increased year by year, there was an absolute decrease among the Protestants. But this triumphal progress was counter-balanced in many ways by evils of great magnitude and far-reaching results ; so great, indeed, that thoughtful men of the

time considered it rather a period of decline than a period of progress. It would be foolish in matters of this kind to speak confidently, and generalize with certainty; but after a careful study of letters, pamphlets, pastorals, visitation remarks, and sermons of the period, the following will appear with more or less clearness.

First, that religious indifference made rapid strides among the upper classes of the Catholics, caused, no doubt, by their intercourse with the upper classes of the Protestants, who were strongly tinged by the materialistic philosophy then the fashion in England and France. Up to this time the penal laws acted as an effectual barrier against friendly intercourse. The first consequence of this indifference was that they no longer gave their sons to the priesthood, and threw the supply and the support of the clergy on the middle and lower classes. This in time brought its own punishment. The priesthood was the link that bound all classes together; the upper classes, losing their representatives among the sacred ministry, found themselves isolated from the general body of the Catholics; then, drawn gradually by sympathy to Protestants and their surroundings, ended constantly by open apostacy. It is a remarkable fact that these Catholics conformed to the Protestant religion when the persecution had ceased, thus proving that religious indifference alone was the cause of their apostacy. How shamefully they failed in the hour of need, going over to the ranks of the enemy, when by their wealth and influence they might have helped to put the Church on a firm footing, and have built up the material edifice, which is justly the pride of the present age! But their wealth went to satisfy the claims of fashionable society; and while it went in that way, there grew up in their hearts a secret contempt for the poverty, and, to their eyes, vulgarity, of the Church in which they were reared.

Owing mainly to the falling away of the upper classes there was a grave diminution in the ranks of the clergy. The expenses of a foreign education could only be borne with the greatest difficulty by the middle and lower classes, the more so as charitable contributions for this purpose began to fail when it was found that many who had been sent out

to become priests, joined the medical or military profession, and remained permanently on the Continent. Numbers of the regulars had to be called in to supply deficiencies in parishes, with the result that their duties as parish priests and curates prevented them from following an avocation which, more than anything else, had kept the faith alive in the country, viz., that of missionaries, going about from parish to parish preaching and catechizing in the open air and in the houses of the people. Every priest will understand the temptation of making mere routine work of the sacred ministry when the population is large, the calls incessant, and the work excessive. The preaching at a former period "in season and out of season," at all times and in all places, was succeeded by a period in which things were better organized, and sacraments administered with more regularity, but which, alas! seems to have been sadly deficient in the zealous and accurate expounding of the Word of God.

The Whiteboy agitation could never have attained the dimensions it did, nor have shown such a virulent character, if the poorer classes had not been profoundly ignorant of the principles of their religion. Outrages of the most atrocious character were perpetrated by the Whiteboys, almost from the beginning of the agitation; and when the priests referred to the matter from the altar, their exhortations and entreaties were treated with contempt and ridicule. When some of the clergy exerted themselves more actively in the matter, contempt and ridicule were followed by open personal violence. Priests' houses were fired into at night by armed mobs; others were assaulted at the altar while officiating; others were dragged from their beds at night, and plundered of everything they possessed; chapels were nailed up, dues were refused, and priests reduced to the greatest want; even bishops were interrupted while preaching, and told to confine themselves to morality and religion. In fact, the bishops and priests seem to have lost entire control for a number of years over a large section of the poorer population, though the people did not actually lose the faith, and, on the whole, came regularly to Mass.

In addition to this, other difficulties arose in connection with the constitutional agitation for the rights of Catholics, which was making its first tentative efforts. What made these difficulties peculiarly trying was, that they arose from differences of opinion among the bishops themselves upon grave theological questions. These difficulties, more than any others, preyed on Dr. Burke, and embittered the latter years of his life; but as they will be treated of more fully later on, they do not need more than a passing reference here.

We can thus understand from the general state of the Church in Ireland, that Dr. Burke's episcopate was no sinecure. He seems to have been all along, as far as his duties allowed, of a studious and retiring nature, as his name is never to be found attached to wills and other deeds. But his purely episcopal duties, visitations, confirmations, pastorals, &c., must have been, from all we have seen, of a sufficiently onerous character to have occupied a great part of his time. In the important work of the catechism, the teaching orders of men and women which have arisen since his time have lightened the work of the clergy to a great extent. In Dr. Burke's time this work fell almost exclusively on their shoulders.<sup>1</sup>

It is to be regretted that our bishop did not compile a catechism, a work for which he was well fitted, both on account of his theological attainments, and also from the fact of his having already written a *Moral Theology*. Perhaps he did not consider it necessary; perhaps he did not wish to interfere with those already in use, which, for fulness, accuracy, and clearness, left nothing to be desired; and, in fact, treated on many important points of doctrine, such as holy water, the use of the beads, the ceremonies of the Mass not even touched upon in catechisms, which

<sup>1</sup> A decree from Propaganda, 1751, contained a very urgent exhortation on this point, both with regard to parish priests and to regulars:—“*Insuper curret omni studio episcopi, ut parochi diligenter pueros edoceant, quos autem desides in hoc praecepto munere deprehenderint, canonicis poenis prosequantur. Episcopi hortentur ac moneant regulares, ut eodem charitatis officio sedulo fungantur, praesertim in pagis aliisque campestribus locis quos percurrunt et in quibus eleemosynas colligunt.*”

were popular afterwards, and went through many editions.<sup>1</sup>

St. Dominic's Day, 1765, was a red-letter day in the life of our bishop, for on that day he assisted at the consecration in Thurles of a fellow-Dominican, Father Michael Peter MacMahon, as Bishop of Killaloe ; Dr. Kearney, of Limerick, was the other assistant bishop ; and the consecrating prelate was Dr. James Butler, first Archbishop of Cashel. Dr. Burke tells us that it was in the parochial chapel of Thurles that the ceremony was performed—no better place of worship then in Thurles, which now, happily, with its college, archiepiscopal palace, and its cathedral, resplendent in many-coloured marbles and mosaics, rivals the glories of ancient Cashel. It would be a strange sight to us to see four bishops sitting down to dinner in the humble thatched cabin in which Dr. Butler was allowed to pass the latter years of his life, no longer having to date his letters, as formerly, from his place of refuge, *e loco nostri refugii* ; but those holy men were used to that kind of thing, and while they were enjoying the Archbishop's kindly hospitality, their spirits were in nowise damped by their surroundings. Dr. MacMahon long survived the others. After a laborious and troubled episcopate, he had the joy of seeing the opening years of this century, and the dawn of better days for the Irish Church.

The year following, the Augustinian fathers of Callan took courage to come together, after many years of dispersion, and found a community. Two thatched cabins, made into one, served them as a chapel, and another cabin, close by, was taken as a residence. Poor as this chapel

<sup>1</sup> Amongst others were—The large Irish Catechism, compiled by the learned Franciscans of Louvain at the end of the seventeenth century ; *The Christian Doctrine in Irish Verse, for the Use of the Illiterate*, by Father O'Heoghusa, O.S.F. ; *Catechism for the Use of the Parish*, by Dr. Nary. Dublin, 1718 ; *The Catechism, or Christian Doctrine by Way of Question and Answer (Irish and English)*, by the Rev. Andrew Donlevy, Paris, 1742 ; *A Catechism, Moral and Controversial, proper for such as are already Advanced to some Knowledge of the Christian Doctrine*, by Father Thomas Miles Burke, O.P., Lisbon, 1752 ; *An Abridgment of the Christian Doctrine*, by the Rev. Henry Turberville, D.D., Douay, 1645. This catechism passed through several editions, and was used extensively both in England and Ireland.

was, it had to serve them many a long year, till at length the roof gave way, and the last congregation became literally "living pillars of the Church," having to sustain the roof with their hands while the priest finished Mass. It was also mainly owing to Dr. Burke's advice and encouragement that they began to receive novices, and thus laid the foundation of the Callan novitiate, which, for a long series of years, has given them so many subjects for their Order. Dr. Burke's friendly advice and encouragement in this matter will be more thoroughly appreciated, and it will be more clearly seen how, under the dress of a bishop, he preserved the heart of a friar, when it is known that some years previous to this a decree had been received from Propaganda, forbidding novices of any religious Order to be received to the habit in Ireland, owing to the impossibility of their learning and practising regular observance.

On the occasion of this decree, a strong letter of remonstrance was addressed to the Master-General of the Dominican Order by Father MacHenry, the Irish Provincial, evidently with good results, and of which the sum and substance is as follows:—The above-mentioned decree would tend to the utter extinction of the religious Orders in Ireland, and, consequently, to the destruction of the Catholic faith in Ireland, which had been brought into the country by regulars, and, through a long series of persecutions, had been preserved, mainly owing to their aid, and which, to anyone knowing the state of the country would not long remain without them.<sup>1</sup> Owing to the falling away of many among the upper classes into heresy, it is not possible now, as it was formerly, to send so many young men to the foreign novitiates, on account of the expense of the journey. It is all very well to speak of the greater religious observance in Catholic countries; but he (the Provincial) could assure him that the

<sup>1</sup>"*Suapte natura vergit in religiosi nominis totale exterminium, subindeque in dispendium religionis Catholicae, quae . . . ita absque ipsorum subsidio diu non subsisteret neque subsistet, ut quibuscunque hibernicarum rerum vere peritis, a partiumque studio prorsus alienis, luce meridiana clarius patet.*"

religious bodies in Ireland, owing to poverty and the severity of the penal laws, lived a most mortified and austere life. Want of regular observance was not their fault: it was due to the severity of the magistrates, who, even if they allowed their chapels to be opened at certain times, that the people might assist at Mass, would not, in many places, permit the religious to live together in community. This letter appears to have made a good impression in Rome, for the decree, which, if enforced, especially after the French Revolution, would have almost extinguished the religious Orders in this country, was considerably modified some years later.

In the April of 1767, Dr. Burke was called upon, under very peculiar circumstances, to give dimissorial letters for sub-deaconship to an ecclesiastical student of the diocese then resident in France. It will be remembered that, three years previous to this, Dr. Burke got into bad odour with the Butlers of Ballyragget, in reference to a division of a union of parishes which he made, and against which they protested, appealing against him to Dr. Fitzsimon, the Archbishop of Dublin. Their son James was at this time studying for the priesthood in Belgium, and, just before the feud broke out, Dr. Burke had sent him dimissorial letters as a student of Ossory for tonsure and minor orders, which he shortly afterwards received. The very next year, owing, doubtless, to the bad feeling, which had not calmed down, James Butler, the student, passes over his own bishop, and applies for dimissorial letters for sub-deaconship to the Archbishop of Dublin, and receives them in due course. However, he did not receive Orders at this time, and two years later he again applies to the Archbishop of Dublin for the sub-deaconship dimissorials, and also for an *exeat*, as he had the idea of attaching himself permanently to the diocese of Tournai. He received all these letters in due course, on representing to the Archbishop that he was born and baptized in Dublin, though his parents had only visited Dublin for a short time, and after his birth and baptism returned home without delay. On his showing these letters to the celebrated Alban Butler, the President of St. Omer's, he was told that they were quite worthless, as he was a student

of Ossory, and that it was from Dr. Burke he was to get his dimissorials. Though Dr. Burke must have felt this slight severely, as the greatest friendship existed between him and other branches of the Butler family, he sent the necessary papers, and, after another delay of three years, James Butler was ordained sub-deacon, in March, 1770, as a student of Ossory.<sup>1</sup>

It was at this time that the agitation about the test-oath of allegiance began, which produced such a deplorable spirit of discord, and kept the Irish Church in a ferment for many years afterwards. It was not the first time that such an oath had been proposed to Irish Catholics. Why they now, having the light of history to see it in all its naked deformity, did not at once indignantly spurn and reject it, is a sad comment on the powerful influence that Gallican principles possessed in Ireland at this period. Whatever were the terms in which these oaths were conceived, whatever the language used—sometimes more, sometimes less disrespectful to the Sovereign Pontiff—the question involved was always one and the same; and no essential difference can be found between the oath proposed in the time of James I. and that proposed in the time of Charles I., or between Peter Walsh’s remonstrance proposed in the time of Charles II. and any of the test-oaths proposed in Parliament year after year during the middle of the eighteenth century. The question simply came to this:—Were the Irish to be Catholics first, and British subjects afterwards, or *vice versa*? Were they to continue to exhibit filial loyalty to the Pope of Rome at the cost of misrepresentation? or were they, on the other hand, to profess loyalty to the reigning monarch in language alike disloyal and disrespectful to the Holy See? The Irish Catholic was asked to stand up, and swear publicly that the Pope had no temporal or civil power, directly or indirectly, in this kingdom, and no right of deposing kings and freeing

<sup>1</sup> The letter begins thus:—“Nos F. Thomas de Burgo, Ordinis Praedicatorum, S. Theologiae Magister, Dei et Apostolicae sedis gratia, episcopus Ossoriensis, necnon parochiae S. Mariae Kilkenniae parochus, dilecto nobis in Christo Jacobo Butler, acolytho Ossoriensi, utpote a castro allodiali de Ballyragget, in praelibato nostro diocesi oriundo, salutem in Domino.”

subjects from their allegiance : a doctrine which, whatever was its speculative value—and it had been taught by many great theologians—had, in practice, been often acted upon by Sovereign Pontiffs. This doctrine, then, the Irish Catholic was to brand as “detestable.” Secondly, he was to swear that no dispensation of the Pope, past or future, could free him from the oath that he was then and there taking. Other articles were added as time went on. He was to abhor, detest, and abjure the doctrine that faith was not to be kept with heretics, and the doctrine that it was lawful to kill heretics. In fine, he was to swear that he was not equivocating while taking the oath, and that he was using the words of the oath in their plain and ordinary sense.

The terms of these oaths had been thoroughly discussed in the past : their drift was clearly seen ; and on three several occasions they were condemned by Rome as unlawful to be taken. Paul V. condemned the oath proposed by James I., putting a stop to the disputes of theologians with regard to it ; Innocent X. condemned the oath proposed in the time of the Confederation ; and Father Peter Walsh’s remonstrance, containing similar doctrine, was condemned by Cardinal Barbarini, with the unanimous assent of Propaganda. On every occasion the Irish Church submitted to Rome, preferring to suffer persecution for conscience’ sake rather than to fail in their duty as loyal subjects of the Holy See.

With these facts before us, we shall be in a better position to understand the question as it arose in the time of which we are now speaking. It appears that in the beginning of the year 1767 some Protestant, whose name remains unknown, but who seems to have held a very influential position, drew up an oath of allegiance, similar to those we have already discussed, and proposed it to some of the leading Catholics of Dublin, promising that, if they could induce their fellow-Catholics to take it, a relaxation of the penal laws would certainly follow. The Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Fitzsimon, seeing the matter going very far, and hesitating what course to take, urged the other

archbishops and bishops to come to Dublin, and discuss the whole question. Not succeeding in this, he called a meeting of the regular and secular clergy of the city, at which meeting the oath was discussed, point by point, they condemning part of it, and making emendations, and finally deciding that, with the emendations they made, the oath might be lawfully taken by Catholics. In the meantime, the laymen were acting as messengers between the clergy and the author of the oath, and were by no means satisfied with the decision arrived at. Whilst the discussion was going on in Dublin, many of the bishops and clergy in other parts of the country were freely subscribing to the oath. The laity were now evidently trying to push on the clergy, and seemed bent on carrying things to extremes; no doubt, influenced strongly by the insidious teaching of a book written and printed at this time in Dublin, though the title-page bore the name of London, and scattered broadcast over the country. Apparently, a mere prayer-book, calculated to do good, there was an appendix to it containing many disrespectful remarks about the Holy See, and calculated to destroy the veneration and respect that all Catholics should bear to the Sovereign Pontiff.<sup>1</sup>

Ever since the reign of Elizabeth, the recognised intermediary between the Holy See and the Irish Church was the Papal Legate, stationed at Brussels. Known by the name of the Internuncio, all affairs of importance passed through his hands, and he was kept thoroughly well posted up on the state of the Irish Church, by means of the detailed diocesan report, which each bishop was obliged to forward to him every second year. The office was held at this time by Archbishop Ghilini, who, having been informed of the discussions relative to the oath, and having had three formulas of test-oaths submitted to him, wrote to the four metropolitans, beseeching them to have nothing to do with an

<sup>1</sup>*The Catholic Christians' New Universal Manual: Being a true Spiritual Guide for those who ardently aspire to Salvation. Containing, amongst other Requisites, some elevated Hymns and necessary Devotions never published before in this Kingdom, being absolutely necessary for all Roman Catholicicks in general. Permissu Superiorum. London: Printed in the year 1767. This book was condemned in Rome in 1770, and put on the index.*

oath which could be taken by no Catholic with a safe conscience. He thought the oath all the more reprehensible as it had not been forced upon the Catholics by the Government, but had been willingly subscribed to by them, without any pressure. Then, again, the doctrine that was declared detestable and abominable in the oath had been held by many Catholic nations, and had been in accordance with the practice of several Popes. How then could such an assertion in the mouth of a Catholic be anything else but a *propositio temeraria, falsa, scandalosa et injuriosa sanctae sedi?*

In accordance with the instructions conveyed in the letter, Dr. Fitzsimon sent on copies of it to Dr. Burke and his other suffragans for publication to their respective flocks. They, however, fearing grave disturbances, decided not to publish it till a more pressing necessity would arise, as Parliament was not sitting at the time, and there was no immediate danger of any law being passed to compel Catholics to take the oath.

Such was the critical state of affairs in Ireland when, in June, 1769, Dr. Burke began his journey *ad limina apostolica*, to give an account of his stewardship to the Father of the Faithful. Seeing that it took him six months to get to Rome, it is evident he was not a quick traveller, and our curiosity is aroused to know what kept him loitering so long by the way. Well, there was the convent of Holy Cross at Louvain,<sup>1</sup> which he had never seen before, where, in the midst of his brethren, wearing once more the habit of his Order, he could enjoy a well-earned rest. Not that he was idle; when documents are to be hunted up and examined, and inscriptions to be transcribed, antiquarians are always busy. And the unanswered letters—a sore point with antiquarians—had left a good deal of work still to be done, as the supplement

<sup>1</sup> Founded in 1624 by Father Roche MacGeoghan, O.P., of Galway, aided principally by the Joyce family. Philip IV. of Spain granted it an annual pension of 1,000 florins. From Propaganda they received annually 120 crowns. These sums being quite insufficient for the support of a large community, generally about thirty, they were allowed by the bishops to make an annual quest during the autumn vacation through the Belgian dioceses. At the time of Dr. Burke's visit, the convent consisted of a large quadrangle with a garden attached.

will show. He still grumbles about them in spite of the welcome he got, and in spite of the gladness of heart he experienced in ordaining on the same day eighteen young neophytes, his brethren, several of whom had evidently put off the joyful event in expectation of his arrival.<sup>1</sup> From documentary evidence, furnished about this time by the University of Louvain, two things come out about this Irish convent—that it was poor, very poor, and unable to continue without larger support; and that, on the other hand, it had always been a fruitful seminary of missionaries, sending them regularly, not only to Ireland, but to England, Scotland, and America; and that regular observance was carried out with exactness, and the ecclesiastical studies well attended to. There was other business of a very serious character with the Internuncio in Brussels close by, and though Dr. Burke makes no mention of it, there must have been many interviews between them, and much discussion on the test oath, and the reception the Internuncio's letter had got the previous year.

Leaving Louvain, and paying a short visit on his way to Cologne and Cremona, he arrived at Florence. There was something more in this city to attract him and detain him a long time than the art-treasures and architecture that the ordinary tourist loves to linger among. Still intent on his history, he visited the library of the Marquis Rinuccini, and there unexpectedly, to his great joy—*maxima cum jucunditate*, as all antiquarians will understand—he finds the whole history of the Irish Legation, the debates of the Confederate Chiefs, and the sessions of the Catholic Parliament, which met in Kilkenny, comprised in five folio volumes. With what delight he buries himself in the musty tomes, not opened before, perhaps, for a hundred years! What light labour it is for him to make the long extracts, helped by the kindly librarians, whom he mentions by name, *gratitudinis causa!*

Towards the end of the year he arrived in Rome, and was once more in his beloved St. Clement's, after an absence

<sup>1</sup> *Octodecim qua sacerdotes, qua Diaconos qua Subdiaconos, et Minoristas.*

of twenty-seven years. Though, of necessity, many friends whom he had known in the past were gone, and new forms and faces filled their positions, one remained who alone could make his stay in Rome a pleasure. Laurence Ganganelli, whom he had known as a simple friar, had been elevated that very year to the throne of Peter, and it is quite natural to suppose, apart from Clement XIV.'s well-known affability, that their former friendship would prevent anything like a mere formal interview between the Pope and the bishop. The test oath that was agitating all minds in Ireland would be discussed in all its bearings; our bishop would be able to open his mind freely on the subject to the Sovereign Pontiff, and to obtain his decision on controverted points. Our bishop has other interests on hands, and utilizes his stay in Rome by ransacking the libraries and archives of St. Clement's and St. Isidore's. Being now fully recognised as an historian, he gets valuable assistance. Cardinal Orsini copies out papers for him; Garampi, the Vatican archivist, copies out documents preserved there; and a Father Thomas Troy, regent of studies in St. Clement's, whom he praises as *non minus religiosus quam doctus*, little thinking, however, that he was to succeed him in the see of Ossory, freely places his time and services at his disposal.

Just before leaving the Eternal City, in March, 1770, Dr. Burke received a commission from Clement XIV., to pay his respects to the King and Queen of Portugal. The strained relations which have generally existed between the Court of Portugal and the Holy See down to the present day had already begun, and for ten years previous to this there had been no communication between them. Now, at length, Portugal had consented to receive a Papal Nuncio, who was just starting for Lisbon by the land route: but as Dr. Burke was going by sea, and would arrive before him, he received the commission mentioned above. An amusing incident is recorded as having taken place at the first audience. Dr. Burke, on taking leave of the King and Queen, walked backwards, according to the custom of Royal Courts; but not being used to that mode of progression, tripped over his long train and fell. The Queen could not help laughing, and

there and then dispensed him from that ceremonial for all future audiences.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Burke was delighted, on his arrival in Lisbon, to see, on the site of the old college of *Corpo Santo*,<sup>2</sup> which had been familiarly known and spoken of among the brethren as the *seminarium martyrum*, the place from which had gone forth those who, in the last century, had shed their blood for Christ, but which now, alas ! was no more, a magnificent new church and college almost approaching completion. This church was finished before he left Lisbon ; and on Saturday, the 11th of October, he solemnly blessed it. The following morning he carried the Blessed Sacrament in solemn procession through the streets, from the temporary church, in which the Dominicans at this time were officiating, to the new Church of *Corpo Santo*, over a mile in distance. He records a visit which he paid to Lumiar, about a league from Lisbon, where he saw the head of St. Bridget, and copied out a curious inscription, which stated that the relic had been brought over to Spain from Ireland in the thirteenth century, by Irish Princes ; and many were the visits he paid to the Irish Dominican nuns at Belem, giving them messages and news from their sisters in Dublin and Drogheda, and taking charge of the little commissions they gave him in turn to them. Finally, having celebrated three Masses on All Souls’ Day, according to the privilege granted to Spain and Portugal, he set sail the same month for his native country.

AMBROSE COLEMAN, O.P.

(*To be concluded.*)

<sup>1</sup> It is also evident from this that Irish bishops were not used to long trains at this date. The penal laws dispensed them with the use of episcopal robes when walking forwards as well as backwards.

<sup>2</sup> Founded in 1634 by the celebrated Father Dominic O’Daly, principally by the generous aid of the Portuguese Dominicans and the Archbishop of Lisbon. The Queen of Portugal built a new college in 1659. There were generally between twenty and thirty in community. Four were killed in the great earthquake of Lisbon in 1755, and the college was entirely destroyed.

## THE "STOWE MISSAL."

THE *Stowe Missal* is one of the oldest Irish missals extant. But the question is very often and naturally asked, Why is its name inseparably associated with Stowe? Simply because it was placed for a short time at Stowe, one of the seats of the Buckingham family. It could with more propriety be called the Killaloe Missal; for there is traditional and documentary evidence for judging that the *Missal* was written in a monastery of that diocese, in Lower Ormond. The *Missal* had been carried, as a precious relic ages ago from Ireland, by some Irish missionary, but was brought back in the last century by an Irish officer in the Austrian service. His name was John Grace, a native of Nenagh; and the special interest which he rather than his brother-officers evinced in the *Missal* gives some confirmation to the evidence which points to its original connection with Killaloe. But whether by purchase or otherwise, the *Missal*, like so many other manuscripts, went to swell the Stowe collection.

Several articles have been written in connection with the expensive and gorgeous binding of the *Missal*. The enshrinement of the manuscript in a durable cover engaged ages ago the attention of kings and princes; and to this circumstance we owe, probably, the existence of this venerable Irish relic.

The *Missal* must have well paid for its stay at Stowe. Though probably picked up for a mere trifle, it became appreciable as well for its intrinsic worth as for rendering the other portion of the Stowe collection more saleable. The authorities of the British Museum desired to purchase the Irish manuscript only, but it could not be; the whole library in print and manuscript had to be bought together; and the splendid collection in its entirety, in the year 1849, was bought by Lord Ashburnham.

But if the famous *Missal* paid well for its stay at Stowe, still better did it reward its custodian for its short stay in Ashburnham. For, a few years ago, the collection was set

up again for sale, and a fabulous sum was spoken of in connection with the sale. But at this time, not as in the year 1849, competition was not confined to a few private gentlemen or noblemen. The representatives of the Prussian Government became bidders, and the authorities of the British Museum judged it neither creditable nor patriotic that such a collection should be knocked down for a foreign government; and though they endeavoured to purchase separately the Irish manuscripts, the most interesting of which was the Irish *Missal*, they had to purchase the entire collection. The newspapers of the day, I remember, mentioned the large sum of £170,000 in connection with the sale. The authorities of the British Museum, with good taste, transferred the custody of the *Missal* and some other Irish manuscripts to the guardianship of the Royal Irish Academy.<sup>1</sup>

The large sum realized by the sale of the collection was owing to the zealous care with which its manuscripts were guarded. Its owner allowed as much of them to be published as piqued without gratifying public curiosity. Dr. Todd has told us in a paper read before the Royal Irish Academy, that the noble owner of the *Stowe Missal* allowed him to inspect it on condition that he should not make an extract from it. The present writer, who as a Killaloe priest felt a special interest in the *Missal*, took steps towards its publication. He had the honour of enjoying the hospitality of Stourton Castle, and of making the acquaintance there of the present Lord Stourton during the lifetime of the late Lord and Lady Stourton; and it occurred to him that a loan of the *Missal*, with a view to publication, might be got through the interference of Lord Stourton. The noble lord was appealed to, and with characteristic kindness he responded to the call almost presumptuously made on him, and forwarded the writer's request to Lord Ashburnham for the loan of the *Missal*.

It may be remarked that the present writer, in requesting

<sup>1</sup> The *Missal* has been very learnedly translated and annotated by Rev. B. MacCarthy, D.D., at the expense of the Academy.

the loan, undertook to lodge any fair sum of money as a guarantee for the safe return of the *Missal*, and expressed a hope that Catholic interests would be served by the publication of the *Missal*. This was an appeal to the newly-born zeal of Lord Ashburnham as a recent convert to Catholicism. His lordship intimated his refusal, but kindly expressed a willingness to *show* the interesting *Missal* to the writer whenever he should chance to find his lordship in Ashburnham-place. It is needless to state that the writer did not avail of the invitation, as he had a promise only of being *shown* the manuscript, and of being, probably, subjected to the rigid conditions imposed on Dr. Todd. His lordship, in conclusion, expressed a doubt whether the publication of the *Missal* would serve "Catholic interests in a religious sense."

Now, with great respect for his lordship's opinion, the *Missal*, while giving no support to Protestantism, is fully in harmony with Catholic teaching. In it we see established the intercessory power of prayer, especially that to the Blessed Virgin Mary; the primacy of St. Peter; the worship of sacred relics; the Canon of Pope Gelasius; exorcisms; insufflation and unction of the head and shoulders in baptism; the use of the sign of the cross; the imposition of a white garment on the head of the baptized, and a belief in the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist. While a belief in the real presence and the sacrificial character of the Mass was zealously guarded, great liberty was allowed in the form of prayers, apart from the words of consecration, in which this belief was enshrined. Each particular church then, and for ages subsequently, was allowed to arrange on the lines laid down by the Roman Pontiffs, the variable part of the Mass.

But as a compensation for his refusal of the loan of the *Missal*, Lord Ashburnham kindly directed my attention as well to the notices of it already published as to their writers. These were Dr. O'Connor, librarian of Stowe; Dr. Todd, of Trinity College; and the Rev. Mr. Warren, of Oxford. Now these writers, interesting as is their description of the manuscript, do not appear to have always caught its meaning. I beg,

then, to draw attention to a passage in the Canon of the Mass which calls for more light than has hitherto been thrown on it.

We are familiar with the changes that occur in the proper prefaces for a few principal festivals, and the corresponding change in the canon of such festivals. Of the ten festivals with proper prefaces which are found in the present *Roman Missal*, only five of them have in the canon anything proper or commemorative of the particular feasts; but the *Stowe Missal* has seven festivals, and corresponding commemorations of them in the canon. They are as follows:—

“COMMUNICANTES.

“1. *In natale Domini* (Christmas Day) et diem sacratissimam celebrantes, in qua incontaminata virginitas huic mundo edidit salvatorem.

“2. *Kalend* (Circumcision) et diem sacratissimam celebrantes circumcisionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

“3. *Stellæ* (Epiphany) et diem sacratissimam celebrantes natalis calicis Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

“4. *Paschæ* (Easter Sunday) et noctem vel diem sacratissimam celebrantes Resurrectionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

“5. *In clausula Paschæ* (Dominica in Albis) et diem sacratissimam celebrantes Clausulæ Paschæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

“6. *Ascensio* (Ascension Thursday) et diem sacratissimam celebrantes Ascensionem Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

“7. *Pentecosten*, et diem sacratissimam celebrantes quinquagesimæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi in qua spiritus sanctus super Apostolos descendit et, etc.”

Now the Oxford Professor, observing that the matter or commemoration under each heading or festival was only an explanation of it, and that the commemoration under the third heading, *Stella*, did not harmonize with it apparently, and that *Natalis Calicis* meant, in his opinion, Holy Thursday, made the heading refer to one festival, and the commemorative matter refer to a different festival. But he has no warrant for multiplying the festivals; he may as well have made each of the other commemorations under its respective heading as that under *Stella* an independent festival; for the commemoration under it is, as is clearly

intended, a mere explanation and expression of it as that under any of the other headings.

The librarian of Stowe and Dr. Todd would also have the commemorative matter under *Stella* refer to a festival different from the Epiphany; in doing so, however, they would understand by the *Natalis Calicis* not Holy Thursday, but the beginning of Lent on Ash-Wednesday. But there are strong reasons for stating that Lent did not begin in early times, as stated, on Ash-Wednesday, or on a Wednesday at all. Moreover, why should the matter under *Stella* be treated as a heading descriptive of a festival, whilst all the other headings consist of only one or two words? Furthermore, if *Stella* and the commemorative matter under it be regarded as independent titles or headings of two festivals, we desiderate the commemorative expansion of them that followed the other headings. It appears to me, then, that the formation of eight festivals from the text of the Canon leads to inconsistencies, and leaves us in darkness.

We may observe that the forementioned writers while giving a variety of opinion as to the meaning of the commemorative matter under *Stella*, express no doubt as to the meaning of the heading itself. But the heading calls for some explanation. The festival of the Epiphany (*Stella*) has been celebrated as an independent festival from Christmas, in the Latin Church, from apostolic times on the 6th of January. Not only at Mass and in the Offices of the Church, but in other religious functions was the manifestation of the Magi dwelt on as chief grounds for the solemnity. Hence Pope St. Leo in several sermons which he delivered on the stellar apparition, dwells on it as the principal grounds for the festive celebration on the 6th of January. The Preface and Canons of the Mass in the Latin Church, then as now, commemorate only the manifestation. But it should be remembered that other mysteries than the manifestation took place on the Epiphany. On this day our Saviour is said to have changed water into wine, and though there is no allusion to this in the Mass at present, the antiphon for vespers gives it as one of the

grounds for the solemnity. Not only the change of water into wine, but the miraculous multiplication of five loaves, so as to feed three thousand people, were commemorated on the Epiphany, and assigned as reasons for the solemnity.<sup>1</sup>

The Fathers of the Eastern Church, with whom is included St. Jerome, insist that the Epiphany was so called because on that day Christ manifested Himself by His public baptism in the Jordan. Now, as all the festivals were connected with the mysteries of our salvation, to use the words attributed to St. Augustine, each was laid to heart, and dwelt on according to the leaning of individual Churches. While, then, the Church in one place judged the 6th of January worthy of solemnization because of the manifestation to the Magi, and in another place because of the more public manifestation by the baptism of Christ, so too our own Irish Church judged that prominence should be given to the miraculous multiplication of the loaves, or to the change of water into wine, as typical of a divine transubstantiation. Hence the allusion to the *Natalis Calicis*, and its harmony with the Epiphany (*Stella*) on the 6th of January.

It may not be out of place to notice here a fanciful explanation given of *Stella*, the Epiphany, in cognate matter. The late learned Dr. Reeves, dealing with the rule of the Culdees, translates the Irish phrase for Epiphany (*notlaic steill*) by "Christmas of the fragment, possibly from the old custom of breaking twelfth cake." But, it may be asked, what reason is there for asserting that such a custom prevailed in primitive Christian times? And, even if such a custom did prevail, would the Church place the nomenclature of its festivals on such low grounds? Moreover, linguistic inflexion is opposed to the suggested translation of Dr. Reeves; and even though the form *steill* were not inconsistent with a genuine Irish word, yet this

<sup>1</sup> "Sive quod de quinque panibus quinque millia hominum satiavit; in quolibet horum salutis nostræ mysteria continentur et gaudia: sive quod in Canæ Galilee convivio nuptiali aquam in vinum convertit."—*Sermon, Sti. Augustini de tempore.*

circumstance would not establish the Irish character of the word in conjunction with *notlaic*. For, as is admitted, while some Irish homily-writers head the festival of the 6th of January by *Epiphany*, others headed it in the Irish language thus:—"Authors discuss the size, height, and brilliancy of the *Stella*."<sup>1</sup> And in the body of the Homilies the more genuine Irish word for star (*redlain*) is given. In point of fact, all ecclesiastical writers, Irish and continental, in dealing with the festivals of the Church, used *Stella* as an expression for the Epiphany.

There are no grounds for doubting the meaning of *Stella*, or of the commemorative matter under it. The *natalis calicis* has been always used to signify the institution of the Blessed Eucharist, and is thus in harmony with the mystery commemorated on the Epiphany by the early Irish Church. Writers on the Sacred Scriptures have observed that the miracles of a physical nature worked by our Redeemer correspond with and pointed to others of a spiritual character. And, as Irish writers, discussing the wonderful change of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, referred to the miraculous multiplication of loaves,<sup>2</sup> so the writer in the old *Stowe Missal*, in celebrating this mystery of the loaves and of the change of the water into wine, glanced at their antitype and diviner counterpart in the *Natalis Calicis*.

SYLVESTER MALONE.

<sup>1</sup> *Leabhar Breac*, page 198, cols. 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἰντὶ τῆς πορβεανᾶς καὶ τῆς ὕδατος*. *Leabhar Breac*, 257, l. 45.

## Correspondence.

---

### NAPOLÉON'S DIVORCE.

“DEAR SIR,—Mr. Dennehy’s attack on my paper is a delightful example of the old fallacy of proving too much. I venture to doubt whether the marriage of 1804 was valid. Mr. Dennehy holds, that not only was that marriage valid, but that a previous marriage, celebrated in 1796, was also valid! It is certainly new to learn that the same parties can be validly married on two different occasions. After this doctrine one is not surprised to find that, according to Mr. Dennehy (p. 734), the consent of one of the parties is sufficient for the validity of the contract. I understand that Mr. Dennehy is a devout and successful journalist. It would be well if he kept to his own duties, and did not take up the ungrateful task of lecturing the priests who contribute to your pages. *Ne sutor supra crepidam.*”

“I was, of course, quite aware of the 1796 marriage; but I did not treat of it, because I was concerned with the divorce proceedings, which make no mention of it. This silence is, surely, a strong presumption against its validity. I may say now, however, that Father Duhr’s argument by no means convinces me. No doubt, it is the rule that when access to the parish priest is generally impossible, the decree of the Council of Trent is suspended. Thus, Pius VI. wrote to the Bishop of Lucon:—‘*Quoniam complures existis fidelibus non possunt omnino parochum legitimum habere, horum profecto conjugia contracta coram testibus et sine parochi præsentia, si nihil aliud obstet, et valida et licita erunt.*’ (See Gury, ed. Ballerini, ii., page 815.)

“I would call attention to the words *si nihil aliud obstet*. The ordinary faithful were certainly married lawfully and validly by going through the civil ceremony, because they intended to contract according to the Church’s laws. But the case of the prominent revolutionists was different. They had abolished religious marriage altogether and introduced divorce. When they entered into a civil alliance, they did so with the intention of contracting according to the conditions of the civil laws; that is, of making a contract determinable at the will of the parties. Hence the different members of the Napoleonic family, though already civilly married, went through the religious ceremony

before the coronation. If the 1796 marriage was binding, how can we account for the conduct of Pius VII., Cardinal Fesch, the Archbishop of Vienna, the Paris ecclesiastical officials, Josephine and Napoleon? Does not all the anxiety about the 1804 marriage prove that the 1796 marriage was looked upon as invalid?

“Let me repeat. I am of opinion that the 1804 marriage was invalid because Napoleon withheld his consent, and that the 1796 marriage was invalid because the parties had no intention of entering into a life-long union. I have here confined myself to indicating the line of defence which I should take. I should be glad if some writer, better versed in canon law than Mr. Dennehy and myself, would discuss the question of the competency of the diocesan tribunal to decide the case.—Yours faithfully.

“T. B. SCANNELL.”

## Documents.

### I.

#### DECISIONS OF THE CONGREGATION OF RITES.

##### SUMMARY.

Vespers of a *secondary* feast of the B. Virgin in concurrence with a *primary* feast of a saint with the same rite. The change of the third line of the first strophe of the *Iste Confessor*.

When the second prayer in the Mass is the *A Cunctis*, may the third be the *Defende*?

Rules regarding the reverence to be made when the name of the saint whose Mass is being said occurs in any part of the Mass.

On what days is the Requiem Mass allowed, if the corpse is unburied, but not present in the church owing to a civil prohibition, or to the danger of contagion?

CALAGURRITANA ET CALCEATEN.

RESOLUTIONIS DUBIORUM.

Sac Liturg, summopere sollicitus Rñus Dñus Antonius Maria Cascaiares y Azara Episcopus Calagurritanus et Calceatensis, in

## Documents.

votis habens, ut Ordo divini officii recitandi Sacrique peragendi pro sibi commissae Dioeceseos Clero adamussim concordet Rubricis, Sacraeque Rituum Congregationis Decretis, insequentia Dubia enucleanda Sacrae eidem Congregationi humiliter exhibuit, nimirum :

Dubium XX. Quomodo Vesperae ordinandae sunt in concurrentia Festi secundarii B. M. V., cum Festo primario eiusdem ritus, nimirum S. Gabrielis Archangeli?

Dubium XXI. Quoad mutationem 3. versus hymni *Iste confessor*, quae non adnotatur pro Sanctorum Officiis descriptis in Breviario typico, an sit deficientia eiusdem, ita ut sit supplendum in ordinando annuali Calendario?

Dubium XXV. Cum dicitur in Missa 2. Oratio *A cunctis*, eligi ne potest pro 3. Oratio pro Congregatione et Familia, idest *Defende*?

Dubium XXVI. Quaenam regula servanda est circa capitis inclinationes in Missa faciendas, quoties occurrat nomen de Sancto, cuius dicitur Missa vel fit commemoratio: an nempe in principio Epistolae et Evangelii, in festo ex. gr. S. Pauli vel Matthaei, an etiam in vigiliis Sanctorum? Et verum quem locum vel obiectum inclinandum est caput, etiam cum nomen B. M. V. aut Summi Pontificis occurrit?

Dubium XXVII. Quibusnam diebus permittitur Missa de Requiem insepulto cadavere, sed absente ob civile vetitum, et ob morbum contagiosum?

Ad 20. Dilata.

Ad 21. Supplendum in redactione Calendarii.

Ad 26. Inclinationem capitis faciendam in festis Sanctorum tantum, quoties nomen eorum, de quibus celebratur Missa vel fit commemoratio, exprimitur, minime vero in initiis Epistolae et Evangelii; et ad nomina B. M. V. aliorum Sanctorum et Summi Pontificis inclinationem dirigendam versus librum seu nomen in libro expressum, nisi in loco principali altaris habeatur statua vel imago B. M. V. aut Sancti, ad quam, quia expressius repraesentant, caput inclinatur.

Ad 27. Cadaver absens ob civile vetitum vel morbum contagiosum, non solum insepultum, sed et humanum, dummodo non ultra biduum ab obitu, censeri potest ac si foret physice praesens, ita ut Missa exequiatis in casu cantari licite valeat quoties praesente cadavere permittitur.

## II.

## CONSECRATION OF A PORTABLE ALTAR.

## SUMMARY.

Must the cement be blessed with the blessing given in the pontifical for the cement of a fixed altar?

Is the bishop himself to apply the cement and close the sepulchre?

Must the episcopal seal be affixed to the sepulchre?

BELLUNEN. ET FELTREN.

RESOLUTIONIS DUBIORUM.

Rñus Dñus Salvator Bolognesi Episcopus Bellunen. et Feltren. Sacrae Rituum Congregationi haec quae sequuntur humiliter exposuit.

Pontificale Romanum de Altaris portatilis consecratione agens, nusquam de caementi benedictione ad firmandum parvi sepulcri operculum verba facit; et solummodo praecipit ut Episcopus, sacris in eodem sepulcro Reliquiis repositis, illud claudat. Hinc Episcopus Orator hac in re obsequens iis, quae tradit cl. Martinucci in Manuali sacrarum caeremoniarum, quamplura Altaria portatilia pro utraque sua Dioecesi consecrans, neque caementum benedixit, nec sepulcra ipsemet lapideo clausit operculo; id muneris adsistentibus Sacerdotibus relinquens, qui fortasse aqua non benedicta in caemento conficiendo saepe usi sunt; de episcopali vero sigillo super sepulcra imprimendo ne quidem cogitavit: et in Pastoralibus visitationibus si quando lapidem sepulcri reperiit minus firmiter caemento connexum, illud novo addito caemento, a Parocho, vel alio Sacerdote firmari iussit. Perlectis deinde recentioribus Sacrae Rituum Congregationis Decretis, praesertim in *Policastren.* diei 23 Iunii, 1879, in *Lucana* diei 3 Septembris, 1879, in *Vivarien.* diei 28 Februarii, 1880, *S. Ioannis in America* diei 15 Decembris, 1882, et in *Raven-naten.* diei 18 Maii, 1883, dubium exortum est, utrum recte quae exposuit gesta fuerint. Hinc Idem Rñus Episcopus insequentia dubia pro opportuna declaratione eidem Sacrae Congregationi enodanda proposuit nimirum:

Dub. I. *An in posterum coementum pro firmando in Altari portatili sepulcri lapide, benedicendum sit ritu pro Altari fixi consecratione praescripto?*

Dub. II. *An ipse Episcopus idem sepulcrum coemento linire et lapide claudere debeat?*

Dub. III. *An Episcopale sigillum super parvum sepulcrum Altaris addendum sit?*

Haec porro dubia, super quibus alter ex Apostolicarum Caeremoniarum Magistris suum votum typis eusum protulit, quum a me infrascripto Cardinali Sacrae eidem Congregationi Praefecto, proposita fuerint in ordinariis Comitibus ad Vaticanum subsignata die habitis; Eini et Rini Patres Sacris Tuendis Ritibus praepositi omnibus accurate perpensis, sic rescribere rati sunt:

Ad I. *Affirmative.*

Ad II. *Si agatur de unico Altari portatili consecrando affirmative; si vero agatur de pluribus aris portatilibus consecrandis, satis est ut Episcopus liniat coemento labium sepulcri unius Arae; et dum ipse prosequitur in Sacrarum Reliquiarum repositione, adsistentes Sacerdotes Lituram et cuiusque sepulcri clausuram peragant.*

Ad III. *Iuxta Decretum in Vicarien. diei 28 Februarii, 1880, sigillum Episcopale apponi posse, sed non debere.* Atque ita rescripserunt et declararunt die 10 Maii, 1890.

### III.

#### BLESSING OF BELLS.

IS THE FORM OF BLESSING GIVEN IN THE PONTIFICAL TO BE USED  
WHENEVER A CHURCH BELL IS BLESSED?

#### SEDUNEN.

Hodiernus Cancellarius Curiae Episcopalis Sedunen. de mandato Rini Episcopi, Sacrae Rituum Congregationi insequentia Dubia pro opportuna solutione humillime subiecit, nimirum: “Rituale Romanum exhibens benedictionem simplicem campanae, addit haec verba; *Quae tamen ad usum Ecclesiae non inserviat.*” Hinc quaeritur:

Dubium I. Utrum quoties benedicuntur campanae, quae ad usum Ecclesiarum vel Sacellorum inserviunt, adhibendae sint ab Episcopo caeremoniae et unctiones in Pontificali Romano praescriptae?

Et quatenus Affirmative.

Dubium II. Quibusnam campanis benedictio simplex proprie adhibeatur?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem infrascripti Secretarii, exquisito voto alterius ex Apostolicarum Caeremoniarum Magistris, ita rescribendum censuit, videlicet:

Ad I. *Affirmative* :

Ad II. *Omnibus campanis quae ad usum sacrum non inserviunt et pro his adhibeatur adnexa formula nuperrime adprobata. Atque ita rescripsit et declaravit die 4 Martii, 1892.*

BENEDICTIO SIMPLEX NOVAE CAMPANAE QUAE TAMEN AD USUM  
ECCLESIAE NON INSERVIAT.

V. Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.

R. Qui fecit caelum et terram.

Ps. 50. Miserere mei Deus, secundum magnam.

Ps. 53. Deus in nomine tuo.

Ps. 56. Miserere mei Deus, miserere mei.

Ps. 66. Deus misereatur nostri.

Ps. 69. Deus in adiutorium meum intende.

Ps. 85. Inclina Domine aurem tuam.

Ps. 129. De profundis clamavi.

V. Kyrie eleison.

R. Christe eleison.

V. Kyrie eleison.

Pater noster (secreto) V. Et ne nos inducas intentationem.

R. Sed libera nos a malo.

V. Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

R. Ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum.

V. Domine exaudi orationem meam.

R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

V. Dominus vobiscum.

R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

OREMUS.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui rerum omnium cursum in mundo ineffabili sapientia disposuisti: praesta quaesumus, ut hoc vasculum ad actionum seriem indicandam destinatum, tuae bene-~~x~~dictionis rore perfundas, quo cuncta iuxta ordinem fiant, et quaevis inde maligni spiritus perturbatio arceatur. Per Dominum.

*Nunc Officians ponit incensum in thuribulum et benedicit, et primum aspergit circumcundo campanam, choro dicente :*

Dirigatur, Domine, oratio mea, sicut incensum in conspectu tuo.

*Tum producto Officians super Campanam signum crucis, discedit cum Ministris.*

## IV.

## VARIOUS DECREES OF S.R.C.

## SUMMARY.

Is the commemoration for a bishop on the occasion of the anniversary of his consecration to be omitted on days which exclude *festæ dupliciæ*, such as the Sundays of Advent and Lent, &c.?

What prayer is to be said in the Office for the Dead, when offered for a priest on the 3rd, 7th, 30th, and anniversary day?

What prayer is to be said in a Requiem Mass, offered for one who has died in a distant place, as soon as the announcement of his death is received?

When only one Nocturn of the *Officium Defunctorum* is said on the occasion of a funeral, which Nocturn should be selected?

When one Nocturn of the *Officium Defunctorum* is said in the evening, which should it be?

When the *Te Deum* is solemnly sung immediately after Mass on a day when violet vestments are used, should the celebrant retain the violet vestments at the *Te Deum*, or change them for white?

When the Blessed Sacrament is exposed immediately after Mass for a *Te Deum* and *Benediction*, is it necessary for the celebrant to put off the chasuble and maniple and put on the cope?

When one says a Votive Mass of St. Joseph on Wednesday, and does not recite the Votive Office, where is he to find the Votive Mass?

Should *Alleluia* be omitted from the Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart out of paschal time?

May one who says the Votive Office of the Sacred Heart offer the Votive Mass of the Passion, &c., and *vice versa*? If so, what will be the second prayer?

What should be the third prayer in the Votive Mass of the Blessed Trinity, when said with an octave of a feast of the Blessed Virgin?

What should be the colour of a preacher's stole, on a feast of the Blessed Virgin falling in Holy Week?

Is it allowable to wear a black stole when preaching on the 2nd November, or the following Sunday?

The manner of distributing Holy Communion to nuns who have a choir behind the altar.

The manner of performing the ablution of the fingers in the first and second Masses of Christmas Day.

Versicle for the Votive Office of the Angels in paschal time.

How to arrange the hymn at Vespers of the feast of the Seven Dolours occurring in Passion Week.

The Postcommunion Prayer in the Mass of a Confessor Pontiff, who is also Doctor.

Should *Alleluia* be added in paschal time to Versicles of the Litany of Loretto, of the *Te Deum*, &c., at public exercises of devotion (such as Benediction) ?

Is a bishop celebrating *in aliena diocesi* to mention in the Memento the name of the bishop of the diocese ?

#### LINCIEN.

Dubium II. An Decretum in Ravennaten diei 18 Maii, 1883 ad VII, et VIII sic sit intelligendum, ut commemoratio Anniversaria Electionis et Coronationis Summi Pontificis, ac Electionis et Consecrationis Episcopi, in Missis lectis prohibeatur etiam illis diebus festa duplicia excludentibus, qui tamen Orationes imperatas admittunt, ut sunt Dominicae Adventus et Quadragesimae, Feria IV. Cinerum, et dies infra Octavas privilegiatas sub ritu semiduplici ?

Dubium III. Quatenam oratio dicenda est in Officio Defunctorum die depositionis, tertio, septimo, trigesimo et anniversario Sacerdotis: an semper dicenda Oratio “*Deus qui inter Apostolicos Sacerdotes ?*”

Dubium IV. In Missae de Requite pro defuncto in loco dissito cum primo nuntius mortis accipitur, aliqui putant sumendam esse Orationem de die tertia, omisso verbo “*tertium*” (quae tamen minime convenire videtur, quando accepto nuntio per telegraphum, Missa canitur ante ipsius defuncti depositionem), vel dicendo “*cuius obitus diem commemoramus.*” Alii vero putant in casu esse semper dicendam Orationem de die obitus, omisso forte verbo “*hodie*” si depositio iam facta fuerit. Quatenam ex his opinionibus est in praxi sequenda ?

Dubium V. Exequiis pro depositione defuncti, quando unicum recitatur Nocturnum, debet ne dici illud, quod feriae currenti respondet (1) ?

Dubium VI. Quotiescumque unicum Nocturnum Defunctorum dicatur horis vespertinis, quod feriae respondere debet iuxta Rubricam Breviarii Romani, de qua feria erit sumendum ?

Dubium VII. An pro hymno "*Te Deum*" (qui v. g. ob primam Missam Neo-presbyteri, vel ob aliam causam solemniter canitur immediate post Missam, quae iuxta Rubricas celebrari debet colore violaceo, ut in festo SS. Innocentium et Dominicis Adventus etc.) retineri possint paramenta coloris violacei, vel in casu cum aliis coloris albi permutanda sint?

Dubium VIII. An quando immediate post Missam solemnem exponitur SS. Sacramentum pro cantu hymni "*Te Deum*" vel pro aliis precibus (aut etiam simpliciter pro Adoratione eiusdem ad plures horas duratura), liceat Celebranti benedictionem quoque cum eodem SSmo Sacramento in fine daturò, retinere casulam cum manipulo, vel debeat potius adsumere Pluviale (1)?

Dubium IX. An pro Missis votivis S. Ioseph Sponsi B. M. V. quando non recitatur eius Officium votivum in Feria IV, debeat sumi formulare ex Missa diei 19 Martii, vel formulare ex Missa, quae correspondet officio votivo eiusdem Sancti feriis quartis per annum?

Dubium X. An in Missa votiva Sacri Cordis Iesu ("Miserebitor") extra tempus paschale omitti debeant "*Alleluja*," tum ad Introitum tum ad Offertorium et Communionem?

Dubium XI. An eadem Missa votiva de Sacro Corde licita sit privilegio utentibus, iis diebus, in quibus recitant Officium votivum de SSmo Sacramento, Feria V, vel de Passione Dñi, Feria VI. Item, an iisdem licita sit Missa votiva de Passione Dñi, quando recitant Officium votivum de SSmo Sacramento et viceversa; vel Missa votiva de S. Cruce quando recitant alterutrum horum Officiorum votivorum? Et quatenus affirmative, quaenam erit in praedictis casibus secunda oratio: an de Officio votivo, vel de tempore (quando non occurrunt aliae commemorationes)?

Dubium XII. Quaenam oratio debet dici tertio loco in Missa votiva SSinae Trinitatis infra aliquam Octavam B. M. V.; an de Spiritu Sancto?

Dubium XIII. An stola Concionatoris (quae in his regionibus semper est in usu) pro sermonibus festivis de S. Ioseph et Annuntiatione B. M. V., quando haec festa occurrunt in hebdomada maiori, debeat esse coloris albi, vel violacei? Et an die 2 Novembris (vel Dominica sequenti) ad sermonem pro defunctis liceat adhibere stolam coloris nigri?

Dubium XIV. An pro distribuenda SSma Communione Monialibus, quae habent Chorum retro post Altare, debeat aut possit Sacerdos post recitatum a Ministro vel ab ipsis Monialibus

“*Confiteor*” deponere Ciborium ad fenestellam Chori, et ibi, ad Moniales conversus dicere “*Misereatur,*” etc., et “*Ecce Agnus Dei,*” etc., vel potius debeat haec omnia dicere ad Altare versus populum de more; et dein per medium Altaris descendere (quamvis fenestella sit in parte Epistolae) ad Moniales sancto Christi corpore reficiendas? Et an idem valeat etiam si Chorus non sit retro post Altare, sed in aliqua parte laterali Presbyterii?

Dubium XV. Duplex viget praxis pro ablutione digitorum in prima et secunda Missa die sancto Natalis Domini. Alii nempe in duabus his Missis digitos abluunt in vase mundo, vacuo, Ministro vinum et aquam de more infundente, interim dicendo “*Corpus tuum Domine,*” etc., quam ablutionem sumunt in tertia Missa una cum ultima ablutione. Alii vero digitos abluunt in vasculo cum aqua iam prius parato, ut fit post distributionem SS<sup>nae</sup> Communionis; quam aquam vel sumunt cum ultima ablutione in tertia Missa, vel in piscinam sacrarii effundendam relinquunt. Quaeritur; quatenus ex his praxibus sit, utpote Rubricis conformior, sequenda?

Dubium XVI. Quinam Versiculus sumendus est in Officio votivo SS. Angelorum Feria II tempore paschali ad II<sup>um</sup> Nocturnum: an “*Adorate Deum*” ex Nona?

Dubium XVII. An quando festum Septem Dolorum B. M. V. in hebdomada Passionis caret primis Vesperis, hymnus Vesperarum debeat coniungi cum hymno Matutini, prout innuit Rubrica Breviarii, etiam si habeat integras secundas Vesperas; vel in hoc casu, debeant hymni (ut docet A Carpo) transponi, ita ut ad Matutinum dicatur hymnus Vesperarum, ad Laudes hymnus Matutini, et ad secundas Vesperas hymnus ex Laudibus?

Dubium XVIII. An pro quolibet Sancto Confessore Pontifice et Ecclesiae Doctore, pro quo in Missa Orationes sumuntur ex Communi Doctorum “*In Medio*” in Postcommunione loco dicendi “*Confessor tuus et Doctor*” dici debeat *Pontifex tuus et Doctor*” prout in editione typica Missalis die 21 Aprilis pro Festo S. Anselmi Ep. C. Doct. invenitur?

Dubium XIX. Viget usus in hac Dioecesi (sicut et in aliquibus aliis) addendi tempore paschali in exercitiis devotionis, quae extra Officium canonicum, maxime coram SS<sup>mo</sup> Sacramento habentur, “*Alleluia*” ad Versiculos; v. g. and v. “*Ora pro nobis*” post Litanias Lauretanis, ad v. “*Benedicamus Patrem et Filium*” post “*Te Deum*” etc., quinimmo et addendi in diebus Paschatis vel infra Octavam Paschae duplex “*Alleluia*” ad “*Benedicamus Domino*” quod in his regionibus solet cantari

finitis orationibus, quibus praecessit sollemnis cantus hymni Ambrosiani. An usus iste tolerari possit?

Dubium XX. Episcopus Ordinarius, qui in aliena Dioecesi celebrat, tenetur ne in “*Memento*” Canonis nominare Episcopum huius alienae Dioeceseos, an semetipsum?

Ad II. *Negative.*

Ad III. *Serventur Rubricae Ritualis Romani, nempe Tit. VI., cap. 3, n. 5, pro die Depositionis, et Tit. VI., cap. 5, n. 2, pro diebus tertia, septima, trigesima et anniversaria :*

Ad IV. *Recitanda oratio prout est in Missali.*

Ad V. *Dicatur primum Nocturnum.*

Ad VI. *Nocturnum debet respondere Feriae, qua canitur Missa*

Ad VII. *Affirmative quoad primam partem ; Negative ad secundam.*

Ad VIII. et IX. *Negative ad primam partem ; Affirmative ad secundam.*

Ad X. *Negative.*

Ad XI. *Affirmative et secunda oratio sumatur de tempore.*

Ad XII. *Affirmative.*

Ad XIII. *Stola concionatoris sit coloris Officio diei respondentis, etiam die secunda Novembris.*

Ad XIV. *Affirmative ad primam partem ; Negative ad secundam ; ad tertiam, Provisum in prima.*

Ad XV. *Secundus modus purificationis magis expeditus, et conformis est praxi universali.*

Ad XVI. *Loco primae Antiphonae usurpetur altera “ Immittet Angelus.”*

Ad XVII. *Negative ad primam partem, Affirmative ad secundam.*

Ad XVIII. *Dicenda Oratio prout extat in Missali.*

Ad XIX. *Negative.*

Ad XX. *Negative ad primam partem, Affirmative ad secundam.*

Atque ita rescripsit, declaravit et servari mandavit die 3 Iunii 1892.

✠ CAL. Card. ALOISI-MASELLA, *Praef.*  
VINCENTIUS NUSSI, *Secretarius.*

## Notices of Books.

---

THE CONFESSOR AFTER GOD'S OWN HEART. From the French of the third edition of Rev. Father S. J. M. Cros, S.J. Dublin : Browne & Nolan, 1892.

IT is not an everyday experience of the reviewer to come across a good sensible book. Such a book we think we have found in the above, though we believe a few confessors will differ from some of the author's views. It is sensible anyhow in these respects, that it has a short preface which does not insist on the "necessity of the following pages;" that it is exactly what it pretends to be; that it is not enlarged by mere padding; that every sentence in it is to the point; and that it treats of a very practical subject in a very direct manner. The original was written with a view to the needs of the French Church. After a perusal of the book we were not surprised that two editions have been sold, and that it has elicited the warm commendation of some of the French bishops. We may say at once that we have no fault to find with it from a literary standpoint. Though a translation, it reads as if it were not. By divisions and subdivisions, and the judicious use of italics, the writer has succeeded in giving his book the appearance and the reality of a scientific manual. The author's aim has been to counteract the baneful teaching of those Jansenistic writers who would inscribe "justice" rather than "mercy" over the confessional, and would surround the Communion table with the terrors of Sinai. The first chapter describes the ravages of Jansenism in France. In this chapter we are introduced to the founders of Jansenism—namely, Janssen, Duvergier, and Arnold. They are permitted to speak to us through the testimony of historical documents, and one impression which we cannot fail to carry away from the interview is that they thoroughly hated the Jesuits. In little less than twenty chapters the author combats the errors and practices begotten of their teachings. There is, however, no mere discussion of abstract theological questions; but, in addition to simple theological exposition, there is very useful direction on practical questions, such as the confession and communion of children, and of boarders in educational establishments. We have met confessors who would not have children approach those sacraments more than once a

month. The author of this work maintains that children, and of course boarders, ought to be encouraged to go at least once a week. His reasons certainly deserve consideration, and hence we think that the priest even on the Irish mission would do well to read his book. The following quotation will illustrate the manner of his treating children. Replying to a Jansenist director of childhood, who maintains that on the day of communion every word and act of the child ought to be grave, serious, and permeated with religion, Father Cros says (see cap. xvi., page 274):—"The child's anxieties on these points must be energetically dispelled. Joy and dilation of heart are the ordinary fruit of Holy Communion. To repress the exuberant hilarity of children on the day of communion, is to act contrary to the sweet spirit of Christ. Games, even noisy ones, are not detrimental to piety."

The whole tenor of the book is to stimulate priests to give voice to that cry too often faintly heard, "Come to Me all you that labour and are heavy burdened, and I will refresh you."

T. P. S.

LETTERS OF ARCHBISHOP ULLATHORNE. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.

THE position of a Catholic bishop in his relations to his people at the present day is becoming most difficult to maintain with that equanimity and sense of paternal affection which should characterize his every action towards his subjects. Religion and politics are nowadays so closely mixed up, that a bishop, imbued with any deep feeling of his duty, anxious to impress upon his people the true obligations of religion, must, of necessity, often intrench on the domain of politics. Yet we would not like to see a bishop shirking his plain duty of teaching, as a pastor, through the vain fear of his popularity.

It is interesting at such a time to receive the publication under review, and to be able to study in it how a great and saintly archbishop of our own times acted in his teaching relations with his people. We might divide those letters into two parts—the private, or purely spiritual letters, and those of a more public character, when the Benedictine deemed it necessary to come from his cell, and warn the people of the appearance of Satan amongst them. The most of those purely spiritual letters are written to the nuns of the Third Order of St. Dominic, who had been

established in the Birmingham diocese through the instrumentality of the celebrated Margaret Hallahan. To this saintly woman the Archbishop opens his very soul, and reveals to her much of God's dealing with him. We have a mine of spiritual treasure in those letters. For nuns and religious there could be found no lovelier spiritual reading. Archbishop Ullathorne must have been, in every sense of the word, a true Benedictine monk, a true student and exponent of the ways of interior life. It would be a real pity if the extracts dealing purely with asceticism and very sublime spirituality will not at some future time be published as a separate volume. Such consolation and encouragement would pious souls receive from its perusal, and there are so many who would revel in such a volume who would not think of reading through the present large edition of varied extracts.

It is, indeed, surprising how a man revealed as so devoted to the interior life could still rush with such zest into the turmoil of public affairs when he felt duty required it. To say that in his treatment of them he exhibited the talent of a master-mind, would be superfluous, for Archbishop Ullathorne's name is known everywhere as that of a great scholar and a deep thinker. He lived, as it were, a hidden life in the sanctity of his soul; and yet nothing seems to have been hidden from him. He took the liveliest interest in all the external circumstances of his time, and his remarks thereon exhibit that interest. In many of the most remarkable public incidents of his time, he himself was a chief actor. In September, 1855, he writes:—"Here is Sebastopol all in flames; thousands and thousands of men lying dead about it; and all for the deeds of other people, who are quite happy in their palaces, if we are to believe them. And everybody here is rejoicing because a town is on fire and destroyed, and a hecatomb of red and blue and green-coated men are lying dead. *Le monde c'est une drole de chose*. It is the ape of its Almighty Creator, playing at His greatness, dealing with lives and souls as if they were nine pins, and quite satisfied with the result of the game."

There are a few letters about Darwinism, and other scientific subjects, drawn from him by the appearance of articles on these subjects in reviews. He is very slow to adopt new scientific opinions, though not opposed to the teaching of the Church; yet he remarks, "I quite agree with you (Bishop Browne) as to the expediency of not censuring matters professing to rest on science, where the Church has not censured. It is another thing to point out the spirit implied in Catholics hastily and rashly preaching

and writing up such conclusions in a way to injure the faith of the weak." He says also in the same letter, about the Galileo controversy, that his reading had satisfied his mind that it was only Galileo's meddling with the Sacred Scriptures that was really censured. "The very fact that his predecessor Copernicus, a canon, maintained the system, and that under the patronage of a cardinal without offence, is enough to throw strong suspicion on the common opinion kept up by the Protestant world. I have heard that there is a considerable tendency at this moment, in Cambridge, to question the Newtonian theory."

About the theory of man's origin, he writes in 1863:—"I do not think the science of the subject is in that developed and certain condition, or that it has so exhausted the facts within its scope as to justify us in throwing overboard, on its account, the tradition of all humanity, as well as that of the Church, as to the comparatively recent origin of man. But, even then, I do not think we are bound to the chronology commonly received."

A little extract from remarks on the life of Lacordaire might be applied with truth to himself—"His interior and spiritual life surprises and astonishes me. . . . It only shows how little one can judge a person by his public works and reputation. His public life had in it so much that was showy, whilst his convent life was one as ingenious and desperate in its severity of seeking humiliations and sufferings inflicted by others as one can read of in any of the saints."

In 1851, he writes about the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill Disorders—"My own view is very simple, and one quite calm and peaceful to myself. A few bishops would have to go once into jail, and the whole matter would be ended." That this was no vain vapouring, is proved by his conduct on another occasion, when he did actually go to jail rather than allow his people to be mulcted for a debt which neither he nor they had contracted.

In 1867, he gave evidence before the Committee on the Titles Bill, and his letter describing this experience is interesting and amusing. He says:—"Everything was conducted in a very courteous and gentlemanly manner; only the Attorney-General for Ireland was dogged and tenacious." He afterwards calls him the Orange Attorney-General.

But most interesting for us are the letters he wrote about the differences which the Fenians had created between himself and his people. These differences, of course, were most unfortunate

in themselves, but they were the occasion of drawing from him long letters expressing his great attachment to the Irish people. As a bishop of the Catholic Church, he was obliged to condemn the Fenians as a secret society; and after events have proved how mad would have been the conduct of the bishops if they had not used every means in their power to prevent the honest and patriotic young Irishmen of the time from rushing to destruction.

The Archbishop writes in 1869:—

“I am in hot water. For two years past there has been a Fenian conspiracy in this place to alienate the Irish people from me. . . . Does it really at this day require to be stated, that for nearly forty years I have been the devoted servant of the Irish people? Can it be unknown that from the twenty-fourth to this present sixty-third year of my life, from my vigorous youth to my gray hairs, I have given my energies to the welfare of that people? . . . I became an exile in the remote penal colonies for the sake of the most neglected and the most suffering portion of the Irish race. . . . From 1832 to 1840 I lived amongst the men transported for the affairs of '98; amongst the men who, under all sorts of pretexts, were transported for O'Connell's famous Clare election, and amongst men transported from all parts of Ireland, almost as often for political as for criminal causes. I conversed with those men, knew their inmost hearts as well as their histories, and they all together represented three-quarters of a century of the history of the Irish people. Those men were wont to say, that if I looked like an Englishman, I felt like an Irishman. It is not for me to say what I did to mitigate their material sufferings as well as to provide for their spiritual wants . . . what I wrote in their defence; what share I had, and at what cost of suffering to myself in bringing the horrible system of transportation itself to an end. Let it be enough to say, that my strong constitution was broken down in the service of this Irish people, and that I spent the best years of my life in labouring to mitigate the evils, redress the wrongs, and soften the sorrows of 20,000 Irishmen, most of which had been brought about through the misgovernment of their country.”

It is comparatively short since Dr. Ullathorne's death, and the greatest praise is due to the compiler of this work for the expeditiousness and the perfection with which it is produced. Together with the autobiography, published some time ago, it must satisfy the most ardent admirers of the writings and sayings of the Archbishop; and in those two books there is a complete key to the study of his great life.

# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

---

---

OCTOBER, 1892.

---

---

## THE BOOK OF DEER.

A DAMNAN'S *Life of Columba* and the *Book of Deer* are the only surviving literary monuments known to us of the ancient Celtic or Columban Church of Scotland. The former was accidentally discovered in the year 1845 at the bottom of an old book-chest in the public library of Schaffhausen, in Switzerland. The latter, in like manner, though preserved in the University of Cambridge, was first made known to scholars in 1850 by the keen eye of Mr. Bradshaw, an eminent antiquarian scholar. It was then discovered that so early as 1715 the manuscript had been acquired by the University amongst the books of Dr. John Moore, Bishop of Norwich, which were purchased by George I. for a sum of six thousand guineas, and was by him presented to the University. How the manuscript came into the possession of Moore is, I believe, quite unknown; but to him the literary world owes the preservation of this most interesting and unique monument of the early Celtic Church of Scotland.

The manuscript itself is a small and nearly square octavo, numbering eighty-six folios of parchment, written on both sides of the leaf, in a dark brown ink, but in a hand that is still wonderfully clear and legible. The pages were ruled with a sharp-pointed instrument, and, as in the case of some other ancient manuscripts of the Irish school, the letters are not written on the line, but beneath it, hanging from it as it were. This arrangement was found to suit the Celtic letters

better than our modern style, as some of them have rather long tails which hang from the line more gracefully than they could rest upon it.

The manuscript contains portions of the first three Gospels, and the entire Gospel of St. John, together with what the editor regards as "a fragment of the Office for the Visitation of the Sick," and also the Apostles' Creed. All this is in Latin, written in one uniform hand, and in the now well-known Roman miniscule lettering peculiar to the Irish school of scribes. The initial letters, as was usual in our Irish manuscripts, are greatly enlarged and ornamented with patches of different colours, and terminate in the dogs' heads, or similar dragonesque forms, so characteristic of our Celtic ornamentation. The pages have also ornamental borders, with panels of interlaced work of the character usually seen in Celtic art. There are also full-page portraits of the four Evangelists, but the style of art is much inferior to that exhibited in the *Book of Kells*, and several other of the Celtic illuminated manuscripts, that are known to have been executed in Ireland.

A much more important question is the age and authorship of the book. Of the latter we know nothing except what can be gathered from a colophon written in Gaelic by the scribe, who wrote the Gospels. It has been translated to this effect:—" (Be it) on the conscience of every one, in whom shall be for grace the booklet with splendour, that he give a blessing on the soul of the wretch who wrote it."<sup>1</sup> Who this "poor wretch" who wrote it was, no one can say. In his humility he conceals his name; but it is most likely he was a member of the community of Deer, who transcribed from an older and now lost manuscript, in all probability written by Columcille himself, the founder of the Celtic Monastery of Deer.

The age and character of the penmanship would bear out this view. Westwood holds that the manuscript is certainly not later than the ninth century; and Dr. Whitley Stokes declares that the Gaelic of the colophon (printed in the note)

<sup>1</sup> Here is the original:—"Forchubus caichduini imbia arrath inlebran colli aratardda bendacht foranmain intruagain rodscribai. . . ."

is identical with that of the earliest Irish glosses given by Zeuss in the *Grammatica Celtica*, which belong to the seventh and eighth centuries. Columcille died at a much earlier date, in 597 ; and, moreover, the penmanship is quite different from that of the *Book of Durrow* and of the *Book of Kells*, which have with more or less plausibility been attributed to Columba himself. Besides, the mistakes made in transcription by the scribe show that he was only indifferently acquainted with the Latin language, and that he was much more at home in the transcription of his native Gaelic. It seems probable, therefore, that this manuscript was written sometime during the eight or ninth century, when the original from which it was copied had begun to suffer from the wear and tear of two hundred or two hundred and fifty years.

But venerable and interesting as this transcription of the Gospels undoubtedly is, there are other entries in the Gaelic tongue of far greater interest from a historical and antiquarian point of view. The most important of all is that which gives an account of the foundation of the monastery of Deer itself. And although these Gaelic entries are of later date than the transcript of the Gospels, having been inserted at different times from the ninth to the twelfth century, still they are of the highest interest, because they put on record the traditions of the monastery itself as to its origin and foundation, whilst it was yet, comparatively speaking, a young and flourishing institution. Here is the tradition of its origin :—

“ Columcille and Drostan, son of Cosgrach, his pupil, came from Hi, as God had shown to them, unto Abbordoboir, and Bede the Pict was mormaer of Buchan before them ; and it was he that gave them that town in freedom for ever from mormaer and toisech. They came after that to the other town (of Deer), and it was pleasing to Columcille, because it was full of God's grace ; and he asked it of the mormaer, to wit, Bede, that he should give it to him ; and he did not give it ; and a son of his took an illness after refusing the clerics, and he was nigh unto death. After this the mormaer went to entreat the clerics, that they should make prayer for his son, that health should come to him ; and he gave in offering to them from Cloch in Tiprat to Cloch Pette Meic Garnait. They made the prayer, and health came

to him. After that Columcille gave to Drostan that town, and blessed it, and left as his word—‘Whosoever shall come against it, let him not be many-yearred or victorious.’ Drostan’s tears came on parting from Columcille. Then said Columcille, ‘Let Dear (a tear) be its name henceforward.’”

And so it came to pass. What a simple and touching narrative in the old ancestral tongue of Erin, and what a flood of light it throws on the history of that time! We know from Bede and Adamnan that Brude Mac Maelcon was king of the Northern Picts when Columba first preached the Gospel to his subjects. Tighernach records his death in 583, so that he was most likely the king who ruled the Picts when Columba made his way—by land or sea we know not—to Aberdour, on the southern shore of the Moray Firth. The great territory now comprising Aberdeen and Banffshire, between the Spey and the Dee, was then one of the seven provinces into which the kingdom of the Picts was divided, and which, even at that early period, was known as Buchan, including also what was afterwards known as the great earldom of Mar. But here we find it ruled over during the lifetime of Columba by Bede the Pict, who is described as mormaer, or high steward, of Buchan, ruling in the king’s name, and collecting the royal dues from his subjects. This Gaelic term is equivalent to Irish *ard-maer*, which is used by our own annalists to describe “the steward of Patrick’s family in Armagh,”<sup>1</sup> and also the great steward of the southern O’Neills. The same official is sometimes called *exactor*,<sup>2</sup> and sometimes *satrapas*<sup>3</sup> in the Latin chronicles, the former referring to his duty as chief tax collector, and the latter denoting his office as governor under the king. The toisech, or captain, was chief of the clan—an office both in Erin and Alba, partly hereditary and partly elective, which has survived in the Highlands almost down to our own day. “Freedom from mormaer and toisech,” therefore, means that the monastic lands of Deer were to be exempt from all royal dues, as well as

<sup>1</sup> See *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 922.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals of Ulster*, 729.

<sup>3</sup> *Pictish Chronicle*, A.D. 965.

from all tribal rents and claims of every kind. The fear of Columcille's curse may have secured this immunity for Deer and Aberdour under the Pictish kings; but if so it was an exception, for we find it expressly stated in the chronicle of the Picts and Scots that it was King Giric, who reigned from 878 to 889, "that first gave liberty to the Scottish Church, which had been until now under servitude, according to the law and custom of the Picts."<sup>1</sup> The family of Deer probably accepted the Roman Easter, and thus escaped expulsion by King Naiton beyond Drum Alban about 717, when most of the Columban communities were driven out of the territory of the Pictish king. About the year 850, however, the Pictish dynasty was overthrown, and Kenneth Mac Alpin, "primus rex Scottorum," "acquired the kingdom of Scone for the Gael." This was about the time the *Book of Deer* was transcribed, after which the monastery greatly prospered. So we have entries of some eighteen or twenty different grants of land made to the community at different periods down to the twelfth century. In those grants we find reference to "the mormaer's share" and to "the toisech's share," as well as to private rights in the land; and in some instances we find the shares of all three are made over at once; whilst in other cases now the mormaer, now the toisech, and again the private owner, assign their respective rights or shares to the monastery.

The last document in the *Book* is a Latin charter of the great and good King David I., which shows the importance of recording the grants made to the monastery in this monastic registry. Attempts were made at various times during the eleventh century to secularize the monastic possessions, or impose new burdens on the lands of the religious communities under various pretexts. Too often

<sup>1</sup> The servitude here referred to was the liability of the Church lands to various services and exactions claimed by the king and the chiefs for their personal maintenance, as well as for the defence of the kingdom. It was rendered still more galling after the expulsion of the Columban monks by King Naiton, in 717, for not accepting the Roman Easter. The words of the chronicle are:—"Ille primus dedit libertatem ecclesiae Scoticanæ, quæ sub servitute erat usque ad illud tempus ex consuetudine et more Pictorum." (Page 151.)

these attempts were successful, and in many cases the estates of the religious houses passed into the hands of laymen, who claimed them as their hereditary patrimony. It is evident that similar attempts were made at Deer, but the monks appealed to the justice of the king, and produced this book as evidence of their title and immunities. Thereupon the king issued his charter, declaring the clerics of Deer free from every service and exaction of laymen, "as is written in their book, and as they pleaded at Banff, and swore at Aberdeen."

Drostan's name is Pictish, but his father's name, Cosgrach, is Irish, and he is described as *dalta*, that is, pupil or literary foster-son of Columcille in Hy, from which they are represented as coming first to Aberdour, and afterwards to Deer. Aberdour, the river mouth of the Doboire, is a small sheltered bay, looking north from the rocky shores of Buchan, at the north-eastern extremity of Aberdeen. There appears to have been a considerable population at that time in the neighbourhood of the cathair or "town" of Aberdour; and it may be that Bede the Pict lived in the fortress of Dundarg, that is, the Red Dun, which was situated at the extremity of a small *ros* or promontory that was completely isolated by the cliffs on the sea side, and on the land side by deep earthworks cut across the narrow neck connecting the promontory with the mainland. No trace of the monastery founded here by Columcille and Drostan now exists, but we know that "the parish church was dedicated to St. Drostan, and was situated by the brink of a gorge, on a ledge or tableland overlooking the burn of the Dour, about one hundred and fifty yards distant from the shore of Moray Firth. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the bones of the saint were here preserved in a stone chest, and many cures were effected by means of them."<sup>1</sup> The lesson in the Breviary of Aberdeen<sup>2</sup> gives us further, and, no doubt, authentic information:—

"The blessed Drostan, son of Cosgrach, of the royal stock of the Scoti (the Irish), having heard even in his boyish years the

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Stuart's preface to the *Book of Deer*, page 5.

<sup>2</sup> See *Calendars of Scottish Saints*, page 327.

mysteries of the Incarnation and Passion of our Lord, when he had come to mature age, asked to devote himself to the service of Almighty God. His parents, therefore, gave him over to his *uncle*, St. Columba, then resident in Ireland, to be educated, and he afterwards assumed the monastic habit at Dalquongale. On the death of the abbot he was elected in his place, but after ruling his monks well . . . he betook himself to the eremitical life, and built the Church of Glenesk. Here he gave sight to a blind priest, Symon, and resisted, by compunction and maceration of the flesh, the assaults of the demon. His relics are preserved in a stone tomb in Aberdowyr, where many sick persons find relief."

At Glenesk, in Angus, his memory still survives; for close to the site of the church, which he founded on the romantic shore of lonely Lochlee, we find "Droustie's Well" and "Droustie's Meadow," but no trace whatsoever of his oratory or his cell. He was patron of several churches in Scotland, and his day is December 16th.<sup>1</sup>

Deer, Columba's second foundation in Buchan, is twelve miles inland, and south of Aberdour. The old Celtic monastery was built, like so many other of our earliest Irish foundations, on a site strikingly commanding and picturesque. As in the case of Aberdour, the parish church appears to stand on the site of the old Celtic monastery, which is a knoll or rising ground, now called Tap Tillery, on the bank of the river Ugie, which at this point nearly encircled the monastic grounds, thus rendering the monastery easily defensible. Old Melrose on the Tweed, and St. Boniface's monastery at Invergowrie on the Tay, were situated in exactly a similar position—the river in both cases nearly insulating the monastic enclosures. It was, no doubt, St. Columba's perception of the suitability of this position that induced him to ask it of Bede, the mormaer of Buchan, and there is some reason to think that the high steward had himself a residence close at hand, as the remains of several large raths are still noticeable in the neighbourhood. "Whoever shall come against it," said Columba, "let him not be

<sup>1</sup> Fordun states, but without authority, that St. Drostan's mother was Fyn Wennem, daughter of Dromingart, one of the sons of Aidan, King of Dalradia, referred to by Adamnan. She was married to Conanrodus, son to the King of Demetia, the father of Drostan.

many-yearred or victorious." This *oratio infelix*, recorded in their book, and, no doubt, well promulgated by the monks of Deer, helped to preserve the monastery inviolate for many centuries. In King David's time a certain Colban was mormaer of Buchan, and doubtless, like his royal master, was a protector of the monastery of Deer. His grandson, Fergus, became first Earl of Buchan, and by marriage with his daughter, Marjory, the earldom passed from the Gael to the Norman in the person of William Comyn, who thus became Earl of Buchan in right of his wife. But the Norman thanes had small love for the old Celtic monasteries; so we find that this Earl of Buchan founded a great Cistercian abbey at New Deer, about two miles to the westward of St. Drostan's foundation; and he appears to have endowed it with a portion of St. Drostan's lands, the remainder having been assigned for the maintenance of a parochial church. This was in 1219. But Columba's prayer was soon heard, and the fall of the great house of Comyn with its three earldoms of Buchan, Mar, and Menteith, was as sudden and complete as its rise. The Comyns fought for England against the Bruce, and were thus neither "many-yearred nor victorious." Part of their forfeited estates adjoining the abbey lands of Deer was granted to Sir Robert de Keith, Earl Marischal, one of Bruce's staunchest adherents. In 1551 the son of the then Earl Marischal succeeded his uncle Robert Keith as titular abbot of Deer, holding the abbey lands *in commendam*, and therefore called the "Abbot and Commendator of Deer." In 1587 he resigned all the lands, titles, and other property of the abbey into the king's hands, to be erected, as was then the fashion, into a temporal lordship for himself, his heirs male, and assigns—his immediate heir being his brother George, Earl Marischal, who was already, on one pretext or another, in possession of most of the lands. Now the wife of this Earl George had a "tender conscience," and forbade her husband "to leave such a consuming moth in his house as was the sacraledgeous meddling with the abisie of Deir."<sup>1</sup> But the

<sup>1</sup> The word is spelt Der, Deir, Dear, and Deer. Dear (a tear) was the ancient form, and confirms the traditional account of its origin.

earl was inexorable, and would not resign the lands. Thereupon next night she saw in a dream a number of religious men in their habits leaving the old monastery, and proceeding to the crag of Dunnoture, on which the earl's castle was built, where they set about undermining the vast rock with their pen-knives. Smiling at their vain efforts, she went to call her husband to witness their foolish attempt, but lo! as she returned she saw the crag was undermined, so that rock and castle toppled over into the sea. Once more the curse of Columba was fulfilled, for in the next century the powerful house of the great Earl Marischal was completely overthrown, and thenceforward disappears from the history of Scotland.

The *Book of Deer* was ably edited in the year 1869 for the Spalding Club, by its learned and accomplished secretary, Dr. John Stuart. The editor regards the Latin prayers, that are found after the Gospels, as a portion of the Office for the Visitation of the Sick. But in this he is clearly mistaken, as it is quite obvious to any person familiar with the liturgy of the Catholic Church that the fragments in question are a portion of the Mass. The first of them is described in the manuscript itself as the "*Oratio ante Dominicam orationem*;"<sup>1</sup> the second is obviously what is now called the "Communion," preceded also by a rubric in Irish<sup>2</sup> directing when to give the sacrifice to the communicant at Mass. Both these portions of the liturgy were in ancient times variable in different churches according to local or national usage, and that is, doubtless, the reason why we find special reference to them here. The Apostles' Creed seems to have been inserted by the scribe after the Gospels merely as a private profession of faith on his own part.

✠ J. HEALY.

<sup>1</sup> This is the usual heading for the Lord's Prayer in ancient missals: "*Oratio ad (or ante) Dominicam orationem.*" See *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, "*Missa*," page 1199.

<sup>2</sup> "*Hisund dubei sacorfaice dau.*"

## ALL HALLOWS' COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

THIS year of our Lord, 1892, is a memorable one in the life of the great missionary college of All Hallows, Drumcondra, Dublin, although, as far as the public has been made acquainted with the fact, no attention as yet has been drawn to the matter. In the February of this year the students, after an unusually long vacation, assembled to pursue their ecclesiastical studies and training under a new *régime*; and, on the 1st of next November, the College itself will be entitled to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of its establishment.

A vast field for ecclesiastical thought, as extensive as the wanderings of the scattered Irish race—as widespread almost as the Catholic Church itself—is thrown open for survey when “All Hallows” is taken as the subject of an essay. Little ability and no special knowledge for its treatment can I lay claim to. I have, however, an admiration for its beneficent existence, a reverential affection for some of its distinguished and heroic *alumni*, and I am filled with an ardent and hopeful interest in its future. Therefore, I devote some leisure hours to a paper upon it, in hope that even my shortcomings may induce some better informed and more competent writer to contribute to our I. E. RECORD some articles upon a subject of such interest, particularly now before the infancy and boyhood of the Institution are forgotten, and when it is passing a very remarkable epoch in its career. Having little personal knowledge of the College myself, I owe my acknowledgments for the information I may be able to impart, largely to Dr. MacDevitt's interesting life of its founder, Father Hand, and to information kindly given me by friends of the institution.

My elderly readers may remember the sad tales of spiritual destitution told some sixty years ago from the various parts of the world in the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*. It then came to be known that it was not merely the heathens and persons speaking strange languages that were in extreme spiritual destitution, but that English-

speaking people, calling themselves Christians, in many foreign countries were likewise involved "in darkness and the shadows of death." Many of those so benighted had been brought up Catholics. Irish emigrants, then as now, added largely to this class in Great Britain, its colonies, and in the vast Americas; and, as early as the thirties of this century, the sighs and lamentations and wailings of despair of our exiled brethren reached our shores. Catholic families living hundreds of miles from a priest or a chapel, children growing into maturity without baptism and with little knowledge of the true faith, their parents growing old without the blessings of the Church upon their conjugal union, aged and young alike dying without the last sacraments, no church requiem for departed brethren—these, and such as these, were the cries that filled the ears of their kith and kin and co-religionists in Ireland some fifty years ago. Need I say, such tidings loaded their hearts with grief and filled them with ardent desire to render assistance. Of pity and good wishes there was plenty. Pecuniary aid, too, was largely contributed for sending missionaries from France, Rome, and elsewhere, for the propagation of the faith. But could not something more practical and more efficacious be done in Ireland for the most meritorious of all charitable works? Would not Irish money go farther in preparing priests at home who would not have to be taught the English language, and who would not require to be taken in hand so early in life? Would not such priests labour as well as, and reach the hearts of their countrymen better than, clergymen of other nationalities educated abroad? It was such questions as these, with the promptings of divine illumination, that originated All Hallows' College.

There were then at Castleknock, in the County of Dublin, a few priests who had passed through the great College of Maynooth, and who were, all their lives, remarkable for their piety, disinterestedness and zeal. They had come to Dublin in 1833 to revive the work of the fathers of St. Vincent which had been interrupted by the penal laws, to propagate afresh the spirit of that great servant of God, and to live according to his rule. In 1835 they were joined by

a student named John Hand, a native of the parish of Oldcastle, in the diocese of Meath—a parish remarkable for the distinguished ecclesiastics it gave to religion, including the martyr-primate, Oliver Plunket, and the present illustrious and venerated Bishop of Meath. This young man had, from his infancy, manifested marked signs of extraordinary vocation for the priesthood, and became, in early life, intensely zealous for the salvation of souls. It would seem as if Providence destined him for a special career; for, though he gave up his diocese, when on the point of ordination, to live and labour with the Vincentians, and though he was remarkable for the strict observance of all their rules, he never bound himself by their community vows. Having graduated in the seminary of Navan and in Maynooth, he was ordained priest in Castleknock in 1835. For two years he taught with the Vincentians in a day-school on Usher's-quay; and in 1838, when the Vincentian Fathers took charge of the mission at Phibsboro', Father Hand was placed there to assist Dean Dowley, Father M'Namara and some others in their missionary labours.

It was just then that the wants of English-speaking Catholics abroad became so well known in Ireland, and Father Hand who had charge of a branch of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith at Phibsboro' and who was ever burning with zeal for the salvation of souls, became enthusiastically anxious in its cause. Dr. MacDevitt tells beautifully the workings of his heart at this time:—

“The Annals of the Association kindled all the enthusiasm of his nature, and as he often read them far into the night, the martyrs, who left a crimson-stain on many a heathen land in the East, passed before him, wearing their crowns and waving their palms. Turning to the perilous wanderings of the missionaries in the great *lone land* of the West, he thought of the scattered children of his own race and creed. He saw them by the mighty rivers of America, like the Jews in their captivity who sat by the rivers of Babylon, and wept when they remembered Sion. He followed them into the regions of the Southern Cross, into the bush, into the mine, and he found them begging the Bread of Life, but no missionary to break it to them. His thoughts travelled back near home, and among the population that throng the great cities of England and Scotland, thousands of poor Irish

Catholics were heard calling for an Irish priest. One night he went to bed so excited by this reflection that it disturbed his much-needed rest. He dreamt of the poor Catholic exiles from Ireland, and their cry of spiritual distress was startling in his sleep. It seemed to convey to him a message from God to send them missionaries, and he resolved to do so.

“Father Hand believed firmly that the spiritual wants of a people are, as a rule, best cared by priests who are racy of the soil of the people to whom they minister. Therefore, he prayed earnestly for light and aid to enter upon his commission from above by sending forth missionaries who are themselves Irishmen. Every morning at the altar, and during the day, prostrate for hours in presence of the Blessed Sacrament, he poured forth his petitions to God until the light and the aid came. Under their influence he noted the superabundant graces of apostolic vocation possessed by our Catholic youth. The ardour with which these vessels of election desired to go out from their country and their people to the land which the Lord would show them, made a deep impression upon him, and he determined to open a field where they might revive the ancient glories of this Island of Saints, and shed benediction on its exiled race. The proper material was thus pointed out to him at hand, but how was this material to be moulded? By establishing, near Dublin, a College for the Foreign Missions; and he felt sure his Catholic fellow-countrymen would generously give him the means of building and supporting such an institution. The people, who, in every age, sustained the missionary in his pilgrimage, and who, at the present moment, were contributing in liberal measure to the funds of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith would, he was assured, be true to the traditional destiny of Ireland, and give, even of their slender means, to send missionaries to save the souls of their perishing countrymen.”

What a thorough perception of the great spiritual destitution is not here unfolded! The scattered Irish crying for a priest—“an Irish priest”—who could speak to them from heart to heart! Irish charity being poured out in abundant streams, but not in the most effective channels! Irish vocations unknown and neglected, like our mineral lore, in the hills and valleys of Ireland! An Irish college to be instituted that would be supported mainly by Irish funds, governed and taught mainly by Irish superiors and professors, filled with students chiefly from Irish families; and Irish missionaries to go forth from our shores to revive the character of Ireland as the missionary country, *par excellence*, to bring

to their countrymen scattered all the world over the bread of life—their pledge of resurrection to everlasting glory—and to bring into the true fold the heretic, the pagan, and the infidel of every clime and colour! An humble priest of very delicate constitution, with none of the world's resources of family influence or wealth, and of no extraordinary talents, to undertake all this! That the idea of founding a great missionary college should be conceived by one so little in his own estimation, is hardly intelligible; but that he himself, on his own suggestion, should undertake its establishment, the formation of its government, its expansion, and its endowment, seems incomprehensible, save on the hypothesis that he received from God, who “chooses the weak things of the world to confound the strong,” and often makes use of insignificant means for the most striking results, a direct commission to devote his life to the undertaking.

No wonder he received, at first, little encouragement from Irish priests and bishops, with some few exceptions. For the most part, they regarded Father Hand in the light of a religious enthusiast, and thought his project an impractical one in a poor country like Ireland, just emerging, as it was then, from penal laws, and unprovided with so many of the requirements for the well-being of religion. A quantity of expensive land would have to be procured for a suitable site, buildings of an expensive kind would, doubtless, have to be erected, furniture procured, and a staff of professors would have to be supported. Students willing to undertake travel and labour and life in foreign countries, in far different circumstances from what these things are now, and suitably educated for a college career, would have to be sought, and only the divine confidence of a penniless priest, and the overtaxed charity of Irish Catholics were held forth as the means for the accomplishment of all these things! Then, though these preliminaries were provided for a commencement, where was the continued maintenance of the institution to come from? To secure an annuity of six or seven thousand pounds—the least income by which the college could be sustained—a very large capital should be accumulated, and were Father Hand's

assurances sufficient for hoping for such a success? If not, why jeopardize the character of the Irish Church by embarking in what was sure to be a failure, and why lean so heavily on the bounty and goodness of God? "In short, Father Hand," said Dr. Murray, his archbishop, to him, when his Grace's sanction was sought for it, "your undertaking is, humanly speaking, *a dream*." This response, coming from so high a quarter, Dr. MacDevitt tells us, "dashed the best hopes of Father Hand. He fondly expected Dr. Murray had known him better, and more appreciated his views, than to declare them *a dream*! His heart was therefore full, and, gathering into his tone all the gravity and solemnity at his command, he replied, 'Well, your Grace, if this *be* a dream, I feel bound to state humbly, but seriously, that it is *a dream* in which I saw my Catholic fellow-countrymen abroad in the attitude of those Irish infants whom St. Patrick saw in a vision stretching forth their hands from the wombs in which they were confined, and imploring the holy youth to come to baptize them. I, too, have had a message from heaven, and therefore my firm belief is that God will yet place your Grace by my side in carrying out the sacred trust which has been confided to me.'"

The hope herein expressed was not long deferred. In fact, his Grace was won over in that first interview on the subject by the earnest confidence with which Father Hand pleaded. He recognised the hand of God in the project, and thenceforward warmly espoused and effectively patronised the gigantic undertaking.

The cordial approbation of his archbishop was thus obtained in 1840, though in February, 1841, when he propounded his scheme at a meeting of the Irish bishops, he failed to get their corporate sanction. Nevertheless, in obedience to the impulse with which he seemed moved, and buoyed up with the sanction of his own archbishop, and the encouragement of some individual bishops like Dr. Cantwell, the bishop of his native diocese, he persisted in maturing his plans, and continued to engage the generosity of his friends, lay and clerical.

A constitution suited for his college was to be provided ;

professors that would be models for the students in their lives and spirit, as well as in their learning, were to be sought for and found; and men who would join him in devoting their lives gratuitously to the task before them were those whom he prayed God to send him as fellow-helpers in his great work. God was not slow in sending him zealous, self-sacrificing, learned volunteers. Rev. James O'Ryan, a native of Kerry, and the present saintly Bishop of Ardagh, Dr. Woodlock, were amongst the first recruits for his great army. The other priests who promised their services at, or near, the commencement of the college were Dr. Bennett, Dr. Moriarty, Rev. James Clarke, Rev. P. Kavanagh, Rev. James O'Brien, Dr. Flannery, Dean O'Brien, and Dr. Cruise, afterwards Bishop of Marseilles. What a galaxy of ecclesiastical learning and piety was not there clustered for the great work! When priests and laity in sufficient numbers, and with sufficient generosity for a beginning, had promised their help, Father Hand, in February, 1841, left Phibsboro' for France, to study in St. Sulpice and elsewhere the most suitable system for the education of a "diocesan secular priesthood for foreign missions." The Sulpician system came nearest to his ideal, and, having introduced such changes as were required by local and national exigencies, he proceeded to Rome, January, 1842, to seek for himself and his colleagues from Pope Gregory XVI. the apostolic sanction and blessing on their undertaking. Owing very largely to the recommendation of Dr. Murray and the cordial support of two ecclesiastics in the Eternal City, who afterwards became very distinguished in the Church, Drs. Cullen and Kirby, of the Irish College, Father Hand was most favourably received, and the petition granted, 28th of February, 1842. He immediately issued an appeal from the Propaganda press to the Catholic world for the necessary money to make a beginning; and on his return to Ireland, in June, 1842, while begging unremittingly, regardless of the chilling receptions he too frequently met with, he was soon in a position to search for a suitable site whereon the missionary college might stand.

"At length [says Dr. MacDevitt] he stood upon a spot

admirably suited in every way for the home of his proposed college. This was the old manor-house of the Coghills, on the northern suburb of Dublin, near Drumcondra. It is situated in the centre of extensive and well-wooded grounds, which, before the suppression of religious foundations in Ireland, belonged to the monastery of All Hallows. It was Corporation property, and the great O'Connell happened to be Lord Mayor of Dublin for that year. He, surely, would be happy, thought Father Hand, and he was right, to exert his powerful influence in favour of a cause which had already excited his warmest interest, and obtained his first donation of £100."

The Dublin Corporation and Father Hand soon came to terms, and, on its titular feast, the 1st November, 1842 (the name being taken from the monastic foundation originally on the site—"All Hallows"), it commenced its beneficent career. Father Hand, Father Clarke, Dr. Woodlock, and one student constituted the institution. That little seed—like to the grain of mustard seed "which is the least indeed of all seeds, and when it is grown up it is greater than all herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and dwell in the branches thereof"—that humble and insignificant beginning, planted in fertile soil and moistened by divine grace, soon budded forth into a stately plant, and is now a large tree that spreads its foliage and branches extensively around. Under it great intellects have taken shelter from the world's burning heats, and, in its branches, hundreds of young men come and dwell, to go forth therefrom carrying the leaf of the Gospel's peace to every creature.

A noble building with most of the requirements of a great Catholic College, large, commodious, and beautiful, now stands on ground hallowed by the monks of old in an extensive and beautifully wooded park, and in an historical, healthy, and convenient suburb of the City of Dublin. An abundant staff, now as from the beginning, of learned and holy men occupy its professorial chairs, mingle and associate with its hundreds of students, breathing into them the spirit of true apostolic zeal, and shaping their lives in the correct priestly mould. The charity of the world, notably that of the Irish race, has endowed it with resources, too limited, indeed, but sufficient to avert the danger of failure and to enable it to produce a large amount of success.

Bishops still ambition its students for their missions, and the Almighty continues to bless their labours in whatever land He chooses to place them. Is not this consoling? Is it not heavenly? And it has all come to pass from the tears and prayers, and the humility and zeal, of one poor penniless priest!

As to the first growth of the College—Father Hand was able, within twelve months of its opening, to send a report to the Propaganda an extract from which will show its cosmopolitan character:—

“The number of students, which was necessarily small in the beginning, has since increased to thirty-eight,<sup>1</sup> and these are destined for the following missions, viz.:—Four for Vincennes, one for New York; three for British Guiana, three for Trinidad, two for Calcutta, one for Agra (India), seven for Madras, one for the Cape of Good Hope, two for New South Wales, six for Scotland, &c.

“It is cheering to see so many candidates presenting themselves. This fact shows what an abundant supply of zealous priests the faith and piety of Catholic Ireland could yield for the foreign missions if this college were not hampered by poverty.

“Already a great deal has been done, but much remains to be accomplished. So far, we are only four priests to superintend the general working of the institution, and teach dogmatic and moral theology, philosophy, &c. We expect, however, an accession to our numbers very soon, and we have, with the approbation of His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, formed ourselves into a community of secular priests devoted, gratuitously and without vows, to the education of missionaries for places abroad.”

In this community and in the vocation to which it was devoted, we see coming to pass Father Hand's “*dream*,” as Dr. Murray at first called it, but which we can now hardly doubt was a heavenly-imparted mission, or, as Dr. Pompallier, Bishop of Auckland, called it, “*une idée descendue du ciel*.”

Hardly was the new college announced when the most piteous requests were sent to it from all parts of the English-speaking world. From Madras came Dr. Fennelly's appeal:—“I look to your establishment under God for the stability of our mission. It is a disheartening reflection that we are

<sup>1</sup> October, 1863.

not numerous enough to break the "bread of life to the children of the household, much less to gather in the heathen. . . . We look with intense anxiety to your college at Drumcondra. It is the hope of India and of the British Colonies."

Dr. Polding, from far off Sydney, wrote:—"In every part of this immense territory there are hundreds and hundreds belonging to our holy religion who can never hear Mass, who must live and die without the sacraments. My heart bleeds when I think of their miserable state—the famine of their souls. I shall rely upon your kind sympathy in our wants to procure for us priests such as God loves and man respects, rejoicing to suffer if such be the will of their Divine Master."

From Demerara came this sad recital:—"I have an extensive diocese, and have found in many parts of it Catholic families who had no opportunity of seeing a priest for twenty-five or thirty years. I spent last Easter Sunday on the banks of the Red River, opposite Texas, instructing children for baptism from the age of five to seventeen. In one county alone of this large state, I have met sixty families whose parents or grand-parents were Irish, and had fallen away from the faith for the want of a ministry."

From Scotland, Wales, &c., came similar wails, detailing the spiritual destitution amongst Irish exiles, and narrating how they were drifting away in thousands for want of a priest. Can anything be more sad for the Catholic mind to contemplate than the state of things thus revealed, and that came on the pitying and loving heart of the founder of All Hallows, particularly, as with the growth of his institution, grew the demands upon it, which, owing to pecuniary necessities, he was unable to meet? Nevertheless, assisted by zealous helpers, notably by the members of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, the good priest kept begging away at all hours he could dispense himself from college duties, and in all sorts of weather, as indifferent to sneers and rebuffs as to the chilling winds and rains of all seasons. Careless about his health, he soon fell a martyr to

the work he believed God entrusted to him, but not till he had well accomplished his portion of it. In March, 1846, while begging most successfully in his native county of Meath, he felt unable to longer bear up against a consumption that had for some time been wearing him away. He returned home to All Hallows to complete the sacrifice for that loved institution and to consign to it his remains. He died a saintly death on the 20th May, 1846, and left his memory as a precious heirloom to the Catholic Irish race. At the time of his death his college had a staff of eight superiors and professors, and there were sixty-five students. In the three years and a-half he presided over it more than twenty went to preach the Gospel far and wide, and God alone knows how many souls have been and will be saved owing to his heavenly life and labours.

Who shall count the number of excellent priests that passed from All Hallows under his saintly and learned successors? Who can measure their services to the Church? Apostles in Australia and America, martyrs in the Indies, confessors, doctors, and pontiffs in all parts of the British possessions, they make their *Alma Mater* entitled to a large share of the glory that belongs to those who saved so many of the children of St. Patrick to the faith of their fathers, and who made the Catholic Church so flourishing to-day in the empire of Victoria and in the great republics of the West.

The last president was Dr. Fortune, the present Mentor of the institution, who, after having, with learned colleagues, ruled the college with great prudence, zeal, and success for years, in his humility and for its greater efficiency, resigned last year its presidency into the hands of the Vincentian Fathers. These, it may be remarked, are men of the same community as those to share in whose labours and lives Father Hand left Maynooth and his native diocese, and whose spirit, doubtless, he would wish to send with the students of All Hallows to the various parts of the world.

Before the summer vacation of this—All Hallows' Jubilee—year, there were in the College one hundred and eighty-two students, ten superiors and professors, six of them priests of the Vincentian community, under the presidency of the present superior, the Very Rev. James Moore.

During the academical year just concluded, twenty-nine priests passed through it. During the fifty years that are now expiring, many hundreds have gone to foreign lands, bearing the truths, virtues, and rewards of the Gospel to their inhabitants, and helping to keep alive the fame of Ireland as a missionary country amongst the nations of the world. When we contemplate the work of All Hallows during this half century and the efforts Irish priests from other colleges and Irish laymen and their descendants have made so successfully in that same period of time for the Catholic Church, truly may we say that the age of Columbanus has been revived, and that missionary Ireland is still a very formidable regiment in the army of the Lord.

So much has been done in the past, and so much remains to be done—for there is still a “leakage” as there was fifty years ago—that with the grace of God very great things may be expected from All Hallows in the future. It would be idle to deny that like other colleges it had some drawbacks, one of which I consider interfered somewhat considerably with its results. I allude to the necessity it was under of admitting students that were not as well trained for college life as was desirable. There was no “junior house,” properly so called, in All Hallows up to the present, and much of the training that can be acquired only in such a place was not to be had. I respectfully allude to this matter only to point out that now, fortunately, this want has been supplied. In addition to the fine Gothic building on the left wing of the beautiful old manor-house, there is now on its right, a noble classical structure of purest Irish Granite, with ample accommodation for a large number of junior ecclesiastics. Students will thus be able to enter the college at earlier ages than heretofore. They will remain longer in it, and go forth, more practised, at all events, in those ecclesiastical acquirements so useful and necessary for them in foreign countries.

In concluding this laboured paper, I venture to voice the heartfelt sentiments of millions of the Irish race, in wishing All Hallows a glorious future for God and His Holy Church.

JOHN CURRY, P.P.

## THE DIVORCE OF NAPOLEON.

THERE were two marriage ceremonies in what is regarded as the wedded life of Napoleon and Josephine Beauharnais—the civil one in 1796, the ecclesiastical one in 1804; and the question in debate is, was either of those two valid; and after that, what may be thought of the much-disputed divorce? The circumstances of Napoleon's first meeting with Josephine were these, and I beg attention for them, because some of the circumstances will have weight in deciding the validity of the civil marriage.

In 1795 an emeute broke out in Paris. The Directory made orders that every citizen, who had arms in his possession, was to surrender them under pain of death. A little boy of ten or twelve came to the government bureau, bringing a sword which he begged to be allowed to keep at home. Napoleon happened to be present at the moment, and was greatly interested by the boy's request. He learned from the child that his father was dead, and this was the only relic they possessed belonging to him. Napoleon told him that he might retain it. This was Eugene, the son of Josephine Beauharnais. Next day the mother came to thank the officer; and thus, according to the *Sayings of Napoleon at St. Helena*, the two came to know each other.

In May, 1794, Josephine's first husband, General Beauharnais, was guillotined. She herself was in prison at the time and narrowly escaped death. When she was liberated, she found herself a beggar, with her little boy and girl on her hands, and for a time lived on the bounty of two kind ladies. After some months, however, the immense possessions that she owned in the West Indies reverted to her, and, at the time of her meeting with Napoleon, she lived in a state of elegance in the Rue Chateleine, where, we are told, the young general soon spent most of his evenings. Though living in a style of splendour and fashion, Madame Beauharnais was averse to changing her life; but, listening to the persuasion of friends, who pointed out to her that this young officer would be another father to her boy and girl,

she favoured his suit, and on the 9th March, 1796, in a civil ceremony, she became the wife of Napoleon.

For the sake of non-clerical readers, many of whom take a warm and very discerning interest in the question, as also to remind some of the clerical readers of what they have long since read, it is well to lay down plainly what theology or canon law teaches with regard to the validity of civil marriages. There can be no doubt of the decrees of the Council of Trent having been published at Paris. One of its decrees, as is well known, is that the presence of the parish priest of some one of the contracting parties is necessary in order that the marriage would be valid in the eyes of the Church. Now this decree, though usually binding, is not absolute and unexceptional. Cases may arise, and circumstances may be such, that though the decrees may have been published in a certain place, yet a marriage may be valid in that place, although the parish priest of either party be not at all present. All theologians lay it down.<sup>1</sup> We will quote the text of one of the most recent writers, Santi, who, until recent years, was Professor at Rome, when death claimed him for its own, and from whose work on Canon Law, published in 1886 at Rome, the following is taken :—

“ In places where the Tridentine Decree has been published, may a marriage sometime be validly celebrated, although the form of the decree be not observed ?

“ This question was resolved by the Sacred Congregation of the Council, and by Pius VI. in his Apostolic Letters of 22nd April, 1793, on occasion of the civil disturbance in France, and it was answered that these marriages are valid, contracted in presence of witnesses, but without the presence of the parish priest, when a general and public impossibility prevents the contracting parties from approaching him.

“ And to the same purpose are the Apostolic Letters in form of brief of the same Pontiff to the Bishop of Geneva, dated 5th September, 1795.

“ Wherefore, if the inability to approach the parish priest affects, not merely one or another individual case, but the whole of society, *e.g.*, a public perturbation, and especially on account

<sup>1</sup> See, among others, *Schmalzgrueber*, lib. iv., tit. iii., page 87 (Naples edition) ; *De Angelis*, tom. iii., Part I., page 85 ; *Maschat*, lib. iv., tit. iii., page 369.

of a general religious persecution, it is to be held that a marriage may be valid without the full observance of the Tridentine form. But if the inability to approach the parish priest be personal, a marriage contracted without his presence is not valid, because the law does not cease on account of private inconvenience.”<sup>1</sup>

Did the circumstances, then, of Paris in 1796 warrant a person in getting married without the presence of the parish priest? in other words, were the circumstances such as to render the approach to the parish priest on the part of the whole community exceedingly difficult or morally impossible? Some will say Yes, to this; and some will say No. The greatest authority I find declaring a civil marriage of that period to be invalid is Gosselin, in his *Life of the Abbé Emery*. Against him may be quoted the German Jesuit, of great weight also, Father Duhr, as may be seen in the August Number of the *I. E. RECORD*, who holds that a civil marriage of the period would be valid, on account of the moral impossibility of approaching the parish priest. There could be no doubt of this matter during the awful reign of terror, which lasted till Robespierre's death in 1794. Then, say the propounders of the negative side, all reason for not approaching the parish priest ceased; or, if it did not cease at once, it had certainly ceased by 1796; and therefore a civil marriage was invalid.

With this reasoning I confess I cannot agree; and I think I see intrinsic and extrinsic reasons for not agreeing with it. Let me suppose that approach to the proper parish priest could be had in 1796 without difficulty. Then I am asked to believe, that Josephine, a Catholic woman, of tender conscience, as is proved by her after life, who was standing ready “the other day,” as one might say, for the guillotine, would not go to the trouble of getting married before her parish priest after all that. If Napoleon had won her when she was poor, and when to get daily bread for herself and her children was a matter of the most pressing need; or, if she had been of the two the more desirous party, then the story might look credible. But, at the time, she was not only above need, but absolutely in affluence even in the gay city;

<sup>1</sup> Lib. iv., l. 70.

and moreover, instead of being anxious for second nuptials, she had to be persuaded into them; and when, therefore, she stood mistress of the situation, in such a case, I cannot ask my mind to believe that a woman who was a Catholic, who was last year in prison and at the doors of death, whose conscience was sensitive, and whose long life was pure, could so far forget the first teachings of her religion, nay, the first instincts of the feminine heart, as not to look for her Church's blessing on her wedding-day.

Let us examine the position by the light of extrinsic facts. We are asked to believe that the Church had regained, to a large extent, her normal situation in Paris in 1796, and that in spite of—first, the legacy of hatred left by the revolution; second, the enormous multitude of bishops and priests that had been either massacred or exiled; third, the time-serving ecclesiastics known as *the Constitutionals*, that had greedily and selfishly usurped their place; and fourth, notwithstanding the armed state of France, with armies either marching out from her bosom or threatening her from all sides.

As to a legacy of hatred against the Church or her priests, no one need be told that it does not settle down in a year or two, even when but a minority of the population is inoculated with it. In France who could describe it? Let anyone but open the pages of the Abbé Baruel, written in 1794, and try to get through the shocking descriptions of imprisonment, starvation, and murder there revealed, and then ask can a nation so intoxicated with cruelty and blood come to its senses in one year or a year and a-half. Closing his work the Abbé writes:—

“To the north and the south hostile armies invade her frontiers, less with a view to subdue her than to contract her sphere of action, and to oblige her to seek her prey at home. The Royalists, under Gaston, tear her bowels by intestine war; while York, Coburg, and Frederic lay waste her boundaries. Unhappy country! Thou needest not foreign aid to accomplish thy destruction. The nobles are extinct, and the people devour one another. Anarchy prevails everywhere; on all sides corruption, murder, famine, impiety, and madness. The people are miserable; they pillage, steal, and murder; their perpetual cry is *Liberty*, and they are everywhere slaves.”

I will grant that peace and order reigned at Paris, and that the year or a year and a-half that intervened between Robespierre's murder and Napoleon's marriage did wonders in the way of establishing the Church. Arguing thus, it is to be presumed that five or six of such years had settled the whole matter. We will open then the Concordat of 1801—six years afterwards, and lo! what is the third Article in the Concordat—(such is the state of the Church)? “that his Holiness expects of the French bishops to hold themselves in readiness to make any sacrifices for the good of peace and unity, even to laying down their bishoprics.” Now, I want to know, if the French Church were so settled in 1796, how comes it, that its state, even six years later, is such that for “the good of peace and unity” the Pope is going to ask the French bishops to do what never was known in the Church before; that, though they have spent years, perhaps a lifetime, in the occupation of their sees, and though they have committed no canonical fault, yet *pour le bien de la paix*, they are asked for sacrifices *même la résignation de leurs sièges*? And in the next clause, we are no longer left in doubt, as to what *le bien de la paix* means; for it is said, if, after this exhortation, they refuse to make this sacrifice, *commandé par le bien de l'Eglise* (demanded by the necessity of the Church), the Pope will, &c. I leave it now to the gentlemen who speak of peace and order, to reconcile the two situations. It arose, of course, from the immense number of lawful priests and bishops that either were massacred or exiled, and the false ecclesiastics that thrust themselves into the vacant benefices or sees in the meantime.

Our business, however, is only with Paris; and for a moment let us concentrate our attention on Paris. As early as 1790, the Archbishop had to fly; the Assembly sat in his palace, and an usurper was appointed in his stead. Voidel, the President of Researches, was appointed to bring in a report on the best means of conquering the resistance of the clergy. Being asked by the clubs how far they might carry their vengeance against the priests, he answered, “*Stop at nothing; you shall be supported.*” The clergy are demanded

to take the Constitutional oath ; hired ruffians rend the air with "*To the lamp-post ! to the lamp-post, those priests and bishops who refuse to take the oath !*" While the curate of Sept-Saux is explaining to his parishioners why he cannot take the oath, a ruffian from the crowd levelled a musket at his breast, and he fell a martyr in the Gospel chair. M. Bailley, Mayor of Paris, declares that if it depended on him, "*the Catholic religion should be annihilated in France.*" At first the non-juring priests were transported ; but "*their death was an essential part of the new conspiracy.*"

On the 10th of August, lists of the bishops and non-juring priests were delivered out from the municipals, to be distributed in all the sections of Paris, with orders for arresting those priests who will not take the oath. The national pikemen marched, with the lists in their hands, to the houses marked out as the residences of the non-juring priests. M. l'Abbé Guillon lay on his death-bed, and they were moved to compassion, suffering him to remain ; they were sent back again, and a second time compassion prevailed ; they returned, by orders, a third time, and dragged him from his bed in that dying state. Sunday, the 13th day of August, and the 15th, the Feast of the Assumption, seemed to be observed as feasts in Paris, in order to amuse the people with the arresting of priests. Cannons were pointed against monasteries, to frighten those religious women who might refuse to quit their houses. The Marsellais, federate Britons, and Parisian patriots were flying from house to house, searching every corner for priests. In the lists were particularly described those whom they had recommended to the sections to be pursued with closer research. At eight o'clock in the morning, the clergymen of St. Nicholas were dragged, with their seminarians, to St. Firmin. Fifty men, armed with pikes, were hurrying away all the priests from the house called *des Nouveaux Convertis*. The number of ecclesiastics confined in St. Firmin was ninety-two. The priests in the Carnes numbered a hundred and twenty. The number was increased by all the priests found in the house of the Eudistes, and many others from every quarter of Paris. The whole house

of St. Francis of Sales, founded for the retreat of ecclesiastics, worn out with years and labour, were dragged to prison. Together with these venerable old men, all the young Levites in the Mansion of St. Sulpice were led captive, together with their directors. One hundred and eighty priests, in the Carmes, ninety-two at St. Firmin, forty or fifty others shut up in different prisons. "When Port Royal shall be filled," said Manuel, "we shall shut the gate, and write *here lie the ci-devant clergy of France.*"

These extracts, culled from the historians, show how the work was done at Paris, with what precision, with what completeness;<sup>1</sup> and every parish that became vacant was filled with an intruder. It will be admitted, I think, that it was hardly possible to go farther. Now, I know, that the moment the reign of terror was over, the banished clergy of France, as well as they could, returned with haste and zeal to their work. The clergy of any country might well envy the noble example that the French clergy in that terrible crisis exhibited. But when they returned, what did they find? their parishes administered, and their churches occupied by strangers; and they had no power to eject them.

These were the circumstances of Paris at the time of Napoleon's marriage with Josephine; lawful priests,<sup>2</sup> there were, in some of the parishes, administering, or trying to administer, in a cautious way the most necessary sacraments; but certainly without public church, public pulpit, or public altar; for these were all in the hands of intruders. Under such circumstances, I believe that the laity were confused, the Church was in an abnormal state, and that therefore the decrees of Trent with regard to marriage did not bind.

I invite the attention of those who think that the Church in France resumed its normal position immediately on the cessation of the reign of terror, to the following question asked of the Congregation in Rome *specialiter deputata pro negotiis ecclesiae Gallicanae*:—"Petitur 6<sup>a</sup>—Utrum pro matrimonii celebratione conveniat benedictionem recipere a

<sup>1</sup>"The Catholic worship was banished from the Empire, of which the Catholic was the established religion; and they had either murdered or transported every Catholic priest." (Abbé Baruel, 1794.)

sacerdote quocunque Catholico, dum talis haberi potest, supposito quod proprii parochi presentia nullatenus, aut non sine periculo, obtineri potest?" That question was asked in March, 1795. What does that question evidently presuppose? is it not, that in some cases the presence of the parish priest, even in March, 1795, *nullatenus obtineri potest, aut non sine periculo*? The question is asked in the present tense, with manifestly a bearing on their future conduct. I will leave it to any reasonable person to say, would such a question be asked, if there was a hope of the proximate cessation of the state of things here presupposed.

The answer is given, *approbante Summo Pontifice*, on the 22nd April, 1796, almost a year after Robespierre's death, and runs:—"Convenit recipere benedictionem a quocunque sacerdote in memoratis circumstantias." Now if the Church in France had resumed its normal position, would such a reply be given in Rome?

There is another question also asked of the same Congregation, and one which lets in some light on the position:—"Octava petitio concernit matrimonia celebrata presente paracho intruso?" whilst the presence of the proprii parochi, or another priest by his leave or by the leave of the bishop, can be obtained.

In the normal state of the Church we know what a hearing such a question would get. The person that would ask it, would be almost suspected of heresy, and told to consult the theologians. It will be recollected that this was asked on the 8th March, 1795, and received answer on the 22nd April, the same dates as the last question. The only answer to be given to such, was the answer given—*talia matrimonia nulla sunt*. It goes on to discuss the difference between such and those mentioned in the famous declaration of Benedict XIV. in the Holland marriages; but then it attaches a rider, and it is to this I desire to call attention—"Quamvis autem nulla sint haec matrimonia, consultum tamen quam maxime erit in casibus particularibus recurrere ad sedem Ap<sup>am</sup>, expositis omnibus facti circumstantiis, quae tunc modo magis opportuno huic rei providebit."

What, again, does that insinuate, but an abnormal and unsettled state of the Church?

The second, or ecclesiastical ceremony, took place in 1804. The day appointed for the coronation of Napoleon and Josephine as Emperor and Empress of the French, was the 2nd December of that year. To give the matter greater *éclat*, the Pope was invited to be present, and notified his assent. On the eve of the coronation, that is, on the 1st of December, Josephine approached the Pope, and laid before him her troubles. It is very hard to say what was in her mind. This is well-known, at any rate, that Napoleon's family hated her. It may be, because for some time Napoleon had notions of making Eugene, the son of Josephine, his adopted heir. By whose persuasion he abandoned this idea, or whether at his own whim, we do not know; but certain it is that he did; and then there began to be rumours of divorce. For a year or more Josephine had been hearing of these, and she was naturally very troubled at heart over them. Perhaps it was while brooding over these things, that she came to the conclusion in her own mind, that if a religious ceremony of marriage were gone through, these rumours could no longer find any rest or foundation; and so with a heart full of sorrows she flung herself at the feet of the Holy Father. He heard her through, and then made it known, that unless Josephine and Napoleon were religiously married, he would not assist at the coronation. When this came to the ears of Napoleon, we read, that his anger was terrible.

The day of the coronation was at hand, however, and it was a choice for Napoleon, whether he would be married religiously and have the Pope at his coronation, or refuse, and then have all Europe inquiring why, after coming to Paris, did the Pope refuse to assist at the ceremony. The Emperor, therefore, sent for Cardinal Fesch, and ordered the marriage rite to take place, insisting, however, that it was to be secret, without witnesses, and without official declaration. "No witnesses, no marriage, Sire!" said Cardinal Fesch. On being ordered however, to have it done, the Cardinal went to the Pope. According to the accounts given, it appears he did not say clearly and distinctly to the Pope what faculties he needed. The story, at the least, reads

very strange, that a Cardinal should, through scruples of conscience go to the Pope, to ask for faculties that he knew he could not do without, and yet to ask them in such a way as to leave it in doubt whether he got them or not. It seems to me, that the Cardinal must have felt that he got the proper faculties, otherwise he would not act; for, if he were prepared to act on insufficient or doubtful faculties, he would not have the stings of conscience to ask for them at all.

It may be said, why should Cardinal Fesch afterwards then give that account that he did? There was no one present to tell the story but the Pope or himself; and Cardinal Fesch's character unfortunately was not noted for courage. The Pope knew from Josephine that the ceremony was in contemplation, and I take it for granted that Cardinal Fesch did obtain from his Holiness the necessary faculties.<sup>1</sup>

The religious formula observed on the occasion was the following:—The Cardinal addressing the Emperor, demanded—"Sire, do you declare to recognise, and do you swear before God and in the face of His Holy Church, that you hereby take for wife and legitimate spouse, Josephine Rose Tascher de la Pagerie, the widow Beaubarnais, here present?" And the Emperor answered, "Yes." The celebrant continued:—"You promise and swear to observe fidelity to her in all things, as a faithful spouse owes to his wife according to the commandment of God?" And the Emperor answered, "Yes."

The same questions having been gone through for the Empress, the celebrant pronounced solemnly the *Ego conjungo vos*. This was about four o'clock in the afternoon of 1st December, 1804. The first question that will occur to be asked here is—If the marriage of 1796 was valid, what

<sup>1</sup> "It appears that Pius VII. well understood that there was question of dispensations relative to the marriage of Napoleon," for when later on they were talking of the intention that Napoleon had to be divorced from Josephine, his Holiness said—*How can the Emperor dream of getting his marriage with her quashed, when we ourselves accorded all the dispensations necessary to rehabilitate it?*"—Artaud, *Hist. du Pape Pie VII.*, vol. ii, page 590.

need of this ceremony? We make answer, that this ceremony does not require one to regard the civil marriage as invalid; nor in the slightest way impugn it. It was merely carrying out what the Church had over and over recommended, but more particularly in the seventh Response of the Congregation, *pro negotiis Ecclesiae Gallicanae specialiter deputata*, and also in the reply of Pius VI. to the Bishop of Geneva:—"Neenon hortandos esse conjuges ut a paracho legitimo benedictionem recipiant quatenus fieri possit citra periculum." (Pius VI.) "Fideles hortandos esse, ut cum sacerdotis copiam habere possunt, ab eo benedictionem petant, qui tamen illis declarabit hujusmodi benedictionem ad validitatem matrimonii minime pertinere." (Cong., 22 Ap. 1795.) It may be answered also, that if the civil ceremony were invalid in any point, this ceremony remedied the invalidity. The same persons cannot be married twice, it is true; but there is nothing to prevent their renewing their marriage vows, as often as they choose.<sup>1</sup>

It is a more touchy question to ask what about the validity or invalidity of this ceremony performed by Cardinal Fesch. I believe, because of the previous conversation of Josephine with the Pope, that the Cardinal did receive the necessary dispensations. I infer that, furthermore,

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Pope Pius VII. to Josephine, 22nd January, 1803:—

"Beloved daughter in Jesus Christ,—Health . . . We are sending our dear son, Joseph Doria, as ablegate to bear, &c. . . . On this occasion we have ordered him, to present himself, in our name, before you, to salute you, and to express to you all our feelings of paternal affection in your regard. We desire also that you should share in all our gratitude to your illustrious spouse, the first consul, for all that has been done by his aid and with so much glory for the re-establishment of religion in France—a work that will render his name immortal for the happiness of the French Republic. We beg you to accord your good offices to our ablegate, a young man illustrious by birth, as by his own private virtue, and who on that account is very dear to us. You will kindly give him your support in all circumstances that shall be necessary; and all that from your own generous disposition you shall do in his favour, we will take as done to ourselves. We accord you, beloved daughter in Jesus Christ, the Apostolic Benediction. Pius PP. VII." (Artaud, *Hist. du Pape Pie VII.*, page 28, vol. ii.)

That was a curious letter to write to a woman living a conjugal life, but who (according to certain parties) was not married; and whom they would have us believe, the Pope should know full well not to have been married.

from the Cardinal's own action ; because he might as well have spared himself the trouble of going to the Pope, if he did not ask in due form ; and a man forced by his conscience to go and ask for a thing, will (because of his conscience) ask for it duly and properly ; whereas if he be forced by the orders of another, it is as likely as not that he may do it perfunctorily, particularly if it is an unwelcome office. I hold, then, that it is morally certain that the Cardinal came to the ceremony armed with all the necessary faculties to dispense over clandestinity, both as regards the presence of the parish priest and the witnesses ; for I look on it, that when Napoleon said there were to be no witnesses, there were none.

If this matter, then, were tried in an external forum, as afterwards it was tried, I see no grounds for an external judge to find any other judgment than that the ceremony was valid. He would be bound not to listen to Napoleon, saying, he withheld internal consent. A judge of the external forum will in cases be bound to judge differently from a judge of the internal forum. It is of the external judge the Abbé Rudemaire spoke, when he declared that it was idle for Napoleon to plead duress, the man that made them all tremble.

On the other hand, a judge *in foro interno* would be bound to listen to him, and would, as I think, see plenty of reason to come to the conclusion that he was saying what was true, when he stated that he gave no internal sanction to the words outwardly spoken. Napoleon was, as we read, in a terrible rage when he heard of the Pope ordering the ceremony. He had relations of a very intimate nature with the Pope for the last five years, since Pius VII. ascended the Papal throne in 1799 ; and he well knew, therefore, what manner of man he was. It was not, of course, physical duress, but it certainly was moral duress of a very pressing nature, since next day was to be the coronation day, at which the representatives of all the thrones in Europe were to assist, and in which the Pope was to act a prominent part ; and yet the Pope was not to be there. All the ceremonies with their due procedure were already gazetted, and

nothing remained but to go through this marriage ceremony, or to meet the shame and jeering of Europe. He elected to go through the ceremony; more, indeed, like a man going to be executed than to be married. I believe, from the circumstances, that he acted there mechanically, such as an actor would on the stage; and on this account, I am of opinion that the marriage ceremony was but so much idle show.

The question of the divorce is the next that awaits us. It is strange to think how long Napoleon kept debating this in his own mind, and how slow he was to put it in execution; in this matter, so unlike Henry VIII. of England, whom in some other respects he resembles so closely. It is certain that even before his coronation he was thinking of it; that is, for at least five or six years, if not longer. It may be believed that the feminine tact and address of Josephine had a good deal to do with the staving off of this evil day; and it would seem that Napoleon himself, much as he desired it, was ashamed or afraid to venture; for while he was still thinking of it, he wanted, in order to prepare the public mind for the step, his brother, Lucien, to get divorced from his wife; but he would not. Napoleon was plainly afraid to carry his case before the Pope. He waited then, it is to be presumed, until the Pope was prisoner, and when there was a specious reason for not carrying the case to his tribunal, as he was Napoleon's prisoner, the Pope having been arrested in June, 1809. It was now he gave full attention to his confidant, Cambaceres, whispering: there is at Paris a court for inquiring into the validity of your Majesty's subjects; submit your case to this like any ordinary citizen, for your Majesty may surely partake in the privileges of your subjects, *et il dependra de vos gens d'affaires de dire a ce sujet tout ce qu'il vous plaira*. That was putting it in a nut-shell.

Before, however, submitting it to these there was one question still—Was this tribunal competent? "This is a case," said the Abbe Rudemaire, "that if not by right, at least by usage, ought to go to Rome." "I am not authorized to go to Rome," said Cambaceres. "No need to go to Rome,

the Pope is at Savona," said the Abbé. Two cardinals, however, one archbishop, four bishops, declared that "this cause lies within the ordinary competency of the diocesan court." Not a word about the Pope. There were three courts in all—the diocesan, the metropolitan, and the primatial; with, of course, different degrees of jurisdiction. When it came before the diocesan, the marriage was quashed on the grounds that the proper parish priest and the two or three witnesses were not present. The court answered fairly enough, if there was dispensation over this impediment, bring us documentary evidence of such dispensation. It is here that Cardinal Fesch's evidence would be of such value. He was uncle to the Emperor; and, perhaps, reason might here be found why he qualified somewhat his former interview with the Pope. It was taken on appeal to the metropolitan court; here it was quashed on the ground that Napoleon had not given internal consent. This want of internal consent has been already considered.

The case went no further; perhaps because Cardinal Fesch himself, as Archbishop of Lyons, was president of the primatial court, and he was witness in the case. Napoleon's *gens d'affaires* had done what pleased their master; and, what looks a very suspicious thing, we find everyone of them promoted in the near future. On the 16th December, 1809, Josephine, accompanied by her daughter, the Queen Hortense, set out from the Tuilleries to take up her abode at Malmaison. On the 2nd of April, 1810, Napoleon was married to Marie Louise of Austria.

R. O'KENNEDY, C.C.

---

## A PILGRIMAGE TO KILMACDUAGH.

JULY, 1892.

“**F**EB. 3. In Ireland, the happy decease of the holy prelate, St. Colman MacDuach, first Bishop of Kilmacduach, in the seventh century.” Ever since these words met the writer’s eye in an old *British Martyrology*, which he became possessed of some twenty years ago, he conceived a strong desire to visit the spot once sanctified by so great a saint. It may be well to mention here, that this small, but rare tome (printed for W. Needham, over against Gray’s Inn Gate, in Holborn, London, 1761), though styled a *British Martyrology*, contains a list also of the saints of the “sister-isle.” The above entry of St. Colman occurs in a supplementary list of saints, in which, under Feb. 8th, we have also St. Colman of Clonard. In the first part of the work occur many saints of this name, whose memory have long been famous in Ireland. It may interest the reader to notice them here. Thus:—

“August 8th. The commemoration of St. Colman, who, from a monk of St. Columb’s Monastery, in the Isle of Hy, was made third Bishop of Lindisfarne. He was a prelate of most amiable character, in regard to his perfect disinterestedness, his moderation and humility, as well as his fervour in the service of God, and his zeal for the salvation of souls. (S. Bede, l. 3, c. 26.) He resigned his bishopric anno 664, and retired into Ireland, where he founded the Monastery of Inys-bo-finde for the Scots, and that of Mayo for the English, which was so renowned of old for piety and religion, as to count at once no fewer than one hundred saints, all living in great continency and simplicity, by the labour of their hands, under a rule and canonical abbot by the example of the venerable Fathers. St. Colman went to our Lord, anno. 676, and is honoured in the Aberdeen Calendar on the 18th of February.”

This was the bishop who had the famous dispute with St. Wilfrid of York, at the Council of Whitby, concerning the time of keeping Easter. On September 3rd, occurs St. Colman, the founder of the Church (and Diocese) of Cloyne; and on October 13th, one of those Irish saints, whose memory

is greater abroad than at home, and whose shrine exists to this day in central Europe. The following is the brief but interesting entry in the *British Martyrology* of this saint, who, as St. Colomanus, occurs on the same day in the *Roman Martyrology*:—"In Austria, the festivity of St. Colman, a holy pilgrim of the Scottish nation, who, returning from the Holy Land, was taken, upon suspicion of being a spy, and put to most cruel torments, which he bore with invincible patience and courage, still maintaining his innocence, and offering up all his sufferings to God. He was at last hanged between two thieves, October 13th, 1012, God bearing testimony to his innocence and sanctity, by many miracles; by occasion of which his body was, not long after, translated to the town of Merck, where it is kept with great veneration to this day."<sup>1</sup> Over and above the various saints of this name, there is commemorated on June 29th, "divers holy bishops, abbots, and other religious men of the name of Colman, to the number of two hundred and thirty; all honoured of old amongst the saints, in that Island of Saints."<sup>2</sup>

On a bright afternoon in July last, the writer started from Gort, in Galway, to visit the ruins of Kilmacduagh, which are about three miles distant. These comprise what are styled Seven Churches, a round tower, and an episcopal residence, all which once formed the seat of that ancient diocese, christened the "Kil" or Church of St. Colman MacDuagh. It may here be mentioned that this old see, along with the neighbouring one of Kilfenora, in Clare, have for many years formed one diocese. But for the reason, we presume, that even the two sees thus united form but a small charge for one bishop, the clergy being under thirty, they were recently annexed to that of Galway. Kilmacduagh now forms part of the diocese of Galway, and Kilfenora is entrusted to the "perpetual administration" of the Bishop of Galway. As we approached these interesting remains, the lofty round tower, with its conical cap, was conspicuous at a considerable distance, thus discharging the very duty it was probably built for, that of guiding the stranger to that secluded abode of piety and learning! In

<sup>1</sup> Page 143.<sup>2</sup> Page 97.

Miss Stokes' *Christian Antiquities of Ireland* this tower is placed in the second class of round towers, in which "the stones are roughly hammer-dressed, rounded to the curve of the wall, decidedly though somewhat irregularly coursed." The small windows are of most primitive shape, the heading composed of two stones leaning together so as to form a point. The doorway is, as usual, about twelve feet from the ground. This tower is situated near the south-west corner of the chief church : and, what is unique, it leans some three or more feet out of the perpendicular, which would point to an earthquake or landslip having occurred. Wakeman, in his *Guide to Ireland*, states that this is said to have been erected by the famous architect Gobhan Seer, who reared the round towers of Antrim and Glendalough.

The cathedral is a cruciform edifice, of considerable size, and contains in the south transept an old altar still *in situ*. It is said that, when some years ago a terrible epidemic was raging in the neighbourhood, and playing sad havoc amongst the poor people, they earnestly requested that Mass be said in the ruins. Accordingly the parish priest offered up the holy sacrifice on this lonely altar, surrounded by his devout flock, and tradition has it that their prayers were successful. Their patron, St. Colman, interceded for his suffering clients, and the disease was stayed.

One portion of this old cathedral shows signs of great antiquity. The wall is not built in regular courses, and the presence of a cyclopean doorway, blocked up since the fourteenth century, favours the belief that this part is coeval with St. MacDuagh himself. It is supposed to belong to the original church erected by Guaire Aidhne, King of Connaught, for his sainted kinsman.

In a field hard by, at the north-west of the large burial-ground, stand the remains of a church which belonged to a mediæval priory. At the east end of the chancel are two long narrow lancet windows, of a thoroughly Irish type, with very deep splay on the inside, and with a stone moulding running all round. In England, it seems to have been an almost general rule to put an odd number of windows in the east wall ; but in Ireland we find frequently twin windows

over the high altar of the older churches, as in the great church Iniscleraun, at Clonmacnoise. In the same field, near the high road, are the fragments of the bishop's residence, and in a field at the opposite side of the road a solitary ruin of another venerable church.

About a mile from Kilmacduagh, at a spot called Tiernevin, stands a small but elegant new church, lately erected by the zealous parish priest of Gort, the Very Rev. Jerome Fahy, V.G. It serves, as it were, as a "chapel of ease" to the parochial Church of St. Colman MacDuagh. It has one special, pleasing feature, and one which might be utilized more generally by architects, viz., the windows are a correct copy of those in the neighbouring old cathedral of the diocesan patron. This reproduction forms an interesting souvenir of the ancient pile raised to the memory of so great a saint. We would say to our architects, "Go, and do likewise." In the many ruins scattered up and down the Three Kingdoms, we have a prolific wealth of carving, such as we see but too rarely copied in our modern churches. Surely, if a new church be required in the neighbourhood of a ruined church or abbey, the architect, instead of working out some crude ideas on his office desk, might give the new fabric at least a window or door that shall be a correct reproduction of the old pile in the vicinity.

The next day was devoted to a long but interesting expedition to the actual "kil," or cell of St. Colman's, far away from all human habitation, in the Burren Mountains of Clare. In driving along through Galway into the latter county, nothing could exceed the wild and desolate appearance of the country:—few trees, no hedges, walls composed of stones, loosely put together without mortar, and the entire surface of the land littered with stones of every shape and size. Wherever, in rare cases, a piece of land had been reclaimed and transformed into a potato patch, the stones, which had been removed, made a good sized pile, some feet in height. Mr. Frazer thus describes this wild region:—

"The general features of the greater part of the Barony of Burren are altogether different from those of any other part of the country. In the central portion of this district the entire surface

seems one unbroken mass of limestone, and the bare hills, rising from the shore to an elevation of 1,134 feet, in regular receding terraced flights, presents a vast amphitheatrical outline. The disjointed rocks composing the surface of this immense circular acclivity, though not deposited with all the precision of the trap-rocks, are laid generally in horizontal lines, giving to the whole at a distance a regular and formal character. These limestone terraces abound in deep fissures, chinks, and crevices, in which find shelter the most rare and varied specimens of ferns and other wild plants. The whole county of Clare is remarkably rich in plants not usually found in other places, but particularly in the district of Burren, along the sea shore, and around Ballyvaughan and Blackhead."

At a certain point, the high road had to be left, and alighting from the car, we started over the stony fields, which showed but little sign of footpath, to continue on foot our pilgrimage to the cave of St. MacDuagh. Under the broiling sun of a July noon-day this was anything but a comfortable and easy task. Although our party had a clever Irish antiquarian for their "guide, philosopher, and friend," yet, with no sign-post, nor human dwelling visible in the landscape, it seems a matter of considerable doubt whether we should have ever reached our goal had not a native guide turned up. This was a poor lad, who, with that wonderful knowledge of holy places, wells, &c., peculiar to the Irish peasantry, led us all successfully to the cell of St. Cohnan, and also—a thing of no small value—brought us back safely to our car. It is only fair to say that his exertions were encouraged by the promise of a monetary consideration, and that he received from us a "thank-offering," which would be to him a good wages for the services rendered. As we slowly tramped along, or rather picked our way among the rough stones, so thickly strewn around, our path gradually mounted each moment higher and higher. On turning round to rest awhile in the blazing sun of noon-tide, there opened out to our gaze a distant view of Galway Bay and the Twelve Pins of Binnabola.

As we neared that part of the Burren Mountains known as the "Eagle's Nest," where we were to find the rocky recess once sanctified by the presence of St. MacDuagh, the ground lost all semblance of a field, and became one great mass of dark carboniferous limestone. To the geologist this

portion of Ireland is a valuable field for study, and certainly, to the most untutored eye, the rocky floor presented a unique spectacle not to be seen elsewhere. The whole surface is split up into numerous long and deep fissures, in the cool clefts of which grew the hart's-tongue fern and many others. The brilliancy and profusion of the wild flowers, which flourished everywhere around us, was truly delightful, and fully bore out the reputation this district bears as a good hunting-ground for the lovers of botany. Here the hare-bell, of a blue unusually deep, large mauve-tinted wild geraniums, and the golden rod were mingled with various ferns, amidst which the wild "maiden-hair" was conspicuous. But most attractive of all was a beautiful white flower, which belonged to a very short-tufted plant, creeping along the clefts of the rock. This we discovered subsequently was a rather rare plant, the *Octopetala* or mountain Avens, in form like a rose (to which family it really belongs), with a stalk but two inches long, covered with dark green leaves with a silvery lining. Another curious plant which abounds here, but is uncommon in the British Isles, is a tall thistle with a golden blossom (*Carlina vulgaris*). Its petals dry in the sun, and thus it becomes a kind of everlasting flower. In one very extensive portion of the rocky floor we came upon a vast number of most curious impressions of feet of horses, dogs, and occasionally a clear outline of a human foot.

As to these extraordinary marks on the limestone rocks, a most interesting legend is told.<sup>1</sup> It was the great Easter festival, and St. Colman and his companion sat down to their frugal meal of coarse bread, roots and herbs, washed down by no stronger drink than that provided by the limpid well, which is there to this day. The latter regarded the humble fare with undisguised disgust, and complained not unnaturally that their *menu* was but a sorry one for so great a solemnity. He pathetically contrasted their table with that of Guaire, King of Connaught, the saint's kinsman, in the neighbouring palace of Kinvarra. Meanwhile, the good Prince, along with his court, had sat down to dinner, about to whet his appetite with the more

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Colgan.

sumptuous viands, for which St. Colman's companion was sighing. His majesty, in that goodness of heart which a tempting feast after the Lenten austerities naturally inspired, cried out, "Would that this food might go to some creatures more in want of it than we are, if such be Christ's pleasure!" No sooner had he uttered these words than, in the words of the chronicler (Colgan), lo! a wonder appeared. For straightway the dishes were uplifted from the table, and borne by invisible hands from the palace. As can be well imagined, the King arose in hot haste, and, along with his retinue determined to pursue his Easter dinner, and see the end of a prodigy so startling. As the royal cortège swept along on their good steeds towards the Burren Mountains, the people, hearing of the wonder, and led on by a like curiosity, ran after the King's train, "turmatim!" As soon as all had come in sight of our saint in his mountain fastness, eating his poor meal, and saw the dishes deposit themselves (or ought we not to say laid by angels' hands?) before him, lo! another prodigy took place no less startling than the "passage of the dishes!" For whilst explanations were demanded, probably peremptorily, by the hungry monarch, whose appetite thus deluded would not put him in the happiest frame of mind, the feet of all were fastened to the rock! "Haerent equites, haerent pedites," &c. The horsemen and the astonished people were literally *rivetted* to the ground, and that, too, in a way they had never dreamed of. Only by the prayers of St. Colman were they liberated, and once more free to pursue their homeward journey. To this day the surface of the bluish limestone rock bears innumerable exact impressions of horses' feet, human feet, and also a few cases of dogs' paws. Ever since it is known as "Boher-na-maes," that is, the "road of the dishes."

It is the fashion of some folks to sneer at all Irish legends, and it must be admitted that there is to be found at times a certain fairyland lore in some of the lives of the saints. But in defence of this "passage of the dishes," it may be urged that the story is not a whit more remarkable than some of those approved of in the lives of the saints. For sixty years a raven brought bread to St. Paul, the first hermit to a

convent of hungry Dominicans, two angels dispensed a heaven-sent meal. And if, under the Old Law, God fed Elias, at one time by the aid of ravens, and at another with bread brought by angels, surely "His arm is not shortened." Therefore, why may His power not have been shown to the murmuring companion of St. Colman as well as to Guaire and his rude courtiers, in proving by a miracle the love he bore alike to the "man of God" at Burren as well as to the Prophet on Horeb! As to impressions of the mysterious feet in the rock, many will not give such a ready credence to *this* part of the story. Most will hold that they are probably geological marks in the limestone, and the plaguy modern critics will tell us that they occur regularly in certain conditions in rocks of that nature. All we say to the reader is, visit the place, and judge for yourself. Clear the rocky floor of the dust, and admit that the impressions are most clearly evident, and if not miraculous, they are at least extremely curious, we might say unique, in the country.

After having crossed the "Boher-na-maes," we at length arrived at the object of our pilgrimage. Amidst a profusion of bush and brake, there lay before us the cell of St. Colman. On creeping in we found it to be a natural hollow, capable of holding about three persons, the loose stones in the far end being thrown together as to form a rude bed. What an awe-inspiring thought that in this hole in the earth dwelt a saint so renowned, and that from this wilderness of limestone rock, like the Baptist of old, came forth the first bishop of that ancient see, to be henceforth named after him, the "Church of the Son of Duagh"—Kilmacduagh. We could but kneel down at the entrance of this austere abode, and gazing into that small and dark recess where Colman communed with his Creator, we prayed aloud together, proud to be children of the same glorious Church which his virtues adorned.

At a short distance from the "cell" stood four walls in a ruinous condition of what was once a small chapel or oratory. If this can hardly claim to have been erected in the lifetime of St. Colman, and used by him, yet it is of considerable antiquity, and must have been in use for many centuries, and

from its very lonely position would have been a suitable spot, in times of persecution, for the people to gather together for the proscribed liturgy. On exploring the precincts of the cave, we came upon a "holy well," and what was pointed out as a botanical curiosity, a magnificent hawthorn-tree, without a single thorn on any of its branches. The thick trunk bore traces of having been chipped away by pilgrims, who wished to carry away souvenirs of so holy a spot.

Having retraced our steps to where the car awaited us in the high road, we hastened to visit, in another part of the Burren Mountains, the ruins of Corcomroe Abbey. It was erected by that illustrious King of Munster, Donald Mor O'Brien, whose royal munificence founded the cathedrals of Cashel, Killaloe, and Limerick, as also the abbey of Holy Cross, and many other religious houses. Surely such a name as his is well worthy to stand beside the greatest mediæval sovereigns of Europe, who were in their day the stalwart champions of Mother Church. Corcomroe was a daughter of Innislaugh, on the Suir, founded by the same O'Brien, and later on it became subject to the great abbey of Furness, in Lancashire. Its title, "*De petra fertili*," is surely meant for irony, since a more barren region it is impossible to imagine. Let us rather suppose that this ancient title, under which the abbey figures in ancient records, is not to be taken as a case of "*lucus a non lucendo*," but that the energy of St. Robert's children redeemed the arid land, as nowadays their brethren have done at Mount Melleray, and that finally this desert place smiled, and became a "fruitful rock!"

Wakeman, in his *Guide*, says:—"The effect of this ruin rising in stony solitude is very striking. To the southward and eastward, as far as the eye can reach, nothing but grey rocks, mingled at wide intervals with scanty patches of grass, is visible. One might spend days within the walls without seeing a human being." In this abbey the Cistercian monks buried King Connor, killed at the battle of Sudinae (Siudaine), as also the princes slain in the year 1267 and 1317. The life-size effigy of Connor O'Brien, in an arched recess of the north wall of the chancel, is most interesting, as showing in

what manner an Irish prince was dressed in those days. There is only one other of the kind to be seen in Ireland, viz., that of Crov-Dearg O'Connor, King of Connaught, in the Dominican priory of Roscommon. The king is represented as lying on a cloak, similar to the *feriola*, the ribbon of which appears across his breast, where the left hand is grasping some object, probably a cross or reliquary. The right hand holds a sceptre, and the long robe falls in elegant pleats to the feet, which are covered with a kind of primitive "brogues," like those which have been found in the bogs. The crown is sadly defaced, but the shaven face bears a pleasing expression, and the long-flowing locks are curled, after the fashion of the Irish "coolin." The irony of fate is shown by the inscription on a plain slab in the ground close by which covers the rival prince who slew O'Brien at Sudinae. It runs thus:—"This is the burial-place of O'Loughlan, King of Burren." Standing in the wall, above the royal effigy, is a good *bas relief* of a mitred abbot or bishop, the ample dalmatic being seen below a long-flowing chasuble, the collar of which is somewhat ingenious in pattern. The right hand is uplifted in blessing, and the left grasps a short crozier, with a spiral crook. A good engraving of the chancel of Corcomroe, and also of the royal tomb, can be seen in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquarians*, illustrating a valuable article on "The Normans in Thomond," by T. J. Westrop, M.A., for 1891, page 381. Above the double-arched sedilia, at the Epistle side of the high altar, which still remains *in situ*, is a curiously-carved ornament, evidently a discipline of three knotted cords. On the ground near the wall is a rather unique tombstone made of *wood* (!) if such an expression can be used.

A little less than a mile from Corcomroe we again come upon traces of the first Bishop of Kilmacduagh. At a spot called Oughtmanna there are ruins of three churches, which tradition says are dedicated to St. Colman, who, having resigned his episcopacy in all lowliness and humility, came here to end his days in peace and solitude.

Before closing this article, we must allude to one other spot, where the memory of so great a saint is yet green, viz.,

Aran-more. The three isles of Aran are at the mouth of Galway Bay, to which they are a kind of natural breakwater, and on the largest isle, called Aran-more, or Great Aran, there are the ruins of a very primitive church, dedicated to St. Colman MacDuagh. A very interesting account of these remains, with illustrations, can be seen in *Harper's Magazine* for March, 1881. This Teampul MacDuagh is a beautiful little church, built of huge undressed stones, with a truly cyclopean doorway, which is said to be an almost perfect copy of an entrance into an Egyptian tomb.

It would be an interesting question to find out whether St. Colman ever came to Aran. The idea seems most natural, when we consider that the school of St. Enda gave Aran-more a world-wide celebrity, so that it was styled "Aran of the Saints." It must have been well known to our saint, and hence it is very likely that he left his wild abode in the Burren, to visit this school of sanctity, to confer with his holy contemporaries. If this Teampul MacDuagh was not of *his* erection, at least it must have been very shortly after his time, as it is of the most primitive type. This latter supposition would go to show what an early character for sanctity was possessed by our saint, who, from a multitude of Colmans, stands out as St. Colman MacDuagh.

One relic is yet left to remind us of his authority, the shattered remains of wood and bronze that compose his pastoral staff, now kept in the Museum, at Dublin. But if his staff is fragile, his power and memory is yet great in the land, wherein he governed, as a faithful shepherd, the fold committed to his care. One feature is especially beautiful in the Catholic Church in Ireland, namely, that along with her faith, the "Island of Saints" has kept her hierarchy unbroken, and has clung to the original titles of her sees from time immemorial. Alas ! with us in poor England, all that bright dream has vanished ! In place of the sweet names of York and Lichfield, Hereford and Worcester, redolent with holy memories of a Wilfrid and a Chad, a Thomas-a-Cantalupe and a Wulstan, we have the modern uneuphonious names of ugly towns, Middlesborough, Birmingham, &c. And so, even to-day, the Bishop of Galway and Kilmacduagh

sits in the Chair of Colman, and wields the crozier over the selfsame district. one enlightened by the virtues and zeal of the first sainted occupant of that venerable see! May we conclude by wishing, with all due respect, the *present* most reverend occupant—"ad multos annos!"

WILFRID DALLOW.

---

## THE HOURS OF LABOUR.

JUST at the present time, when the question of State intervention regarding the hours of labour has passed from the sphere of scholastic or humanitarian theorising to that of practical electioneering warfare—when "the eight hours' day" has threatened to become a cry of parties to rally or attack—it may not be out of place, even in an "Ecclesiastical" review, to make a survey of the position that lies before us, and with calm deliberation to ascertain, by the light of Catholic principles, the full bearings of a measure so earnestly and persistently advocated, not merely by sciolists or by isolated labour candidates, but by large bodies of working-men, as well as by many eminent trusted social reformers.

From this discussion we dismiss all consideration or concern for party politics. The bewildering excitement and Babel of political contests too often tends to disturb the balance of judgment, and by presenting only *ex parte* statements, or indulging us with the honied water of mere talk instead of with the honest wine of study and unprejudiced thought, prevents or impedes the most elementary operation of the faculty of discrimination. And, according to the best of Britain's political philosophers, Edmund Burke, a crass or careless discrimination is the root of all ignorance—the source, consequently, of rash conduct and of ruinous legislation. The most important ethical and religious principles are involved in the present agitation for the reduction of the hours of labour; and these principles must not be clouded over or disregarded either through the zeal for reform, or

through the bitterness of faction. Our simple aim is to get a clear view of the *status quaestionis*, and to give an accurate account of the interests concerned, and the arguments advanced on either side of the controversy.

Let us here, at the outset, enumerate the points on which the general suffrage of common sense has been already definitely recorded:—

I. The employment of women and children should be regulated by two great principles of Leo XIII.<sup>1</sup>—(a) Women “are not suited to certain trades; for *a woman is by nature fitted for home work*, and it is that which is best adapted at once to preserve her modesty, and to promote the good bringing up of children, and the well-being of the family.” (b) “Just as rough weather destroys the buds of spring, so too early an experience of life’s work blights the young promise of a child’s powers, and makes any real education impossible.”

(a) Considering the sacred contract which a woman, in the ordinary course of things, makes before God—“in Christ and in His Church”—to be a wife and a mother, it is unlawful for her to enter into another contract, whereby her time, strength, and care are devoted to a millowner or other employer of labour, so as to rob her of the chance of properly performing her duties to her children and to her husband—duties with which the physical, social, religious well-being of a people are so intimately concerned. “Shorter hours” for women, then, and the absolute prohibition of female labour at certain critical times, are a simple dictate of right reason; and no amount of sophistry can exonerate the State from responsibility in this all-important matter. “It is no question,” says Cardinal Manning, “of gaining a few more shillings for the expenses of a family, but of the lawfulness of breaking a prior contract, the most solemn between man and woman; no arguments of expediency can be admitted. It is an obligation of conscience, to which all things must give way. The duties of home must first be done, then other questions may be entertained. Till then, nothing.” Night-work,

<sup>1</sup> *Rerum Novarum*.

evidently. is contrary to the nature of woman, and destructive of domestic life. And, again, we are not to imagine that our statute law has reached the height of perfection, because it forbids mothers to return to work for three weeks or a month after child-birth. "By a higher law," pursues the Cardinal, "the law of nature, *the whole care and time of the mother* is due to the child; a mother's instincts ought to prevail over all lower motives. There can be no home where a mother does not nurture her own infant; and where there is no home, there is no domestic life; and where the domestic life of a people is undermined, their social and political life rests on sand." It affects not the question to talk about the mother's earnings being a means of feeding the children, for if the relations of labour and capital were governed by principles of Christian love and generosity, not to say by mere justice, the wages of the husband would suffice for the whole family.<sup>1</sup>

(b) As for children, there can be no doubt that they should not be "placed in workshops and factories until their bodies and minds are sufficiently mature."<sup>2</sup> Who shall say how much of that stunting and crippling of our people—physical, mental, spiritual—which even the most superficial observer may notice in our great industrial centres, and more especially in the great mining districts, is due to the neglect of this wise precept? We have done a good deal since 1833 to prevent the cruel overworking of children, which there used to be; so that we, of this generation, according to Cardinal Manning, "who have only seen the half-timers of Lancashire and Yorkshire," "cannot now conceive the condition of child-labour fifty years ago." Our Legislature no longer permits children, "hardly

<sup>1</sup> On this matter, Mr. Devas writes thus:—"The loss to children from the lack of mother's training; the loss to all the family from the lack of a well-ordered house; the loss to the wife and mother, from being removed from her proper surroundings; the loss to the husband, because his duty of being the main support of the household is obscured, and he is tempted to think that woman's function is to work, and man's to be idle and drink; such evils are beyond the measurement that figures can express, and the seeming extra earnings of the family afford but a sorry and delusive compensation." (*Political Economy*, page 106.)

<sup>2</sup> *Encyclical, Rerum Novarum.*

out of infancy" "to be overcrowded in rooms, ill-ventilated, the air of which became poisonous." They may no longer be "set to picking cotton and other like materials, of which the filaments and the fluff affected the organs of respiration." Still, there is much left for us to do in the way of protecting our children from the tyranny of overwork or deleterious employment. The inspectors, who are appointed to watch and guard against the evasions of the factory laws, are said to be deficient in numbers, and sometimes wanting in zeal. Furthermore, we agreed at the Berlin Conference, in conjunction with all the chief Powers of Europe, and many of the lesser States, to raise the minimum age for child labour to twelve years. "We voted, and, therefore, pledged our honour and our humanity," writes Cardinal Manning, "to raise the minimum age to twelve. . . . Our rulers have refused to do it. With a niggard will we are raising it after a year's delay to eleven. The words of Leo XIII. will sear us till we raise it at least to twelve."<sup>1</sup>

II. Since "religion teaches that, as among the workman's concerns are religion herself and things spiritual and mental,"<sup>2</sup> the toiler has a right to leisure sufficient to secure him an adequate and reasonable share in the intellectual, social, domestic, political, and religious life and influences of his time and country. Without that sufficient leisure to attend to his other interests, and to take part in those recreations and pursuits which elevate him above the sordid occupations of everyday life, or which counteract the dull, deadening effect of grinding monotony, how can the working-man realize the *vivere decenter* which, according to our Holy Father, is the first and indispensable moral condition of his working at all?

"If the owners of property must be made secure, the workman, too, has property and possessions in which he must be protected; and, first of all, there are his spiritual and mental interests. Life on earth, however good and desirable in itself, is not the final purpose for which man is created; it is only the way and the means to that attainment of truth, and that practice

<sup>1</sup>*Dublin Review* for July, 1891.

<sup>2</sup>Leo XIII., *Rerum Novarum*.

of goodness, in which the full life of the soul consists. . . . No man may outrage with impunity that human dignity which God Himself treats *with reverence*, nor stand in the way of that higher life, which is the preparation for the eternal life of heaven.”<sup>1</sup>

The workman himself is blameworthy if he barter his dignity as a man by working such long hours as to sacrifice his natural and requisite leisure for any material advantage whatsoever. “He has here no power over himself. To consent to any treatment which is calculated to defeat the end and purpose of his being, is beyond his right; he cannot give up his soul to servitude.” Moreover, “the employer is bound to see that his men have time for the duties of piety,” and the master who exacts too long hours of labour from those in his employment cannot be held guiltless. For “it is neither justice nor humanity so to grind men down with excessive labour as to stupify their minds and wear out their bodies.”<sup>2</sup>

“From this follows the obligation of the cessation of work and labour on Sunday and certain festivals.” But, oh! that we could sweep out that puritanical spirit of Jewish sabbatine observance, which has been introduced into these days of rest. A long-faced joyless spirit it is that takes scandal at a child’s playful romping, or a merry, innocent piece of music on a Sunday, and by setting its face against even the most rational amusements on “the Lord’s day,” has left our workpeople, in many places, no alternative but idleness: and we know that an idle man is the devil’s play-fellow. After a hard, honest week’s work they may well expect that God Himself, when they have already consecrated by religion the repose of their recreation, and satisfied their obligation of attending to heavenly things and to divine worship, will take delight in their harmless and most necessary relaxation. And here, at once, let us strongly urge, that if a State reduction of the hours of labour must come, it will be our duty, surely, to provide means for the reasonable and profitable employment of the increased “spare time” which will thus be secured to the entire

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclical.*<sup>2</sup> *Rerum Novarum.*

working class. Otherwise, instead of improving the mental, moral, and physical stamina of labour, by the compulsory diminution of the hours of work, we may not improbably have to regret a general deterioration among the sons of the toil from the dissipating effects of an idle or ill-spent leisure. Our present arrangements for popular amusements on Sundays and feast-days are, in the opinion of many experienced and competent writers, neither so numerous nor so wise as to give perfect confidence in their power to afford at once recreation and improvement. It is for our local authorities, our county councils, &c., to make such prudent and efficient provision as will bring within the reach of *all* those means of self-improvement and rational recreation, which are too largely confined to the higher and middle classes. Much is done by individual initiative; but a general uniformity of leisure will call for great organized efforts on the part of public authority to increase the means of using that leisure to the best advantage.

No reasonable man, then, can be disposed to deny that time to attend to religious duties, time to improve himself in mind and body by a due intermission of toil, by a wisely spent proper rest, time to act as father of a family, to live with and be known to his wife and children, should be secured to workmen of every trade; for such time is theirs by an inalienable right.

III. Moreover, "daily labour must be so regulated that it may not be protracted during longer hours than strength admits." "Man's powers, like his general nature, are limited, and beyond these limits he cannot go. His strength is developed and increased by use and exercise, but only on condition of due intermission and proper rest." "How many," however, "and how long the intervals of rest should be, will depend on the nature of the work, on circumstances of time and place, and on the health and strength of the workman."<sup>1</sup> For the pitman, the "puddler," the stoker, &c., whose work seems really half diabolical in its black, choking, depressing character, an eight hours' day is, probably, too

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclical.*

long, especially if we take into account the element of exceptional danger to life and limb which too often attends these occupations; and a shorter day is, we may well believe, a simple necessity for protecting them in anything like normal conditions of health. "Those who labour in mines and quarries, and in work within the bowels of the earth, should have shorter hours *in proportion as their labour is more severe and more trying to health.*"<sup>1</sup> In certain other cases the strain of responsibility is added to hard work and risk of life, as in the railway service, where pointsmen, for instance, have hundreds of human lives depending on their prompt alertness, while they themselves, not unfrequently, are exposed to personal danger almost as great as that of active service in war; and in such cases there is an absolute stringency of obligation regarding "the short hours' day," both for the safety of the public and for the well-being of the trusty worker.

Therefore, "as a general principle, it may be laid down that a workman ought to have leisure and rest in proportion to the wear and tear of his strength; for the waste of strength must be repaired by the cessation of work. In all agreements between masters and work-people there is always the condition, expressed or understood, that there be allowed proper rest for soul and body. To agree in any other sense would be against what is right and just; for it can never be right or just to require on the one side, or to promise on the other, the giving up of those duties which a man owes to his God and to himself."

From these settled points regarding the hours of labour, it will be seen at once that the problem to be solved is more a question of *quomodo* than of *utrum*. How are requisite leisure and proper rest to be secured to workmen? by the State or by their own action and the humane regulations of employers? This seems to be the real core of the controversy. Shall the State intervene to lay down a universal rule to the effect that, in all cases and under all circumstances, no wage-earner may work more than eight hours

a-day? or, shall the wise and necessary reduction of the hours of labour be left to the consciences and common sense of employers and employed?

By the advocates of the first course of conduct we are asked to pass and sanction a measure for a uniform eight hours' labouring day in all trades; and this uniform eight hours' day must, as soon as possible, become international. Such is the scheme as it is advanced to-day by large and important bodies of workmen, and by accredited exponents of the more extreme labour views. The measure, though no necessary plank in the socialists' platform, is a *de facto* item of their present programme. They regard it as a step towards the realisation of their "programme of the day after to-morrow," an instalment of the Social Democratic Commonwealth.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the first *practical* proposal for the shortening of the workman's hours of labour was made in Germany after the election of 1884, when the socialist party, now become a body twenty-four strong in the Diet, introduced a bill for the immediate reduction of the day of labour to eight hours for miners and ten hours for all other trades.<sup>2</sup> This bill was a very moderate one, and in many respects a wise and workable measure. It proposed to create—(1) a new Labour Department of State; (2) a series of Workmen's Chambers; and (3) Local Courts of Conciliation for the settlement of differences between labourers and employers; the Workmen's Chamber of the district being, however, the final court of appeal. Both the Court of Conciliation and the Workmen's Chamber of the district were to be composed of an equal number of employers and employed. Councils of Labour, appointed partly by the Minister of Labour and

<sup>1</sup> Thus, Mr. Devas tells us, that in May, 1890, the motto adorning the head-quarters of the Socialist Labour Party in New York was, "The eight hours' day is the next step in the labour movement. The Socialist Commonwealth is its final end." (*Political Economy*.)

<sup>2</sup> It had been preceded by one for the prohibition of Sunday labour, which was stoutly opposed by Bismarck, and defeated. (*Vide* Rae, *Contemporary Socialism*, page 35.)

<sup>3</sup> There was to be one Workman's Chamber for every district of two hundred thousand or four hundred thousand inhabitants.

partly by the Workmen's Chambers, were to send every year to the Labour Department in Berlin a report on the condition of labour in their respective districts after an annual inspection of all the factories, workshops, and industrial establishments of any kind located therein. The bill was referred to a committee of the House, and in February, 1886, an unfavourable report caused the matter to be laid aside and forgotten. Thus was rejected, simply through distrust of the authors of the bill, some of the wisest proposals for giving the labourers a real and systematic, but not unequal, voice in settling the conditions of their own toil. As early, however, as 1875 the Marxist socialists combined with the Lassalleans at the Gotha Congress to demand "a normal working day corresponding to the needs of society, together with the prohibition of Sunday labour, of the labour of children, and of all labour of women that is injurious to health and morality." And, again, in France, in 1880, at the general congress of working-men held at Havre, a programme modelled on the lines of the German social democrats' resolutions of Gotha was adopted. With all their divisions the French socialists are agreed on the necessity of a State regulation of the hours of labour. They all demand "one day of rest in the week under legal regulation," "limitation of working day to eight hours for adults," "prohibition of the labour of children under fourteen, and limitation of work hours to six for young persons between fourteen and sixteen." Ever since 1874 several American States have had a compulsory eight hours' day on their statute book, at least for some trades, and Massachusetts has a legal labouring day of ten hours for all.

And now the excitement and discussion of the principle of State intervention regarding the hours of toil has become universal in English-speaking countries. "In whatever land the English language rules, there the common tongue moves in discussion of this principle. The Newcastle election turns on it; the President of the United States assents to it; and the Upper House in New Zealand is in quarrel with the House of Representatives because of it. In

America any person in the employ of the Federal Government is secured the working day of eight hours. . . . In England the movement has gained new strength from the unexpected adhesion of the textile workers in Lancashire.”<sup>1</sup> Many Catholic writers have not been behindhand in recommending State limitation of the workman’s hours of labour. Cardinal Manning, besides pleading with a depth of tenderness for our children only less touching than that of our Holy Father himself, besides upholding most strenuously the domestic dignity and rights of women, has also used the vigorous weapon of his strong, simple, and moving pen in behalf of the adult workmen. We cannot refrain from quoting the language he addressed to the Leeds Mechanics’ Institute some years ago :—

“ If the great end of life were to multiply yards of cloth and cotton twist, and if the glory of England consisted in multiplying without stint or limit these articles, and the like, at the lowest possible price, so as to undersell all the nations of the world, well, then, let us go on. But if the domestic life of the people be vital above all ; if the peace, the purity of homes, the education of children, the duties of wives and mothers, the duties of husbands and fathers, be written in the natural law of mankind, and if these things are sacred far beyond anything that can be sold in the market ; then, I say, if the hours of labour resulting from the unregulated sale of a man’s strength and skill shall lead to the destruction of domestic life, to the neglect of children, to turning wives and mothers into living machines, and of fathers and husbands into—what shall I say ?—creatures of burden—I will not use any other word, who rise up before the sun, and come back when it is set, weary and only able to take food, and to lie down to rest, the domestic life of men exists no longer, and we dare not go on in this path.”

He showed that Parliament has already interfered over and over again with the freedom of labour, and so established a precedent for further interposition.<sup>2</sup> He refused at that

<sup>1</sup> *Tablet*, August 27th, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> “ Parliament has again and again interposed to forbid the employment of children in factories before a certain age. In some, they cannot be employed as whole-timers till after *eleven* years of age ; in others, not until after *fourteen* years of age ; in agricultural labour, not before *ten* years of age. . . . Lord Shaftesbury ” [then Lord Ashley] “ whom all men honour for his life of charity, about the year 1834-35, as I remember, obtained a committee, by which he brought to light all that was hidden in the mines, and Parliament forbade the employment of the labour of women and children.”

time "to attempt a prescription, because," he said, "I should fail if I were to attempt to practise in an art which is not my own;" but in his famous Liège letter (Sept., 1890) he advocated State intervention to fix the hours of labour to eight for miners, and ten for less arduous trades.<sup>1</sup>

It is time, however, to examine the main arguments advanced for a general statutory eight hours' day.

(a) The first thing to be noticed is that the advocates of the measure gain sympathy and support by means of a confusion of the point at issue. Is it right, they say, that men should be obliged to slave for twelve, thirteen, or fourteen hours a day? Certainly it is not; but that is not the point precisely. Is the power and authority of Government to be invoked to prevent the overwork of all adults in every trade, and under all circumstances—that, and that alone, is the question. Moreover, we should notice a reduction of a twelve or thirteen hours' day to ten or eleven is a very different matter from the reduction of a ten or eleven hours a-day to eight, which is the general proposal before us at present: and the reason is, because the last two or three hours' labour, in a very long and exhausting day, bear no proportion to the last two hours of a shorter day, either in their effect on production, and consequently on *wages*, or in their influence on the health and spirits of the workmen.

(b) Then an appeal is made to our feelings of humanity by instancing the dangerous, injurious, and wearing nature of certain employments. We have already said that an eight hours' day is, probably, too long for certain occupations. But,

<sup>1</sup> Father Liberatore, in his *Principii di Economia Politica*, the recent English translation of which I have not at hand, and do not desire to emulate, speaks thus (page 82):—"Costoro" (*i.e.*, adult workmen employed in factories, &c.) "in nessuna officina dovrebbero tenersi occupati più di nove o, al massimo dieci ore per giorno, così avrebbero agi di badare alle cure domestiche e tener vivi gli affetti di famiglia e sollevare lo spirito a pensieri più nobili e confacevoli alla dignità della natura umana. Ma soprattutto dovrebbe serbarsi intatta per l'operaio l'astinenza da ogni materiale lavoro nei di festivi, acciò abbia il tempo opportuno per l'adempimento dei doveri religiosi, e per ritemprare in certa quisa e confortar l'animo colle sublimi idee del culto divino." For women and children he sets down six hours as the maximum; and he seems to imply, if he does not expressly state, that these limitations should all be effected by the legislature.

once again, the question concerns not this or that trade, but *all* trades. The point is, shall the *law* fix a maximum of eight hours a-day for adult labour, no matter what the nature of the several professions? We grant that it would be right and just on the part of the State to intervene in these particular cases; but experience justifies us in doubting the efficacy of such intervention. In Victoria, according to the testimony of Mr. Rae, while more than fifty separate trades enjoy the eight hours' day *without Parliamentary assistance, almost the only remaining trades which do not yet enjoy it are the very trades protected by an Eight Hours' Factory Act since 1874.* California has had an Eight Hours' Act on the Statute Book for even a longer period, but it has remained a mere dead letter, because employers began to pay wages by the hour, or the piece, and the men found they did not earn so much in the short day as they used to earn before.<sup>1</sup> These examples serve to show that what is required is, not a certain amount of State sticking-plaster, but that workpeople should be taught the principles laid down by Leo XIII. regarding their dignity as men; that they should organize, and protest against working the length of time they know to be excessive; that employers should be made aware of the crime they commit—we can use no milder term—and the injury they do to their men and to society by exacting too long hours of labour. If morality will not move the masters, let interest, at least, do so; for they must know that harm rather than profit comes from worn bodies and minds half stupefied with toil.

(c) The most vulnerable part of statutory eight hours' movements, however, lies in the fact that higher wages, not shorter hours, have been the real aim of their promoters. The double pay of overtime has been the bait to some, for shorter, regular time has meant to *them* lengthened extra time, and consequently extra payment. Numbers more, disliking the competition of the unemployed, which prevents, they tell us, wages from rising, won themselves over to believe that a general reduction of hours was the grand

<sup>1</sup> Rae, *Contemporary Socialism*, page 435.

means of affecting a general rise of wages by removing such competition. But this idea, as Professor Marshall observes, rests on the assumption of a Work Fund exactly analogous to the discarded Wages Fund doctrine of the older economists; and of the two dogmas, the former is even more dangerous to the working-men's prosperity. The notion<sup>1</sup> seems to be abroad that there is always the same demand for commodities, and, consequently, always the same proximate demand for labour. But this is evidently contrary to fact, and contrary to reason; for the demand for commodities varies with the change of seasons; and in times of great industries, depression is surely much less than in times of normal activity. If the proposed restriction of hours is carried on all round, the supply of commodities will be reduced all round, unless additional leisure will increase the productivity of labour beyond all that we can at present imagine or believe; and a general reduction of commodities will mean a general diminution either of their remuneration of labour or of the demand for labour,

(d) Another argument for the uniform statutory eight hours' day is based on a similar misconception, which also assumes that there is always a definite sum of work to be done, and, therefore, sets down as certain that the cycles and seasons of industrial depression are due to over-production, or to a general glut in the market. The market being glutted with goods, means that the consumer will offer a reduced price; and the producer, or employer of labour, to save his margin of profit, will lower the wages of his "hands;" and his "hands," to preserve the existing rate of wages, will promptly "strike." Such is the order of things at present, and to prevent these consequences we must have a shorter day of industrial production; for that means a limited and more regular output. But this notion of a general over-production or "general glut" of commodities is

<sup>1</sup> This false notion "appears in the trade-union policy of 'making work'—that is, making work for to-morrow, by not doing it to-day; it is a kind of mercantilist delusion of the present century, by which each trade is to cut some advantage for itself out of the sides of the others, until they all come to practise the trick, and fall to mysterious ruin together." (Rae, *Contemporary Socialism*, page 438.)

utterly fallacious. The very contrary is true : a crisis implies either *under*-production or the mismanagement of production. War, failure of crops, over-consumption (*i. e.*, extravagance or excessive expenditure on luxuries), or else reckless speculation, have wrought the mischief, not the over-activity of production. Each single branch of trade is a dependent member of the whole body of industry, not an absolute isolated organism ; and just as too much blood in the head means too little in other parts of the human system, so the presence of too great a supply of goods in one kind, implies too small a supply in another. For “ the various trades are one another’s customers,” and they carry on their business transactions, not by the exchange of money for commodities—money is only the *medium* by which the transfer of goods is effected, or a *measure* of their value—but, in reality, by the exchange of commodities for commodities. Therefore, if one trade or set of trades suddenly cease to produce, or produce inefficiently, the result is that there is an undemanded stock of goods thrown unexpectedly on the hands of the producers in the connected industries. The remedy here is neither a strike nor a statutory eight hours’ day, but a closer and faithful union of the interests of the employers and employed, by means of some organization resembling the guilds of old, so that, while enjoying a uniform wage, the man shall sympathise in the ups and downs of his master’s business, by sharing his success and bearing, in part, some of his inevitable disappointments.

One last argument for the measure of a State-regulated day of labour is derived from the progress of invention, machinery, and contrivances falsely called “ labour-saving,” which have doubled, nay, trebled, the efficiency of labour ; and yet no particle of extra leisure, no new rewards, are secured to the workers !

This reasoning, besides containing a false *suppositum*, viz., that the benefit of the community at large is not an advantage to workmen and masters, rests also on the unjust demand that the public should be shut out from the enjoyment of all the additions which the ingenuity and brain-labour of the inventor have or may contribute to the sum of

advancement. The works of mind and genius are meant to benefit the community as a whole, not individuals alone; and to attempt to exact for private profit the blessings of general progress is to institute a preposterous principle of intolerable selfishness, which would infallibly recoil on itself. For the most permanent betterment of one part of society is attained by the uplifting of all: exclusively, to advance one section is generally to depress another; and social equilibrium in the end asserts itself by a strong, if not violent, return current, which often shatters to ruins the most firm and solid fabric of privilege.

To come now to direct arguments against the proposal for a uniform State-regulated day of labour. There are two simple principles which regulate the whole problem of the relation of individual action to the intervention of Government. The first—a principle often most strenuously enunciated by Cardinal Manning himself, when dealing with the education question—declares that “the State should not interfere to do that which men can do better for themselves.” The second forbids us to contract “the valetudinary habit of making the extreme medicine of the State its daily bread.”<sup>1</sup>

1. The hours of labour could best be settled without any complicated State machinery between the workmen and their masters by means of organizations such as that so long and earnestly advocated by his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin. His views were forcibly expressed in a letter to the clergy of his diocese soon after the publication of the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. “It will be remembered,” he writes, “that in the course of the last two years some friendly conferences of representatives of employers and employed were held in Dublin,” by means of which more than one trade dispute, which had already passed into the stage of sharp conflict, was brought to a settlement on terms not unsatisfactory to those concerned.” He bears witness that the same happy result has followed from a timely and

<sup>1</sup> Edmund Burke.

<sup>2</sup> It will be remembered too that Archbishop Walsh himself had a large share in their promotion.

business-like consideration of the matters in dispute by a council of representatives from either side, "on more than one occasion when some important branch of trade or industry has been threatened with interruption;" and he recalls a resolution, of the utmost importance to our present subject, which was passed at one of these conferences by the unanimous and hearty concurrence of the representatives of both employers and employed. The resolution advocated "the establishment in Dublin of a *standing body* representing the various interests connected with the Dublin trades." The conference was further of opinion that "the existence of such a body, comprising representatives both of the employers and of the employed, would secure the substitution of friendly conference of arbitration, in place of strikes, as a means of settling trade disputes. . . ." Lastly, the representatives proclaimed their conviction that such a body as they contemplated would be of signal utility, especially in reference to wages and the hours of work. So much at least of the measure we have already mentioned as proposed by the German socialistic members in the Diet of 1884 might advantageously be adopted; for the constitution of such a body as his Grace proposes would closely resemble, no doubt, the Councils of Labour and the Workmen's Chambers set forth in that ill-fated bill. Already, the Archbishop tells us, have the foundations been laid by these conferences and this resolution for a more satisfactory state of trade relations in Dublin; and though the establishment of a body such as is described has not yet been effected, the efforts of the representatives have not been altogether fruitless.

That our Holy Father wishes the present question to be settled in the way indicated by his Grace is clear from the passage in the Encyclical where he says:—"In these and similar cases, such as, for example, the hours of labour in different trades, . . . in order to supersede undue interference on the part of the State, *ne magistratus sese inferat importunius*, especially as circumstances, times, and localities differ so widely"—as a general principle it will be preferable (*satius erit*) to leave the solution to societies and boards (on

the plan of those mentioned later in the Encyclical), “or to some other method of safeguarding the interests of the wage-earners; the State to be asked for *approval and protection*” (“*accedente, si res postulaverit, tutela præsidiique Reipublicæ*”). In confirmation of his Grace’s contention, that “separate societies of labouring-men”—though “of the utmost utility,” and “for certain purposes of practical necessity,” nevertheless have for their main object each “to protect and to promote the *special interests of its members* rather than the *general interests of the State*”—we need only refer to the amendment carried by two hundred and five to one hundred and fifty-five votes at the recent Trade Unionist Congress, Glasgow, September, 1892, to the effect that a bill should be introduced regulating the hours of labour to eight per diem, but that a veto should be allowed to the “*organised members*” of any particular trade. Thus are ignored absolutely the views of the employer, on the one hand, and on the other it is decreed that all non-unionist “hands” shall have no voice in the settlement of the conditions of their own work.

Any other arrangement by which we may seek to settle labour disputes, while men and employers are still left in the same isolated disunion as at present, will be merely a new patch on an old garment. The mechanical measure of a compulsory eight hours’ day would rend and widen the gaping schism between employers and employed. Immediately Parliament issued its decree, one of two things would happen—the employers would either start to pay by the hour and the piece, or they would reduce the rate of wages at a stroke. And rightly; for it would be an injustice to exact the wages of ten hours for the work of eight. Besides, the rate of production would evidently be lessened, and the general product, or out-put of industry, as even Mr. H. George ably proves, determines the general remuneration of labour. Hence a universal loss of revenue to the working-men and a universal discontent; hence, strikes and the beginnings of agitation for further State action; hence, “many works closed, many profits shrunk up, many workmen without

employment.”<sup>1</sup> Then there would be endless bickerings about overtime, which is a necessity in very many occupations, owing to the sudden demand for work that cannot, without grave inconvenience or the risk of immense loss, be delayed. Moreover, if the measure is to be enforced by penalties, what armies of officials, of spying inspectors, will have to be maintained, to see that masters and men do not evade its provisions? and who would like to see the braided cap and striped coat of Bumbledom, as in France and Italy, stalking and lounging through the country? Nay, the Government inspectors will have to penetrate even into the sacred privacy of the family to prevent wage-work or labour, supposed to be injurious to this trade or that, being done by either women, children, or men in the secrecy of their home. And at whose expense would these gentlemen inspectors live and ride about? With what fetters are the working-men seeking to cumber their own limbs! and what chances are afforded in all this for violence and friction! Assuredly a manly common-sense understanding between workmen and masters would be better than such a clumsy and dangerous cast-iron piece of mechanism, an understanding best reached through the deliberations of a permanent council of representatives both of employers and of employed.

2. This measure, moreover, is one which may easily lead to unceasing revolutions. The line of demarcation between socialistic revolution and the first step in wrongful interference with industry, is a very wavy indistinct boundary, which popular passion and conflicting interests are too blind to observe. Once grant that the State may with advantage establish a uniform day of labour, and you will have logically to require in the end a uniform rate of wages sanctioned by the legislature; and, that once appointed, the capitalists will finally be driven from the field, leaving you to make over to Government full power and control over labour. But who shall say through what storms of violence we shall have to pass, through what change and counter-change, before we reach this Arabia Felix of the modern social democrat? And

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mr. Devas, *Political Economy*, page 487.

will even the ice-bound surface of socialism be strong and durable enough to resist for long the surging currents that toss and flow beneath?

Further, idleness is the strongest, most fruitful seed of revolution. But a measure which, neglecting all the circumstances that determine what are rational and healthful hours in each trade—the methods of production, the locality, climate, habits of life—would establish one hard-and-fast rule whereby a man must remain banished from his proper, natural, and definite occupation of sixteen hours out of twenty-four, to say the least, fails to give us any security that we shall be free in the days to come from that most dangerous source of disturbance—the ill-spent leisure of the populace. We say nothing of the influence of this evil on production, for the damage to the efficiency of labour resulting from it is too apparent. Consequently, though it is true that on many occasions the State must, and ought, to intervene in matters affecting industry, yet we must be on our guard lest in the end we poison the body politic by “making the medicine of the State its daily bread.”

Before we can make eight hours, or even ten, therefore, the legal day of labour, and enforce it by penalties—first, we must be certain that such a measure will be acceptable, both to workmen and masters. For “the law has too little moral authority behind it to be practically enforceable by penalties, in the absence of decided working-class opinion in its favour.” (Rae.) Where it is a question of merely preventing people from working an hour or two more, in order to earn more, it is impossible for the State to provide against countless means of evasion: unless, indeed, this is one of the wonderful undeveloped faculties of government, which we are taught will exercise its blessed sway over the minds of men in the golden era of the coming century. Secondly, we must ascertain and calculate accurately the circumstances, which at present determine the hours of labour, so that we may not waste our energies in an illusory attempt to force one large round ball into different sized square holes, by endeavouring to establish uniformity, where there is great need for diversity. Thirdly,

we should be sure that such a measure will succeed in uniting employers and employed. Fourth, and lastly, that it will not rob the men themselves of something of higher import to their well-being, than even the boon of honourable leisure.

If we may be allowed to indulge in what appears at present, perhaps, somewhat utopian speculation, we venture to urge that it is not intrinsically impossible for the hours of labour to be reduced *even below the maximum of eight hours, now proposed*, without any of the inconveniences and drawbacks anticipated from a State-regulated labour-day. But such a happy consummation must be brought about in this wise. We need not fear the competition of such States as retain long hours, but fail to advance in the general efficiency and manly independence of their labour. In Victoria, the leisure secured by very many trades in this way has been so well used that "the working class have made a distinct rise in the scale of being; have developed a remarkable love of out-door sports, and spare energy enough to produce some of the most famous cricketers and scullers in the world;" and though production has been reduced a little, it has really been so small a reduction, "as to have no very perceptible results."

Meanwhile, we emphatically endorse the conclusion, that "the eight hours' day can only be an abiding possession, if it come through the successive growth of opinion and organization in one trade after another." Until the men themselves are determined on having an eight hours' day; until both employers and employed, alike, are convinced of their moral obligations in the matter of the hours of labour, and *unite* to fulfil them, the State will be well-nigh powerless. Instead of wasting their time, energy, and strength, then, in a fruitless struggle on the political arena, let the friends of the eight hours' movement set to work to educate and convince *the working-men themselves*, and organize trade after trade against excessive hours. But by the time the organization is complete, they will probably find that the working-men, schooled by experience and thought, more than by eloquence, will have settled what is right and necessary in each trade, and have arranged matters with their masters to their own satisfaction, without the blundering help of Parliament.

A. HINSLEY.

## Liturgical Questions.

---

### I.

SHOULD THE CELEBRANT APPROACH THE ALTAR BY THE  
EPISTLE OR BY THE GOSPEL SIDE ?

“VERY REV. DEAR SIR,—In the August number of the I. E. RECORD it is stated that the true interpretation of the reply of the Congregation, ‘*A sacristiae sinistra egrediendum a dextera ad illam accedendum*,’ is that the celebrant should approach the altar from the Epistle side, and leave by the Gospel side.

“For the information of those interested, perhaps you would publish in next month’s I. E. RECORD the interpretation of that response of the S. R. C., given in the January number, 1887, of *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, a Roman publication of considerable authority, and circulating in the city, where its mistakes would naturally be corrected. It is as follows:—‘*Dextera altaris, ipso altari non sacerdote qui super illud esse potest, inspecto, est pars evangelii ; sinistra autem est cornu epistolae, ut manifestum consideranti est. Verum judicamus, dextram laevamque, de qua decretum allatum, non altare sed sacerdotem respicere alioquin innaturaliter sacerdos ad altare pergeret. Quotiescumque enim aliquo per conversionem eundem est, naturaliter sinistra ad dexteram movimur, qui motus omnino naturalis est. Sacerdos ergo a sacristia, quae retro altare sita est, ad ipsam altare procedens, ad sinistram suam se vertet, proindeque ad altare perveniet per evangelii partem. Verum ad sacristiam rediens dexteram suam respiciet, vertere enim se non debet, sicque illuc per cornu epistolae accedet.*’

“If this interpretation be incorrect, it is clearly not founded on an erroneous conception of the right and left sides of the altar.

“AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM.”

Our esteemed correspondent endeavours to show that the interpretation given in the I. E. RECORD, of the decrees to which he refers, is not the *only* received interpretation ; and moreover, appeals to the authority of the *Ephemerides Liturgicae* to prove that the interpretation given in the I. E. RECORD is not even correct. Now, if the interpretation given in the I. E. RECORD rested solely on the authority

of the writer, there would be ample reason for quoting against it the authority of the *Ephemerides*, though, as is manifest from the extract given by our esteemed correspondent, the authority of the *Ephemerides* is nothing more than the *unsupported opinion* of the writer in the *Ephemerides*. But the interpretation given in the I. E. RECORD rests on a firmer foundation than the authority of any writer, no matter how learned he may be, or how close he may be to the centre of ecclesiastical legislation, for it is in reality founded on the rubrics of the Missal.

The question addressed to the Congregation of Rites, and the reply given, are as follow:—

“In sacello majoris seminarii stat sacristia post altare, et Ministri accedere possunt tam ex parte Evangelii, quam ex parte Epistolae. Quaeritur: Ante Missam, quam ex parte exire debeant ad altare? Et qua parte post missam redire debeant ad sacristiam?”

“*Resp.* A Sacristia e sinistra egrediendum, a dextera ad illam accedendum.”

In the rubrics of the Missal the liturgical meaning of the *pars dextera* and the *pars sinistra* of the altar is clearly set forth:—

“Si vero in Altari fuerint Reliquiae . . . antequam discedat (celebrans) a medio altaris primum incensat eas quae a *dextris* sunt, id est a *parte Evangelii* . . . et similiter incensat bis alias quae sunt a *sinistris* hoc est a *parte Epistolae*.”

Now, if the Congregation of Rites in the reply given above employed the words *sinistra* and *dextera* in the same signification in which they are here employed in the rubrics of the Missal, then was the interpretation of this reply given in the I. E. RECORD the correct, the *only* correct, interpretation. And it must be admitted that the Congregation employs the words in precisely the same signification which the rubrics attach to them.

For, 1. Owing to the authority of the rubrics the words *dextera* and *sinistra*, when applied to the altar, or used in connection with the altar, have the one definite and

unmistakable meaning, which is their technical meaning in the liturgy when employed in the circumstances mentioned. And according to a well-known canon of interpretation, words must be taken in their usual meaning, unless it is made clear by the writer that they are to be taken in a less usual meaning. But the Congregation, in employing them in their reply now under discussion, gives no hint or sign from which it could be inferred that the words were intended to have anything but their ordinary meaning. We cannot, then, without better evidence, admit that the Congregation of Rites have given to these words a meaning different from that consecrated by the rubrics of the Missal.

2. In the question addressed to the Congregation the words *dextera* and *sinistra* are not used at all. Instead we have the phrases, *pars Evangelii* and *pars Epistolae* (*ministri accedere possunt tam ex parte Evangelii, quam ex parte Epistolae*). The question, then, was, not whether the ministers should approach the altar, and return from it again by their *own right*, or by their *own left*, as the writer in the *Ephemerides* would seem to imply; but whether they should approach the altar by the Gospel or by the Epistle side, and whether they should return by the Epistle or by the Gospel side. The meaning of the question is perfectly clear to the most careless reader. The Congregation must, therefore, have understood it properly, and, it may be inferred, replied to it in the sense in which it was understood. Hence the Congregation must have used the words *dextera* and *sinistra* as synonymous with the phrases *ex parte Evangelii* and *ex parte Epistolae* used in the question.

3. In the peculiar interpretation given in the *Ephemerides*, how is the phrase *e sinistra egrediendum* to be explained? Could it be said that the ministers are to go to the altar *e sinistra sua*? Were the preposition employed, not *e* but *per*, or even *a*, there might be some shadow of foundation for this interpretation.

4. The interpretation given in the I. E. RECORD, which has been shown from intrinsic arguments to be the correct interpretation, can be confirmed by extrinsic arguments as well. Here it is sufficient to quote the names of De Herdt

and Wapelhorst, both of whom give unhesitatingly the interpretation given in the I. E. RECORD :—

“Si sacristia sit retro altare et egressus ex parte Epistolae et Evangelii, per cornu Epistolae est egrediendum ex sacristia et per cornu evangelii regrediendum.”<sup>1</sup>

“Si sacristia est retro post altare, e sinistra, *i. e.*, ex latere Epistolae egrediendum, a dextera ad illam ascendendum est.”<sup>2</sup>

5. Finally, as the *Ephemerides* is the only authority cited against our interpretation, we might have disposed of it in one sentence. If the authority of the *Ephemerides* be considerable when it makes against us, equally worthy of consideration is it when it makes for us. Or, to put it in another form, the evidence of a witness who contradicts himself flatly is of no value, at least regarding the point about which he contradicts himself. Now, in the extract given by our esteemed correspondent, and taken from the issue of the *Ephemerides* for January, 1887 (page 52), it is stated :—

“ . . . ad altare perveniet per evangelii partem . . . ad sacristiam . . . per cornu epistolae accedet :”

while in the issue for November of the same year we read (page 663) :—

“Ex eadem S. R. Congreg. 12 *Augusti*, 1854, notandum est quod si sacristia duas habeat portas ad latera altaris sacerdos egredi debet a cornu epistolae, et regredi per cornu evangelii.”

We have now sufficiently vindicated the interpretation given in the I. E. RECORD against the authority of the *Ephemerides*.

## II.

### DEVOTION TO THE SACRED HEART.

“VERY REV. DEAR SIR,—In a recent decree (28 June, 1889) of the Sacred Congregation of Rites on the above subject, it is said *inter alia* :—‘ Moreover, in those churches and oratories where, on the first Friday of each month, in the morning, a special exercise of piety is practised in honour of the Sacred Heart, with the approbation of the Ordinary, the Holy Father has granted that to these exercises may be joined the celebration of the

<sup>1</sup> De Herdt, *Prax. Liturg.*, tom. i., n. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Wapelhorst, n. 50.

Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart, provided that a feast of our Lord, a double of the first class, or a privileged feria, vigil, or octave, does not fall on the same day. For the rest let the rubrics be observed.'

“Am I right in assuming that this Votive Mass may be said on, for example, the 7th October, 4th November, and 2nd December next? If so, what order is to be observed? Is it the mass ‘Egredimini’ with *Gloria (sine Credo)* and commemoration of the saint of the day? What about *Credo* on 4th November, *propter octavam*? W.”

Our correspondent is quite right in assuming that the Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart can be celebrated on the first Friday of each of the last three months of this year, subject, of course, to the condition mentioned in the decree *Altero nunc*, to which he refers. This condition is, that the devotions in honour of the Sacred Heart take place in the morning, and have the approval of the Ordinary of the diocese. When this condition is fulfilled, the Votive Mass can be celebrated on any day that is not a double of the first class, a privileged feria, a privileged vigil, or a day within a privileged octave. And to none of these classes belongs the first Friday of any of the last three months of the present year.

The Mass to be said in Ireland is the Mass *Egredimini*: the proper Mass of the Sacred Heart for this country; and it is to be celebrated as a solemn Votive Mass, whether it be in reality a Solemn Mass, with sacred minister's music, &c., a *Missa cantata*, or an ordinary Low Mass. Hence both the *Gloria* and the *Credo* are to be said, and no other prayer is to be said, save the one prayer of the Mass. The feast of the day, whatever be its right or dignity, is not commemorated, and *a fortiori* no other commemorations are made, nor is the *oratio imperata* said.

### III.

#### MAY A PREACHER WEAR A COPE?

“REV. DEAR SIR,—I shall be obliged by your saying in your next issue, if a priest, whether parish priest or curate, is entitled to wear a cope while preaching? INQUIRER.”

No priest, whether curate, parish priest, or even canon,

is entitled to use a cope while preaching, nor can the custom of doing so, where it exists, be tolerated. The negative reply of the Congregation of Rites to the following question establishes this double conclusion :—

“Attenta consuetudine possuntne canonici licet officio presbyteri assistentis non fungantur cum in cathedrali, tum extra, ac etiam praesente archiepiscopo concionem facere pluviali induti?”

To this question, as has been stated, the Congregation replied *Negative*, without restriction or distinction. Hence, whether in the cathedral or out of it, whether in the bishop's presence or in his absence, a *canon* is not permitted to wear a cope while preaching; and what is not permitted to canons is, *a fortiori*, not permitted to other priests.

D. O'LOAN.

---

## Correspondence.

---

### NAPOLÉON'S DIVORCE.

“REV. DEAR SIR,—As Father Scannell now frankly avows himself an apologist and defender of the ‘divorce’ of Napoleon, it is plain that the distrust which his previous communication aroused in my mind was justifiable. I trust, however, that no reader of his letter, in your last issue, will assume that he correctly represents my arguments in your August number; arguments which, in truth, were not mine, but those of Father Duhr, S.J.; unless, indeed, after perusing them, they feel compelled to acquiesce in his views. I do not want to dwell on Father Scannell's extraordinary assumption, that no Catholic has any right to feel jealous for the honour of the Church, unless he happens to be a priest; but, at the risk of being again accused of ‘lecturing,’ &c., I prefer to charge responsibility for a scandalous fact against a few coerced and intimidated ecclesiastics, rather than against the Church, her discipline, and her teaching.

“Father Scannell now says: ‘I was, of course, quite aware of the 1796 marriage; but I did not treat of it, because I was

*concerned with the divorce proceedings, which make no mention of it.* Precisely so! In these words, Father Scannell admits the accuracy of the only accusation which I brought against himself or his paper. I never doubted that he was aware of 'the 1796 marriage,' any more than I never doubted that the Paris Ecclesiastical Commissioners were aware of it. The fact that neither Father Scannell nor the Commissioners made reference to it, does not appear to me—as he states it does to him—to form 'a strong presumption against its validity.' I refrain from stating exactly the impression I have formed as to the cause of the reticence in question, but I should like your readers to understand the character of at least one of those, the Abbé Lejeas, who pronounced the final decision in the 'divorce' proceedings, declaring the religious marriage null and void, on account of the want of consent to the marriage contract. The latter, the Abbé said, was proved by many declarations of the Emperor, and the intentional omission of necessary forms. Writing about this judgment, and the personal character of Lejeas, Father Duhr says:—

“Such a judicial sentence is altogether worthy of a Gallican courtier prelate, to whom the State is everything, the Church of little consequence. Abbé Lejeas, who was at that time administrator of the Archdiocese of Paris, received as his reward the Bishopric of Liège. On January 12, 1811, he induced the chapter of his cathedral to send an address to the metropolitan clergy of Notre Dame, wherein the Abbé Astros is publicly censured for publishing a Brief of Pius VII., which forbids Cardinal Maury to take possession of the Archbishopric of Paris. Two of his canons refused to sign the address. Bishop Lejeas complained of their conduct, and appealed to the policeman's baton—that is, the prefect of Liège, 'who,' he says, 'is my support, my consolation in all the trials which I have to endure from these fellows, with their ultramontane notions.'

“I quite agree with Father Scannell that the subject at issue is one which those learned in canon law can discuss better than those who make no profession of such knowledge; but I cannot help saying that, by no matter whom conducted, such discussion must be carried on with a constant regard to the extraordinary and abnormal condition of affairs in France in 1796, if it is to be really decisive of anything. The country had practically become Pagan. The 'constitutional' and interloping Archbishop of Paris, Gobel, had, not so long before, solemnly renounced Christianity;

while what was taking place, or had taken place, amongst the degraded priests who had been intruded into the benefices of those who refused to become 'constitutional,' may be inferred from the words of Thiers. When describing the negotiations leading up to the concordat, he says, 'There were more than 10,000 married priests, who, hurried away by the vertigo of the day, or impelled, even by terror, had sought in marriage . . . an escape from the scaffold, which they purchased by the abjuration of their vows.'<sup>1</sup>

"To deal with events arising amidst circumstances so deplorable and so detrimental to Catholic discipline as those here indicated, without having regard to the surroundings, and solely with a view to normal legality, would be an error of a grave kind; and Pope Pius VI., writing to the Bishop of Geneva, in 1795, recognised this when he told the prelate in question that "As a vast number of the faithful were unable to appear before their parish priest [during the years named] their civil marriage, if contracted before witnesses, but without the parish priest's presence, if there were no other impediment, were both valid and lawful as well.' The 'no other impediment,' *nihil aliud obstat*, had reference to the case of the married priests, and not to such persons as Napoleon and Josephine; while Father Scannell will scarcely deny that the certainty of being 'denounced' to the Assembly, and guillotined, would constitute such an 'impossibility' of seeking the services of a validly-appointed parish priest as would, in accordance with the Pope's words, render valid a purely civil marriage. Indeed to have found such a priest would have been, even to the most orthodox, a matter of the gravest difficulty. If, however, Father Scannell wants further evidence as to the recognition by the Holy See of the absolutely abnormal and unprecedented condition of affairs in France at the period in question, I will refer him to the case of men of the type and kind of Talleyrand, and whom even Father Scannell will scarcely argue to have been 'certainly married lawfully and validly by going through the civil ceremony, *because* they intended to contract according to the Church's laws.' He will not, I feel certain, apply his 'because' as a test to the case of Talleyrand, or as to the wisdom of the action of the Church when face to face with the ravages of a moral and national cyclone. Pressure of

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Consulate and the Empire*, by M. Thiers, authorised translation by D. Forbes Campbell, Colburn, London, vol. iii., page 121.

other matters prevents me from saying much, and quoting much which I had thought of printing, but to me it will ever remain the subject of sincere gratification that, no matter what Father Scannell or anyone else may ever allege or advance, the revered person of the Sovereign Pontiff stands absolutely free from the reproach of connection with one of the most scandalous facts of history, and one, the defence of which on the ground put forward by Father Scannell, viz., 'that the 1804 marriage was invalid because Napoleon withheld his consent,' would certainly make the vows received by Cardinal Fesch from the Emperor the most abominable of sacrilegious perjuries.

“ Upon this last point I desire, however, with your permission, to recall the words used in the course of the religious ceremony which took place in the Tuilleries. Addressing Napoleon, the Cardinal said, ‘Sire, you declare that you recognise, and you swear before God, and in presence of His holy Church, that you now take unto wife and lawful consort, Josephine Rose Tascher de la Pagerie, the widow Beauharnais, here present.’ To this question the Emperor replied: ‘Yes.’ The Cardinal continued: ‘You promise and swear her fidelity in all things, as a faithful husband ought to do towards his wife, according to God’s command?’ Again the reply was: ‘Yes.’ Similar questions were addressed to Josephine, who also replied in the affirmative. Now I am perfectly well aware that the ceremony here described, as well as the form of words used, indicates the existence of doubts in the minds of both Cardinal Fesch and Josephine as to the validity of the civil marriage; but what is to be said of the man who, more than five years after he uttered the words just quoted, after more than five years, during which he acted in all ways as Josephine’s husband, turned round and declared that he ‘gave no consent’? What, on the other hand, are we to think of the ecclesiastics who accepted and endorsed his plea? What would Father Scannell say to one of his own parishioners, who, after five years of wedded life, came to him with such a story?

“ If we now turn back to the question of the validity of the first marriage, it will be well to remember what Father Duhr has recalled in the following words:—

“ ‘On March 11, 1796, ‘Buonaparte’ wrote from his headquarters at Paris to the President of the Directory: ‘I had commissioned citizen Barras to make known to the Directory my marriage with citizen Tascher-Beauharnais. The confidence

which the Directory has at all times manifested in my regard makes it my duty to give it information of all my actions. *This marriage is a new bond which unites me to my country ; it is a further pledge of my firm determination to seek my happiness and welfare only in the republic.*' Napoleon and his newly-wedded wife were, however, obliged to separate for a short time. He was appointed commanding-general of the Italian army, and hastened to Italy, whither Josephine soon followed him. She took part in his triumphal marches. When First Consul, Napoleon was also proud of his wife, whose influences over people's hearts he repeatedly acknowledged. So little did people doubt of a real marriage between Napoleon and Josephine, that many persons even believed that the religious blessing of the marriage had taken place. When the Cardinal Legate Caprara was received in solemn audience on April 9, 1802, by the First Consul, with reference to the publication of the concordat, he paid Napoleon's consort an official visit, which he would not have done unless Napoleon and Josephine were really man and wife. At Antwerp the Archbishop of Malines, in 1803, addressed Josephine publicly as follows : ' Having been united to the First Consul by the bond of a holy union, you find yourself to-day surrounded by his fame.'

" The words which I have italicized in the foregoing extract were not those of a man who regarded his alliance with Josephine as a terminable one. Indeed, if the least suspicion existed that he so regarded it, the Directory would have had a dangerous measure of the value and the stability of his protested loyalty. If, finally, however, we turn up the records which tell of the proceedings of the 15th December, 1809, the date of the announcement of the divorce, we find Napoleon and Josephine at one in their declarations as to the cause of their separation as well as to the validity of their previous union. Napoleon spoke of the Empress as his ' illustrious spouse,' of his ' marriage with his well-beloved spouse,' and emphatically declared that his only desire in seeking ' a dissolution of our marriage ' was ' the good of the State and the hope of having children.' Josephine in accepting the sacrifice so cruelly imposed upon her, spoke in nearly identical terms. I fancy even Father Scannell will find it hard to reconcile these statements of Napoleon with the decree of the Paris Commissioners.—Yours very truly,

" WILLIAM F. DENNEHY."

## THE NEW CATECHISM.

“REV. DEAR SIR,—Permit me to bring under the notice of the members of the Commission for the revision of the Catechism, a work that was very much in use throughout Italy some twenty-five years ago. It is entitled: *Istruzione In Forma Di Catechismo Per La Pratica Della Dottrina Christiana Da Pietro Maria Ferreri, Palermitano, Della Compagnia Di Gesu*. This catechism has gone through many editions, and appears to be very accurate. The Sixth Sacrament is spoken of as the Sacrament of Order—*Sagramento dell'Ordine*.

“In Bellarmin’s celebrated short catechism, revised and approved of by the Congregation of the Reform (Council), the Sacrament is called *ordine sacro*.

“The short metrical catechism, composed early in the last century by Father Innocent Innocenzi, S. J., and used with such effect by Father Paul Segneri in his Apostolic missions, describes the Sacrament as:

‘L’ordine Sagrosanto  
Da grazia a tutto il clero  
Per far suo ministero  
Santamente.’

“Another point. With regard to the effect of venial sin, we are told in Bellarmin’s Catechism, that it lessens the fervour of charity—‘*Sminuise il fervore della carita.*’ He does not say that it lessens charity itself. According to the teaching of Ferreri’s Catechism, venial sin deprives the soul of the brilliancy and beauty of grace—*le toglie quel lustro e leggiadria che da essa (grazia) le proviene*. This agrees with the teaching of St. Thomas and the majority of theologians, that venial sin, though it does not essentially diminish grace, weakens its fervour and fertility, cools the fervour of the love which subsists between the soul and God. It does not take away a single degree of the gold of sanctifying grace, but it obscures the lustre and brightness of that pure precious gold.

“Kilmanagh, Co. Kilkenny.

N. MURPHY, P.P.”

## Document.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII.  
ON THE ROSARY.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII.  
EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA AD PATRIARCHAS PRIMATES ARCHIEPISCOPOS  
EPISCOPOS ALIOSQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIOS PACEM ET COMMU-  
NIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES.

DE ROSARIO MARIALI.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS PRIMATIBUS ARCHIEPISCOPIB.  
ET EPISCOPIB. ALIISQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIIS PACEM ET COM-  
MUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS.

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

Magnae Dei Matris amorem et cultum quoties ex occasione liceat excitare in christiano populo et augere, toties Nos mirifica voluptate et laetitia perfundimur, tamquam de ea re quae non solum per se ipsa praestantissima est multisque modis frugifera, sed etiam cum intimo animi Nostri sensu suavissime concinit. Sancta nimirum erga Mariam pietas, semel ut paene cum lacte suximus, crescente aetate, succrevit alacris valuitque in animo firmius: eo namque illustrius menti apparebat quanto illa esset et amore et honore digna, quam Deus ipse amavit et dilexit primus, atque ita dilexit, ut unam ex universitate rerum sublimius evectam amplissimisque ornatam muneribus sibi adiunxerit matrem. Eius autem bonitatis in Nos beneficentiaeque complura et splendida testimonia, quae summa cum gratia nec sine lacrimis recordamur, eandem in Nobis pietatem et foverunt amplius et vehementius incendunt. Per multa enim et varia et formidoloso quae inciderunt tempora, semper ad eam confugimus, semper ad eam intentis oculis cupidisque suspeximus; omnique spe et metu, laetitiis et acerbitatibus, in sinu eius depositis, haec fuit assidua cura, orandi ab ea, Nobis vellet benigna in modum matris per omne tempus adesse et illud impetrare eximium, posse Nos ei vicissim deditissimam filii voluntatem probare.

Ubi deinde arcano providentis Dei consilio est factum, ut ad hanc Beati Petri Cathedram, ad ipsam videlicet Christi personam

in eius Ecclesia gerendam, assumeremur, tum vero ingenti muneris gravitate commoti, nec ulla sustentati fiducia virtutis Nostrae, subsidia divinae opis, in materna Virginis beatissimae fide, impensiore studio flagitare contendimus. Spes autem Nostra, gestit animus profiteri, quum in omni vita, tum maxime in supremo Apostolatu fungendo, eventu rerum numquam non habuit fructum vel levamentum. Ex quo spes eadem Nobis multo nunc surgit erectior ad plura maioraque, auspice illa et conciliatrice, expetenda, quae pariter saluti christiani gregis atque Ecclesiae gloriae felicibus incrementis proficiant. Est igitur recte opportuneque, Venerabiles Fratres, quod incitamenta quaedam universis filiis Nostris, renovata per vos hortatione, adhibeamus, ut octobrem proximum, Dominae nostrae et Reginae augustae a *Rosario* sacrum, vividior pietatis sollertia, quam necessitates ingravescentes exposcunt, studeant celebrare.

Quam multis et quibus corruptelarum modis nequitia saeculi eo fallaciter connitatur ut christianam fidem et, quae ipsam nutrit movetque in fructus, observantiam divinae legis, debilitet ac prorsus evellat ex animis, iam patet nimium: iamque passim dominicus ager, teterrima velut afflatus lue, ignorance fidei, erroribus, vitiis propemodum silvescit. Quod vero ad cogitandum acerbius est, improbitati tam arroganti et noxiae tantum abest ut frena iniecta aut iustae sint poenae impositae ab iis qui possunt maximeque debent, ut immo saepius ex ipsorum vel socordia vel patrocinio augeri spiritus videantur. Inde est cum causa dolendum de publicis doctrinarum et artium palaestris sic dedita opera constitutis, in quibus nomen conticescat aut vituperetur Dei; dolendum de impudentiore in dies licentia quidlibet in vulgus edendi, quidlibet declamandi Christo Deo et Ecclesiae probrosum; neque ea minus dolenda consecuta in multis remissio et desidia catholicae professionis, quae si non aperta est a fide defectio, eo certe evasura procliviter est, cum fide nihil iam vitae habitu congruente. Quam qui perpendat maximarum rerum confusionem et labem, non ei profecto fuerit mirum, si late gentes divinae animadversionis pondere ingemiscant afflictæ, metuque graviorum calamitatum anxiae trepidæ teneantur.

Iamvero ad violatum Dei numen placandum, ad eamque afferendam quae misere laborantibus opus est sanationem, nihil sane valuerit melius quam pie perseveranterque precandi officium, modo sit cum studio et actione christianae vitae coniunctum: quod utraque in parte ducimus per *mariale Rosario* potissime assequendum.

Ab ipsa rei satis cognita origine, quam praeclara monumenta illustrant et commemoravimus Ipsi non semel, praepotens, vis eius laudatur. Quo enim tempore Albigenensium secta, integritatis fidei morumque specie quidem faulrix, re vera perturbatrix pessima et corruplrix, magno multis gentibus erat exitio, in eam consceleratasque factiones pugnavit Ecclesia, non copiis neque armis, sed interposita praecipue sacratissimi Rosarii virtute, cuius ritum ipsa Dominico patri Deipara tradidit propagandum ; atque ita de omnibus magnifice victrix, suorum saluti, tum per eam, tum per similes deinceps procellas, exitu semper glorioso consuluit. Quamobrem in hoc rerum et hominum cursu quem conquerimur, luctuosum religioni, perniciosissimum rei publicae, pari omnes pietate sanctam Dei Genitricem communiter implorare exorare oportet, ut eandem eius Rosarii virtutem secundum vota laetemur experti.

Enimvero quum precando confugimus ad Mariam, ad Matrem Misericordiae confugimus, ita in nos affectam, ut qualicumque necessitate, ad immortalis praesertim vitae adeptionem, premamur, illico nobis et ultro, ne vocata quidem, praesto sit semper, atque de thesauro largiatur illius gratiae qua inde ab initio donata est plena copia a Deo, digna ut eius mater existeret. Hac scilicet gratiae copia, quae in multis Virginis laudibus est praeclarissima, longe ipsa cunctis hominum et angelorum ordinibus antecellit. Christo una omnium proxima : *Magnum enim est in quolibet sancto, quando habet tantum de gratia quod sufficit ad salutem multorum ; sed quando haberet tantum, quod sufficeret ad salutem omnium hominum de mundo, hoc esset maximum ; et hoc est in Christo et in Beata Virgine.*<sup>1</sup> Ei nos igitur, quum gratia plenam angelico praeconio salutamus, eandemque iteratam laudem in coronas rite connectimus, dici vix potest quam gratum optatumque fecerimus : toties enim a nobis memoria quasi excitatur tum dignitatis eius excelsae, tum initae a Deo per ipsam humani generis redemptionis ; unde etiam commemorata pendet divina et perpetua necessitudo, qua ipsa cum Christi gaudiis et doloribus, opprobriis et triumphis tenetur in regendis hominibus iuvandisque ad aeterna. Quod si Christo benignissime placuit tantam nostri praeseferre similitudinem, seque hominis filium atque adeo fratrem nostrum dicere et praebere, quo testatior sua in nos misericordia patesceret. *Debuit*

<sup>1</sup> S. Th. cp. viii. *super salut. angelica.*

*per omnia fratribus similari, ut misericors fierit:*<sup>1</sup> Mariae non aliter, ex eo quod Christi Domini eiusdemque fratris nostri electa est mater, hoc supra matres omnes singulare inditum est, ut misericordiam nobis proderet effunderet suam.

Id praeteret si debemus Christo quod nobiscum ius sibi proprium quodammodo communicarit, Deum vocandi et habendi patrem, eidem similiter debemus communicatum amantissime ius, Mariam vocandi et habendi matrem. Quando autem natura ipsa nomen matris fecit dulcissimum, in eaque exemplar quasi statuit amoris teneri et providentis, lingua quidem haud satis eloqui potest, at probe sentiant piorum animi, quanta in Maria insideat benevolentis actuosaeque caritatis flamma, in ea nimirum, quae nobis, non humanitas, sed a Christo est mater. Atque multo illa magis nostra omnia habet cognita et perspecta; quibus, ad vitam indigeamus praesidiis, quae impendeant publice privatim pericula, quibus in angustiis in malis versemur, quam in primis sit acris cum acerrimis hostibus de salute animae dimicatio: in his autem aliisve asperitatibus vitae, multo ipsa potest largius, et vehementius exoptat, solatium, robur, auxilia omne genus carissimis filiis afferre.

Itaque ad Mariam non timide non remisse adeamus, per illa obsecrantes materna vincula, quibus cum Iesu itemque nobiscum coniunctissima est: praesentem eius opem quo precationis modo significavit ipsa et peracceptum habet, religiosissime invocemus: tum erit merito in tutela optimae matris securis laetisque animis conquiescendum.

Ad hanc Rosarii commendationem ex precatione ipsa profectam, accedit, ut in eodem insit facilis quidam usus ad summa fidei christianae capita suadenda animis et inculcanda: quae quidem alia est nobilissima commendatio.

Est enim maxime ex fide quod homo recte certeque gradus facit ad Deum, eiusque unius maiestatem immensam, imperium in omnia, summam potentiam, sapientiam, providentiam discit mente et animo revereri: *Credere enim oportet accedentem ad Deum quia est, et inquirentibus se remunerator sit.*<sup>2</sup> Quoniam porro aeternus Dei Filius humanitatem suscepit, praeluxitque nobis et adest velut via, veritas, vita, idcirco fides nostra praeterea complectatur necesse est Trinitatis divinarum personarum augustae et Unigenae Patris hominis facti alta mysteria: *Haec est vita aeterna, ut cognoscant te, solum Deum verum, et quem misisti*

<sup>1</sup> Heb. ii. 17.<sup>2</sup> Heb. xi. 6.

*Iesum Christum.*<sup>1</sup> Permagno quidem beneficio donavit nos Deus, quum fide hac sancta donavit: cuius munere non solum supra humana erigimur, tamquam speculatores effecti et consortes divinae naturae, sed habemus hoc amplius causam praestantis meriti ad praemia caelestia; proptereaque spes nostra aliter et confirmatur, fore aliquando ut Deum, non iam per adumbratas rerum imagines, sed aperto in lumine contingat intueri ipsum ipsoque frui ultimo bono perpetuum.

At vero christianus homo tam variis distinetur vitae curis tanque evagatur facile ad levia, ut, nisi crebra admonitio succurrat, quae maxima et pernecessaria sunt oblivione lenta dediscat, ob eamque causam eius oblanguescat atque etiam intercidat fides. Quae nimis magna ignorantiae pericula ut a filiis suis Ecclesia prohibeat, nulla sane vigilantiae diligentiaeque praetermittit consilia, neque ultimum est fidei adiumentum quod ex mariali Rosario petere consuevit. Quippe in eo, cum pulcherrima fructuosaque prece certo ordine continuata, recolenda succedunt et contemplanda praecipua religionis nostrae mysteria: illa primum quibus *Verbum caro factum est*, et Maria, virgo integra et mater, materna illi officia sancto cum gaudio praestitit; tum Christi dolentis aegritudines, cruciatus, supplicium, quorum pretio salus generis nostri peracta; tum eiusdem plena gloriae mysteria, et de morte triumphus, et ascensus in caelum, et demissus inde divinus Spiritus, atque Mariae sideribus receptae splendida claritudo, denique cum gloria Matris et Filii consociata caelitum omnium gloria sempiterna.

Haec rerum plane admirabilium contexta series in fidelium mentes frequenter assidueque revocatur, et fere in conspectu explicata proponitur: id quod Rosarium sancte colentibus aspergit animos nova semper quadam pietatis dulcedine, perinde afficiens et movens quasi vocem ipsam exciperent indulgentissimae Matris, eadem aperientis mysteria multaue salutariter alloquentis. Quare non id nimis affirmatum videbitur, quibus et locis et familiis et gentibus honorem pristinum marialis Rosarii consuetudo retineat, nullam ibi iacturam fidei ab ignorantia pestiferisque erroribus metuendam.

Sed alia non minus praestat, quam Ecclesia filiis suis magnopere a Rosario quaerit, utilitas; ea est, ut ad fidei sanctae normam et praescripta vitam moresque suos diligentius componant. Si enim, ut omnes tenent divinum effatum: *Fides sine*

<sup>1</sup> Ioann. xvii. 3.

*operibus mortua est,*<sup>1</sup> eo quia fides vitam ducit a caritate, caritas autem in ubertatem exit sanctarum actionum ; nihil profecto emolumenti ad aeterna christianus homo percepturus erit ex fide sua, nisi rationem vitae secundum eam direxerit : *Quid proderit, fratres mei, si fidem quis dicat se habere, opera autem non habeat ?* numquid poterit fides salvare eum ?<sup>2</sup> Istud immo hominum genus reprehensionem Christi iudicis multo graviores incurreret, quam qui christianae fidei disciplinaeque sint misere ignari : qui non, ut illi perperam, aliter credunt aliter vivunt, verum quia carent Evangelii lumine, habent ideo quandam excusationem aut minores sunt certe in noxa.

Quo igitur fides quam profiteamur consentanea fructuum laetitia melius florescat, simul ex mysteriis ipsis quae mens considerando persequitur, ad virtutum proposita mire animus inflammatur. Opus nempe salutiferum Christi Domini, quale nobis eminet ac nitet in omnes partes exemplum ! Magnus omnipotens Deus, urgente in nos nimia caritate, ad infirmi hominis conditionem sese extenuat ; nobiscum velut unus de multis versatur, amice colloquitur, singulos et turbam ad omnem erudit docetque iustitiam, excellens sermone magister, auctoritate Deus. Omnibus omnino se dat beneficium ; e morbis corporum relevat languentes, morbisque animorum gravioribus paterna medetur miseratione : quos vel aerumna exercet vel sollicitudinum moles fatigat, eos in primis blandissime compellat et vocat : *Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos.*<sup>3</sup> Tum ipse interquiescentibus nobis in complexu suo, de illo spirat mystico igne quem ad homines detulit, deque sui mansuetudine animi ac submissione benigne insinuat, quarum usu virtutum nos optat verae solidaeque pacis, cuius est auctor, participes : *Discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde ; et invenietis requiem animabus vestris.*<sup>4</sup> Sed ipse tamen, pro ea sapientiae caelestis luce et insigni beneficiorum copia quibus homines demereri debuerat, hominum subit odia iniuriasque atrocissimas, atque sanguinem et spiritum cruci suffixus profundit, nihil spectans enixius quam ut illis pariat sua morte vitam.

Talia peramantis Redemptoris nostri monumenta carissima nequaquam fieri potest ut quispiam attenta secum cogitatione reputet et commentetur, neque grata adversus eum voluntate exardescat. At verius probatae vis fidei tantum efficiet ut, illuminata hominis mente et animo vehementer impulso, totum

<sup>1</sup> Iac. ii. 20.<sup>2</sup> Ib. 14.<sup>3</sup> Matt. xi. 28.<sup>4</sup> Ib. 29.

prope rapiat ad ipsius Christi vestigia per omne discrimen sectanda, ad eam usque Paulo dignam obtestationem : *Quis ergo nos separabit a caritate Christi? tribulatio, an angustia, an fames, an nuditas, an periculum, an persecutio, an gladius?*<sup>1</sup> . . . *Vivo autem iam non ego; vivit vero in me Christus.*<sup>2</sup>

Ne vero ad exempla quae Christus, homo idemque Deus, de se exhibet sane quam maxima, nativae nos imbecillitatis conscientia absteriti deficiamus, una cum mysteriis eius mysteria Matris sanctissimae habemus oculis mentis ad contemplantum oblata. E regia Davidis stirpe est ea quidem progenita, cui tamen nihil iam est reliquum de maiorum vel opibus vel amplitudine; quae vitam in obscuro agit, humili in oppido, humiliore in tecto, recessu ipso et rei familiaris tenuitate eo contenta magis quod liberiore potest animo se tollere ad Deum eidemque summo desideratissimo bono penitus adhaerere. Atqui est cum ipsa Dominus, quam complet et beat gratia sua; ipsaque, allato caelesti nuntio, designatur, ex qua, virtute agente Spiritus Sancti, expectatus ille Servator gentium nostra in humanitate sit proditurus. Celsissimum dignitatis gradum quanto plus ea miratur et muneri tribuit potenti misericordique Deo, tanto se, nullius sibi conscia virtutis, deprimit humiliter, seque Dei ancillam, eius dum fit mater, prompto animo edicit et devovet. Quod autem pollicita sancte est, id alacris sancte praestat, iam tum perpetua cum Iesu filio, ad gaudia ad lacrimas, communionem vitae instituta. Sic tale fastigium gloriae, ut nemo alius nec homo nec angelus, obtinebit, quia cum ipsa nemo erit virtutum promeritis conferendus; sic eam superi et mundani regni manet corona, quod invicta futura sit regina martyrum; sic in caelesti Dei civitate per aeternitatem omnem coronata assidebit ad Filium, quod constanter per omnem vitam, constantissime in Calvaria, redundantem tristitia calicem sit cum illo exhaustura.

Ecce autem in Maria virtutis omnis exemplar vere bonus et providens Deus constituit nobis aptissimum: eamque oculis et cogitatione intuentes, non animos, quasi divini numinis fulgore perstricti, despondemus, sed ex ipsa allekti communis propinquitate naturae, fidentius ad imitationem enitimur. Cui studio si nos, ea maxime adiuvante, totos dediderimus, licebit profecto virtutis tantae sanctitatisque lineamenta saltem exprimere, et quam admirabiliter tenuit ad omnia Dei consilia aequabilitatem vitae, referentes, ipsam licebit subsequi ad caelum.

<sup>1</sup> Rom. viii. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Gal. ii. 20.

Iam nos peregrinationem eo susceptam, quamvis aspera multisque sit difficultatibus impedita, animose fortiterque insistamus; neve molestiam inter et laborem cessemus tendere ad Mariam suppliciter manus in eas Ecclesiae voces: *Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle . . . illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte; Vitam praeista puram, iter para tutum, ut videntes Iesum, semper collaetemur.*<sup>1</sup> At illa, quae, tametsi nullam in se passa, debilitatem naturae nostrae vitiositatemque pernoscit, quaeque matrum omnium est optima et studiosissima, quam nobis opportune prolixèque subveniet, quanta et caritate reficiet et virtute firmabit! Per iter euntibus, divino Christi sanguine et Mariae lacrimis consecratum, certus erit nobis nec difficilis exitus ad societatem quoque beatissimae eorum gloriae fruendam.

Ergo Rosarium Mariae Virginis, in quo apte utiliterque habentur coniuncta et eximia precationis formula et idoneum fidei conservandae instrumentum et insigne specimen perfectae virtutis, dignum plane est quod veri nominis christianis sit frequenter in manibus piaque recitatione et meditatione colatur.

Haec autem commendata singulariter volumus ei *Consociationi*, quam nuper etiam laudavimus legitimeque probavimus, a *Sacra Familia* appellatam. Si quidem illud Christi Domini mysterium, quod vitam intra parietes Nazarethanae domus tacitam abditamque diu transegerit, eidem Consociationi dat causam, ita ut ad exemplar Familiae sanctissimae divinitus constitutae sese christianae familiae curent sedulo conformare, iam eius perspicua est cum Rosario singularis quaedam coniunctio; qua praesertim attinet ad mysteria gaudiorum, in eo ipso conclusa quum Iesus, post declaratam in templo sapientiam suam, cum Maria et Iosepho *venit Nazareth et erat subditus illis*, cetera quasi instruens mysteria, quae hominum doctrinam et redemptionem propius efficerent. Quare videant Consociati omnes quam sit suum, cultores Rosarii atque etiam propagatores sese diligentes praebere.

Quantum est ex Nobis, rata firmaque habemus sacrae indulgentiae munera, superioribus annis concessa, eorum gratia qui octobrem mensem rite ad ea ipsa praescripta egerint: vestrae autem, Venerabiles Fratres, auctoritati et sollertiae valde tribuimus, ut par atque antea in catholicis gentibus caleat religio et

<sup>1</sup> *Ex. Sac. liturg.*

contentio sancta ad Virginem, Christianorum Adiutricem, Rosarii prece colendam.

At vero, unde exorsa est cohortatio Nostra, inde placet ad exitum pergat, iterum apertiusque testando quem foveamus erga magnam Dei Genitricem animum et memorem beneficiorum et spei plenum laetissimae. Suffragia christiani populi ad eius aras pientissime supplicantis aequae rogamus Ecclesiae causa, tam adversis turbulentisque iactatae temporibus, aequae rogamus causa Nostra, qui devexa aetate, defessi laboribus, difficillimis rerum constricti angustiis, nullis hominum fulti subsidiis, ipsius gubernacula Ecclesiae tractamus. Nempe in Maria, potente et benigna matre, spes Nostra exploratior quotidie augescit, iucundius arridet. Cuius deprecationi si plurima eaque praeclara beneficia a Deo accepta referimus, id quoque effusioe gratia referimus quod iamiam detur quinquagesimum diem anniversarium attingere ex quo sumus episcopali ordine consecrati.

Magnum sane hoc est respicientibus tam diuturnum pastoralis muneris spatium, quantum praecipue, quotidiano sollicitudine agitatum, adhuc impendimus christiano gregi universo regendo. Quo Nobis in spatio, ut est hominum vita, ut sunt Christi et Matris mysteria, nec defuerunt gaudiorum causae, et plures acerbaeque admixtae sunt causae dolorum, gloriandi in Christo praemiis quoque delatis: eaque Nos omnia, demissa Deo aequaliter mente gratoque animo, convertere ad Ecclesiae bonum et ornamentum studuimus. Nunc iam, nec enim dissimiliter reliqua vita decurret, si vel nova affulgeant gaudia vel impendeant dolores, siqua gloriae accessura sint decora, eadem Nos mente eodemque animo constantes, et gloriam unice appetentes a Deo caelestem, davidica illa iuvabunt: *Sit nomen Domini benedictum: Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam.*<sup>1</sup> Equidem a filiis Nostris, quorum in Nos videmus studia tam pie et benevole incensa, potius quam gratulationes et laudes, summas Deo optimo grates precesque et vota magnopere expectamus; maxime laetati si hoc Nobis impetrent, ut quantum virum et vitae supersit, quantum resideat auctoritatis et gratiae, tantum Ecclesiae omnino accidat salutare, in primis ad infensos et devios, quos iamdudum vox Nostra invitat, reducendos reconciliandos. Omnibus autem dilectissimis filiis, ex proxima, Deo donante, faustitate et laetitia Nostra, iustitiae, pacis, prosperitatis, sanctimoniae, bonorum omnium affluent munera: hoc paterna

<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxii. 2; cxiii. 1.

caritate a Deo adprecamur, hoc eloquiis eius commonemus: *Obaudite me . . . et quasi rosa plantata super rivos aquarum fructificate: quasi Libanus odorem suavitatis habete. Florete flores quasi lilium, et date odorem et frondete in gratiam, et collaudate canticum et benedicite Dominum in operibus suis. Date nomini eius magnificentiam, et confitemini illi in voce labiorum vestrorum et in canticis et citharis . . . , in omni corde et ore collaudate et benedicite nomen Domini.*<sup>1</sup>

Quibus consiliis et optatis si forte illuserint nefarii homines, qui *quaecumque ignorant, blasphemant*, parcat illis clementer Deus; ut ipse autem propitius, exorante sacratissimi Rosarii Regina, obsecundet, habete auspiciū, Venerabiles Fratres, idemque pignus benevolentiae Nostrae, Apostolicam benedictionem, quam singulis vobis et clero populoque vestro peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die VIII Septembris anno MDCCCXII, Pontificatus Nostri quintodecimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

## Notices of Books.

THEOLOGIA PASTORALIS COMPLECTENS PRACTICAM INSTITUTIONEM CONFESSARII. Auctore, Jos. Aertnys, C.S.S.R., Theologiae Moralis et S. Liturgiae Professore. Pp. 274, Tornaci. Casterman, 1892.

Those who have read *Theologia Moralis juxta Doctrinam S. Alphonsi*, by Rev. Father Aertnys, priest of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, will gladly welcome his *Theologia Pastoralis*. It is indeed, as he says, "Complimentum meae Theologiae Moralis." But while this is true, it is nevertheless a complete work in itself. It supposes, and rightly, that when a student has well mastered the principles of moral theology, he still needs instruction in the manner in which these principles are to be used, he needs to be brought face to face with the various classes of persons with whom he will have to deal. This is one of the objects which Father Aertnys keeps steadily in view; and that he may succeed all the better, he begins with the portrait, so to speak, of a good confessor.

<sup>1</sup> Eccli. xxxix. 17-20, 41.

The first part, therefore, is “De Dotibus Confessarii.” This is divided into four chapters. In the first chapter he shows the necessity of knowledge in a confessor—knowledge which must be wide and practical. Nothing can supply a want of theological knowledge in a confessor. “Non dotes ingenii,” he says, “neque experientia aut confessionalis usus, nam experientia sine praevia scientia non est ut plurimum nisi diuturna errandi consuetudo” (page 6). In this chapter he answers objections, or, more properly speaking, *dicta* confessoriorum. For example, “Episcopus me approbavit, ergo idoneus sum et competenti scientia polleo;” or, “Scientia moralis in recto iudicio fundatur, adeoque bonus tantum requiritur sensus ut quis sese rite gerere valet;” or, “Praxis differt a theoria.” We give his answer to this last *dictum*. “Effatum hoc potest bonum vel malum sensum habere. Si intelligatur longe difficilius esse in praxim redigere sacramenti Poenitentiae regulas quam illas addiscere verissima est sententia et inde inferendum est doctissimo quoque confessario lumine suo fidendum non esse, sed indesinenter opem Dei oratione adscendendam. Si eo sensu intelligatur, in quo illud indocti usurpant confessarii, videlicet quod theoretice verum est, practice non semper verum esse, neque fieri posse ut traditae a theologis regulas serventur, profecto perniciosissimus error est” (page 7. n. 3). The second chapter treats of the necessity of prudence in a confessor; how he may acquire it, increase it, and use it. In the third chapter the author treats shortly, but to the point, on the zeal, purity, charity, and fortitude which every good confessor should possess. His zeal is a “sacrificium Deo oblatum;” his purity should be great, “dum alios sordibus mundat, ne ipse in peccatorum attritione sordescat;” his charity should extend to all; his fortitude should fear none. In the fourth chapter is found useful matter, “de vitiis confessario vitandis, sc. incuria salutis animarum, vanitas, hominum timor, partium studium, imprudentia, rigor et laxitas, anxietas demum animi abjectio.”

In the second part the author considers the confessor in his office of father, judge, and physician. In the chapter on the office of judge two articles are worthy of special note—one, “Praxis interrogandi Poenitentes,” in which the author gives general rules as to what the confessor should ask, and how, and special rules, “de sexto praecepto, de iis qui peccata sua reticent, et de questionibus rudibus faciendis.” He gives a special and very useful paragraph under the heading, “Quaestiones faciendae

personis diversae conditionis conscentiam neglectum habentibus." The other article is, "Praxis impertiendi vel differendi absolutionem." We think that in treating cases in which penitents are either "occasionarii" or "recidivi" he does well to remind us, both of "prudens rigor" and "prudens clementia." "Si enim calamum quassatum confringat (confessarius) et ejusmodi homines dispondere faciat, malum mire augebatur; plurimi exinde in vitiis suis computrescent, quia vel a confessario duram repulsam retulerunt, vel de sua emendatione penitus desperant" (p. 56, n. 4).

The third part, which is by far the longest, treats "De Praxe servanda in confessionibus particularium personarum." The mere mention of the persons on whose condition he gives practical advice would more than fill a page. For example, in the first chapter, he has articles on the "modus se gerendi confessarii erga blasphemos, obligatos ad restitutionem, implicatos odio et inimicitia, infectos luxuria, *Liberales*, massones, haereticos, reos in cacere detentos." He gives clear instructions on the treatment of children, youths, women, on the choice of a state of life, married persons, nuns, priests, the tempted, scrupulous, &c. Under the heading "Modus se gerendi habita satione conditionis corporis," the author treats of the different temperaments and the care of the sick and dying. Many a neo-confessarius will be glad to find in one short paragraph the signs of approaching death: "imminentis et oppetitae mortis signa" (p. 195). In the sixth chapter he draws very clearly the line which divides persons who are really devout from those who are sham devotees—"personae specie devotae," as he puts it. This is followed by a chapter which cannot be too highly praised. In a small compass he treats very fully of all who tend to perfection. This is exceedingly useful for the priest himself, who certainly ought to tend to perfection, and necessary, moreover, in order to direct rightly souls called to perfection. The confessor should know what perfection is—its degrees, the means of acquiring it, and the impediments to it: these and all necessary instruction for the direction of persons who tend to perfection, whether living in the world or in convents, he will find in the eighth article of the seventh chapter.

Lastly, Rev. Fr. Aertnys treats fully of general confession and the utility of missions. "Ad persudendam," he writes, "utilitatem generalium confessionum nihil magis conducit quam gravissima testimonia allegare sanctorum missionariorum, sanctorum episcoporum, et ipsorum summorum Pontificum." He then cites

the testimony of Benedict XIV.: "Licet non sit de necessitate iterum confiteri eadem peccata, tamen propter erubescantiam quae est magna poenitentiae pars, ut eorundem peccatorum iteretur confessio, reputamus salubre." So, too, St. Charles Borromeo writes: "Confessarii pro cujusvis personae qualitate opportuno tempore et loco ad generalem quamdam confessionem poenitentes exhortentur." St. Francis de Sales, St. Vincent de Paul, Urban VIII., Innocent XII., St. Ignatius, Ven. Fr. Segnori, all bear testimony to the utility of general confessions. The author concludes with the words of St. Alphonsus: "Unumquemque hortor ut nisi adhuc fecerit peccata omnia quae unquam in vita sua commisit confiteatur" (p. 243).

All this is said, of course, in general. Father Aertnys then shows clearly for whom a general confession is *necessary*, for whom *useful*, and for whom *hurtful*. This is followed by details of the manner in which a general confession should be made, and a "Catalogus Peccatorum." We note that he puts *peccata luxuriae* in the first place. The reason, no doubt, is no other than the difficulty which the penitent finds in confessing such sins: these once confessed, the rest of the confession is comparatively easy. The connection between general confessions and missions is obvious. This the author points out, as well as other fruits derived from missions properly given.

Rev. Father Aertnys' work bears the impress of long study and practical experience. While adhering to St. Alphonsus throughout, he makes use of almost every writer who has treated satisfactorily the matters which he treats. The work, all in Latin, as it should be, is written in a very simple and clear style. It is very carefully brought out. The substance of each paragraph is clearly indicated on the margin, which is a great advantage for study and reference. It will, we venture to hope, prove a most useful manual to all confessors; for although it has been written, as the author says in the preface, "in gratiam juniorum confessoriorum," yet, he adds, "nihil ominis etiam confessarii eruditi longa experientia docti non pauca fortasse in hoc opusculo invenient quae et ipsis quoque lumen et opem latura sint." He finishes his book with the candid avowal: "Si quid minus rectum scripserim ad emendandum paratus sum," because his one desire is that the Church should have good confessors.

NOTRE SEIGNEUR JESUS CHRIST DANS SON SAINT EVANGILE.

Par H. Lesètre, du Clergé de Paris. Paris : Lethielleux, 1892.

NEARLY a quarter of a century ago the Christian world was scandalized by the publication in Catholic France of a Life of our Lord, written with great literary skill, and with much poetic power, by the apostate seminarist, Monsieur Rénan, a book which was, perhaps, the ablest and most attractive contribution to the infidel literature of the present generation. On the principle that "like cares like," we have been glad to welcome more than one Life of our Lord, which have appeared in France since Rénan wrote, and which, although perhaps they may be unable to boast of the same felicity of style, and the like picturesque imagery, have been the result of more solid study and deeper research, and above all, have approached their sacred subject in the reverent spirit of the Catholic faith.

The volume before us, *Notre Seigneur Jesus Christ dans Son Saint Evangile*, is the latest work of this description which has been brought to our notice. As its title implies, it concerns itself exclusively with the Life of our Lord as it stands revealed in the fourfold Gospel; and employing the actual text of Scripture so far as may be possible, it only uses original matter as a necessary link to explain what might otherwise be obscure. The main object of the work is to increase the study of the Holy Scriptures by pious people who are untroubled by doubts, and who are quite willing simply to accept the teaching of the Catholic Church. Addressed to these, it avoids all controversy as unnecessary, although where the Gospel story, or its orthodox interpretation, are special subjects of attack, our author allows us to see that he has trustworthy authority for his words, and for the explanations which he considers correct.

We especially welcome this work as likely to induce lay Catholics to study seriously for themselves the life of our Blessed Lord as it reveals itself in Scripture, being convinced that were they more zealously to do so, a greater increase of solid piety would be the result. As our author truly observes, we may be said to possess three books, each written in very diverse characters, but each teaching us the story of our divine Saviour's work of redemption. In the Gospels we find it clearly written and openly taught, so that he who runs may read: in the Holy Eucharist

the same blessed work speaks in silent words to the devout soul, and the hidden Manna reveals its true significance to those who seek it; whilst in the Crucifix we find both the outward word and the hidden God united. In other words, the Gospels exhibited our Lord in His work and life, but they do not actually contain Him; the Holy Eucharist contains Him, but He lies hidden behind the common materials of our daily life; whilst on the Cross of Calvary, of which the Crucifix is but an image, the faithful may adore both the outward and visible figure of the Man and the hidden God, who awhile conceals His majesty and power. The two last-named means of grace are daily and hourly before a Catholic's eye, and venerated in his heart; and that the third should more widely assume its proper place in the life of the ordinary Christian, is greatly to be wished. We admit to the full, that nothing can take the place of the worship which is lavishly and generously poured forth before the Blessed Sacrament in these happy days of frequent masses, benedictions, and expositions; or, again, that contemplating the figure of our Lord extended on the Cross in devout meditation, is a great help in realising the agony and sorrow caused by our sins, and which was the price paid for our redemption, is a powerful incentive to holy living. Yet, whilst not for a moment depreciating either of these helps to a devout life, we see no reason why the third should not be as extensively used by Catholics; and we could wish that the study of our Lord's life and actions should form as distinctly a part of his religious life as do his daily attendance at Mass and his constant prayer before the Crucifix. Such works as the one before us helps in this practice, and for this reason above all, we feel grateful to Père Lesêtre for the care and study with which he has successfully accomplished his labour of love.

SLAVERY AND SERFDOM IN EUROPE. By Canon Brownlow.  
London: Burns & Oates.

THE aim of the learned writer in this beautiful little work has been to show how tenderly, and with what prudence, the Church has cut out and destroyed this dreadful curse of slavery. He devotes his attention chiefly to the indirect action of the Church in the emancipation of the slave, rather than to any direct efforts she made for the liberation of the bondman. In the words of our Holy Father Pope Leo XIII., "The Church has depre-

cated any precipitate action in securing the liberation of the slaves, because that would have entailed tumults and wrought injury as well to the slaves themselves as to the commonwealth ; but with singular wisdom she has seen that the minds of the slaves should be instructed through her discipline in the Christian faith, and with baptism should acquire habits suitable to the Christian life."

From the time when the Christian Emperor Justinian declared that slavery was founded on the law of nations, contrary to the law of nature, there has been no reserve in the language of Christian authorities on the inherent wrong of slavery. The letter of his present Holiness Leo XIII. to the Bishops of Brazil, in clear and persuasive words, traces the action of the Church in grappling with this gigantic evil. The author gives a very striking and graphic account of the heroic and persevering struggle against slavery made in the Middle Ages by those religious Orders, which devoted themselves to the great work of the redemption of captives. Towards the end of the twelfth century the Trinitarians and the Order of Mercy achieved, by incessant labour, by torture, and even by martyrdom, the ransom of poor captive Christians held in slavery by the Moors. Canon Brownlow limits himself almost entirely to slavery and serfdom in Europe, touching very lightly upon slavery in the British colonies. He begins with a very interesting lecture on slavery in the Roman Empire, and paints for us a frightful picture of the evils it entailed. He then passes in review the different countries in Europe where slavery existed, and the influences that co-operated towards its abolition. The subject is indeed very well handled, and though scarcely a very interesting one, still, from the simple and entertaining style of the book, the graphic and powerful pictures he gives of the misery and degradation of slavery, the narrative becomes more absorbing, and one comes to the conclusion, after reading the book, that the subject of it is well worth knowing, and that the treatment of it has been both judicious and highly satisfactory.

J. D.

THE ROMAN QUESTION. By Dr. Shroeder, D.D., Ph. D., University, Washington. New York : Benziger Brothers.

THIS little work from the pen of the distinguished Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the University of Washington, puts, in a very clear and lucid way, the attitude and duties of American

Catholics on the question of the temporal sovereignty of the Holy Father. What the distinguished author proposed to himself primarily was: How the Roman Question should be regarded from a Catholic point of view, indicating the principal considerations which should be taken into account in a true conception and solution of it, to disengage it from the prejudices and ambiguities with which it is oftentimes surrounded. Hence the learned writer does not confine his view to the mere theological aspect of the question, but brings within the range of the subject-matter he discusses many questions that lie within the scope of philosophy and international law.

He treats of the subject under three headings:—1st. The opportuneness of the discussion; 2nd. The Catholic position; 3rd. What should be the solution of *The Roman Question*, and the duty of all true Catholics in reference to it.

As to the first point. "The Pope," he says, "according to Catholic doctrine, is not only the infallible teacher, but also the supreme ruler of the Church. A Catholic owes the assent of faith to his doctrinal definitions, and perfect obedience to his orders and precepts. Entire docility in both cases is the characteristic of every true Catholic." The Holy Father himself never ceases to advocate his claims to the temporal power. "Never," says he "shall we abstain from claiming that freedom be again restored to the Holy See by the recovery of the temporal power." And he repeatedly calls upon the Catholics of the whole world to second his efforts in defence of his rights, and the restoration of his territorial independence. A Catholic, then, is bound to defend the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, because of the intimate relation existing between it and the divinely ordained independence and freedom of the head of the Church. Every Catholic knows that the Pope has the right and duty to rule the Church in perfect independence of any earthly power. The right of this independence is essential to the Papacy. The exercise of that right, however, is not absolutely necessary to the existence of the Church (*ut Ecclesia sit*), but it is necessary for the perfect development of its social life (*ut bene sit*). Providence availed itself of the temporal power as a means to secure to the Popes the free and undisturbed development of their sublime prerogatives. The freedom and independence of the head of the Church was, by divine providence, to foster its steady growth, and thus it came to pass that the Popes acquired the temporal dominion over Rome. The legitimacy of the temporal power has ever been regarded as a

settled question, which no unbiassed historian has ever disputed. The learned writer then gives us a summary of the Catholic dogma of the *Primacy*, which includes two things: 1st. "That it was instituted by Christ in St. Peter; 2nd. That the Bishop of Rome alone was the successor of St. Peter, and it is only as Bishop of Rome that the Popes succeed St. Peter, and possess the plenitude of Apostolic power. The Primacy then, *jure Divino*, belongs to the Bishop of Rome alone, and cannot be transferred even by the Pope himself to another see." What then becomes of the argument of those who say, "Let the Pope look for a free abode elsewhere"?

The necessity of the temporal power has been affirmed by many declarations of Pius IX. and Leo XIII. But it may be asked: Do these declarations involve an infallible judgment to which Catholics are bound to respond by an act of faith (*fide mediante Divina*)? In other words, must Catholics accept the teaching of the Church when she pronounces *definitely* on facts connected with revealed truths? It is certain that the temporal power is necessary for the well-being of the Church; but it is equally certain that it cannot be a dogma of faith. But the sincere Catholic does not limit his obedience to dogmas alone; he gives it to all the doctrines and teaching of the Church. Now, this doctrine of the Church embraces besides dogmas many truths which are connected with dogma by an exterior and an interior bond. In the latter category may be found the Church's frequent declarations regarding the temporal power. The sound teaching of the learned author on many other aspects of this very important question will be read with very deep interest by the student of theology. His views are very clear, and his arguments both lucid and convincing. The pamphlet will well repay perusal.

J. D.

THE HAIL MARY. By J. P. Val. D'Eremao. London: Burns & Oates.

AFTER the "Our Father" there is no prayer so common among the faithful as the "Angelic Salutation." It has been the custom of Catholics from very early times to repeat the "Hail Mary" after the "Lord's Prayer." Cardinal Bellarmine assigns us the reasons for this practice. "We have," says he, "no more powerful patron and advocate with our Lord than His mother; therefore, no sooner have we said the prayer which He

Himself taught us, than we forthwith turn to His mother, that by her advocacy she may aid us to obtain these requests which we have just made in the "Lord's Prayer."

The work of the Very Rev J. P. Val. D'Eremao, D.D., is the only popular book we have ever met with expressly treating of every single word of the "Hail Mary." It is a work especially written for the purpose of conveying a clear and distinct idea of every part of this favourite and important prayer.

Within the compass of 250 pages we have a neat little volume, which pretends to little more than clearness and simplicity, combined with fulness and exactness. It is a book that lays no claim to eloquence; withal it is pregnant enough to furnish matter for meditation, and full enough for sufficient instruction; exact in theological expression and historical accuracy, yet simple enough for every intelligence. The "Hail Mary" is a beautiful prayer for every child of the Catholic Church. It is a prayer that warms the heart with an ardent affection towards her in whose honour it was composed. It is true of it likewise, that it is a prayer full of deep mysteries and hidden meanings, and we have become so familiar with it from childhood, that the striking and impressive words of which it is composed, fail often to impress us with their full significance and importance. No one who reads this little volume can fail to be struck with the vivid and lively pictures the author draws in making clear the sense and force of the words of the "Hail Mary." We see things in a different light, and our memories are refreshed by the bright imagery he employs to bring truths more keenly home to the mind.

Such a book is a useful and an agreeable companion. To it we can turn from time to time with infinite satisfaction and delight. It will call back happy days and innocent recollections of that time of life when the "Hail Mary" was lisped at the knees of a fond mother. We can take it with us, and ponder over the good thoughts it suggests, and many a trouble will be made less burdensome, and many a care less harassing, by the practical remarks with which it abounds, and the wholesome lessons it teaches.

J. D.

# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

---

NOVEMBER, 1892.

---

## ST. LIVINUS OF GHENT.

WHOEVER wishes to judge of the merits, as a painter, of Peter Paul Rubens, must visit Belgium. The few works of the master which we possess in our galleries in Dublin and London give but a very partial idea of his peculiar gifts. Were we to know him only through those specimens of his composition now in the Louvre, most of which were executed for the glory of Mary of Medicis and of Henry of Navarre, we should miss the noblest part of his character, and, perhaps, even find little to admire beyond the colours and profusion of his pictures. The scattered canvases that represent him in the *Palazzo Pitti* in Florence, and in the galleries of Munich, Rome, and other European cities, give no complete or satisfactory view of his capacity and characteristics. It is only in his native land, and particularly at Antwerp and Brussels, that we can see him in all the variety and perfection of his powers. As we witness that extraordinary display it is impossible not to be impressed with the magnitude of what one man of genius can do for the glory of his country; and it is equally impossible to divest ourselves of the thought, that in painting, as in music and poetry, religion, and religion alone, has been able to inspire man with the noblest conceptions, and to give to the works of his hands an interest of permanent duration. There are two characteristics of the paintings of Rubens which even still provoke the envy of all artists whether young or old. We mean the boldness of the design

as it stands out in all its details in the conception of the author, and the wonderful blending of strong colours, which give to the whole production a character of strength, and at the same time of harmony, which has the merit of pleasing as much as it attracts.

These general thoughts on the painter and his works occupied our mind as, passing one afternoon last summer through the museum of Brussels, we came into one of the large halls of the gallery which contains several of his master-pieces. In a great picture to the right hand, as one enters, our Lord is represented on the road to Calvary. The deep sorrow of the Passion is already on His brow. Exhausted by the terrible scourging at the pillar and by the weight of the immense burden that oppressed Him, He is allowed to pause for a moment, whilst Mary Magdalen, with a look of inexpressible tenderness and compassion, wipes the forehead, from which blood had already flown in the Garden of Olives, and which is now torn by the merciless thorns. The figures of the Jews around are lifelike with cruelty and hatred. It is altogether a scene not soon to be forgotten. On the opposite side, and as a pendant to this, Our Lady appears ascending into heaven. She is accompanied by joyful troops of angels. On the earth beneath are the Apostles, and the friends of her humble life. As they gaze with wonder and love at the Virgin's triumph, they are evidently filled with confidence that, as they shared to some extent, at least, her sufferings and sacrifice, they are one day also to have a part in her glory.

But, imposing and attractive as these pictures are, the attention of the visitor is soon diverted from them by another. It hangs on the centre of the transverse wall, between the two already mentioned. At a distance the colours appear unusually strong; but they are of so fine a tone, and merge so imperceptibly into one another, and present so perfect a combination, that no one can object to their strength. Besides they are in perfect keeping with the subject they portray; for, as one approaches a little nearer, the canvas reveals a spectacle, the terrible reality of which at once engages the fancy and marks on it an indelible

impression. There, an aged bishop is held in the grip of two desperate assassins. He is clad in pontifical robes, with stole and cope. His mitre and crozier lie at his feet on the ground. One of his villainous assailants has just extracted his tongue with an iron forceps, and is in the act of casting it to a dog bounding to devour it. The other miscreant holds the saintly victim by the throat or chin, and his sinewy hands are stained with blood, which flows from the cruel wounds inflicted by his accomplice. The face of the brave and resolute martyr wears a look of intense pain mingled with pity. It is already well worn by fasts and vigils and anxious suffering. The pallor of death is now upon it; but it is nevertheless lighted by a reflection of the divine compassion, and upheld by the power of that regenerating love which sustained the King of Martyrs in His final hours. And as an angel from heaven came to comfort the Model and the Master, when the world had abandoned Him, and when even His most cherished disciples left Him alone to realize the bitterness of the chalice that awaited Him, so now a number of angels appear in the heavens, in the serenity of their power, hastening to banish the tormentors of His servant, and to strengthen him with heavenly consolation before the final sacrifice was demanded of him.<sup>1</sup> If we do not recognise at once the scene thus depicted, we are reminded by the inscription at the foot of the picture—"Martyre de St. Liévin"—that it represents an episode in the martyrdom of one of those great countrymen of ours who left Ireland in the seventh century to preach the Gospel on the continent of Europe.

For more than twelve hundred years St. Livinus has been honoured as patron of the city of Ghent<sup>2</sup> and of the

<sup>1</sup> "Il est impossible, de regarder cette composition éminemment remarquable sans tressaillir et sentir la douleur dans tous ses membres. Le supplice du saint est horrible: On dirait qu'on voit palpiter la toile. Des anges armés de la foudre s'élancent contre ses bourreaux; ceux-ci se précipitent les uns contre les autres: c'est un mouvement, une vie, impossible à rendre par la parole."—M. Richard, *La Belgique*, page 95.

<sup>2</sup> Whilst St. Bavo is the titular patron of the Cathedral of Ghent, St. Livinus is the *patrons loci*, not only of the city, but of the whole surrounding country.

surrounding country of Alost ; and the Catholics of Brabant and Flanders still venerate him to-day, not only as one of the first and most generous apostles of their native land, but also as a powerful protector who watched over their interests with loving care during the long trials and vicissitudes of their history.

As to the Irish nationality of St. Livinus, there is not the slightest doubt. A few obscure writers have endeavoured to deny it, but with no success.<sup>1</sup> It is always the old error arising from the name of *Scotia*. The oldest life of the saint now extant is that published by Serarius and Mabillon. It is the work, not of the great St. Boniface, as some thought, but of a monk named Boniface,<sup>2</sup> who lived in the monastery of St. Bavo at Ghent, and probably wrote about the commencement of the eleventh century. He mentions *Scotia only* as the fatherland of Livinus ; but since the dissertations of Ward, Ussher, Gerebertus, and others, we know that Ireland alone had hitherto been designated by that name. Ireland's claim has, therefore, not only been upheld by all our native historians, but has been fully admitted by such writers as Mabillon, Molanus, Baronius, &c.<sup>3</sup> It has in its favour, besides, the constant tradition of Belgium itself, as is manifest from the popular Lives of the saint that have appeared in Flemish or in French for several centuries. Thus in the *Vie de St. Lièvin*, by the Abbé de Clercq, published in 1662, the saint's Irish origin is recognised ; as also in the Flemish works of Adrian Van Loo<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de Saint Lièvin*, par M. l'Abbé Robert, Curé de Transloy.

<sup>2</sup> Gotselinus, a monk of Canterbury and biographer of St. Augustine, states that the Life of St. Livinus was first written by his three disciples—Foillan, Helia, and Killian. “ Qui etiam describendis ipsius gestis probatissimi auctores claruerunt.” It is possible that this Life may have been in the hands of Boniface. If such were the case the immense number of miracles attributed to the saint by his later biographer would have much more authority and certitude than they could possess coming from one who was not a contemporary or witness of them.

<sup>3</sup> See Lanigan's *History*, vol. ii., page 468 ; Ussher, *De Britan. Eccl. Primordiis*, chap. xvi. ; Molanus, *Natales Sanctorum Belgii*, xii. Nov. Gerebertus ; *Historia Nigrae Silvæ*.

<sup>4</sup> *Levens der Heilige van Nederland*, vol. i.

and of the Jesuit Hillegeer.<sup>1</sup> But by far the most popular Life of the saint in Belgium, at the present time, is that of the Abbé de Smet, Canon of the Cathedral of Ghent, who all through his work ridicules the ignorance of those who confound Scotia with Scotland in these distant times.<sup>2</sup>

According to the oldest authorities, therefore, St. Livinus was born towards the end of the sixth century.<sup>3</sup> His father, Theagnis, was a man of the highest rank, next to the king; and his mother, Agalmia, is said to have been of royal extraction. Many prodigies are related of the birth and infancy of the child, who was, undoubtedly, the object of singular graces. He was baptized by a bishop named Menalchius,<sup>4</sup> a relative of his father's, in presence of the king and chieftains; and, as both his parents were admirable Christians, he was brought up in the greatest purity and innocence. At a suitable age he was placed for instruction under the care of a priest named Benignus, with whom he made considerable progress not only in the sciences and liberal arts then taught, but also in piety and grace.

While thus engaged at his studies, probably at Armagh, his father and mother died; and, soon after, death deprived

<sup>1</sup> *Belgie en Zijne Heiligen*, door. Z. Hillegeer, vol. i., page 209:—"De H. Livinus werd in Ierland geboren. Zijn vader heete Theagnis. Hij had eenen oom, den broeder van zijne moeder, met name Menhaleh, die bisschop was en zich met de opvoeding van den jongen Livinus belastte," &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Vie de Saint Lièvin, Patron de Gand et Apôtre du Pays d'Alost*, par J. de Smet, Chanoine-Pénitencier de la Cathédrale de Gand. Gand. Vanryckegem. Lepère. 1857.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Lanigan says that it must have been during the reign of Colman Rimhe (599-605); but if that were the case we should have to give up the visit of Livinus to St. Augustine of Canterbury, which appears pretty well established.

<sup>4</sup> "Tempore igitur quo Colomagnus, inclutus rex Scottorum in Christianae religionis vir magnificus polleret virtutibus et scepra regni et imperialis monarchiae columnen superna providentia auspicialiter gubernaret, erat quidam senator Scottigena nomine Theagnius, expectabili stemmate, nativae nobilitatis excellentissimus, ipsius regis optimaturn princeps et prae cunctis amicis suis Primatibus archialiter apicem gerens. Habuit autem conjugem Agalmiam nomine, venusta prosapia, et meritis praeclueum, filiam videlicet Ephigenii Hibernensium regis clarissimi. Qui Domino inspirante, pari confoederati spiritu, Divinisque praeincti legibus, mirae virtutis fulsere insigniis. Et quos Dominus sua perlustraverat gratia, tali dignatus est consolari gloria."—*Vita Bonifacii*.

him also of his worthy preceptor. Left now alone, he repeated to himself the words of the Psalmist, “*Pater meus et mater mea dereliquerunt me, Dominus autem assumpsit me;*” and taking with him three companions, he retired into a desert place to prepare himself, in the practice of prayer and of austere virtue, for the preaching of the Gospel. The life which the young anchorite led in this retreat is said to have been one of extreme rigour; and the fame of his sanctity had gone so much abroad, that the King was impressed by it, and sent messengers to beg of him to come to enlighten the household of the royal palace by his virtue and good example. In the hope of being able to reform abuses, and especially of being in a position the more effectually to assist the poor, Livinus left his solitude, and began the active ministry to which he was called. But feeling before long that his theological education was not yet complete, he set sail for England, and went to spend five years under the guidance and instruction of St. Augustine of Canterbury, who had come from Rome, at the request of Pope Gregory, to preach the Gospel to the Anglo-Saxons. Having been ordained a priest by Augustine, Livinus returned again to Ireland, and on the death of his uncle, the Bishop Menalchius, he was chosen to succeed him.

We are told that as a bishop Livinus was a model of every virtue; that for the afflicted, in particular, he was always actuated by the most tender and active charity;<sup>1</sup> that he was accustomed to wash the feet of the poor and the stranger; and, with rare generosity, to supply them with food and raiment. Nor was he wanting in solicitude for those whom the pride of birth, or abundance of riches, expose to

<sup>1</sup> “*Inopes in eorum necessitatibus magnifice relevabat, propriisque manibus eorum pedes abluebat, cibum potumque largissimus administrabat ac vestimenta egentibus ditissime largitus est. Erat quoque virtutis amator, humilitatis flos, lucernae justitiae, castitatis gemma, sobrietatis norma; in cunctis vero studiis suis insudabat quo virtutum universarum exemplum fieret et dux. Fuit subjectis mitis, potentibus affabilis. Apostolica imbutus doctrina, omnibus omnia factus ut omnes lucrificeret, altiores se honore praeveniebat dum subjectes sibi paterno amore confovebat.*”

greater dangers. Without fear, as without human respect, but always with gentleness and benignity, he instructed them in their duties, and endeavoured to gain all, without distinction, to the practice of virtue. We can not dwell here on the many wonders and miracles that are related of this part of his life.

The Bishop had now reached a mature age, but on account of his simple and frugal habits of life, he still retained all the vigour of youth. He was distinguished, according to his first historian, by noble features and an attractive figure.<sup>1</sup> His body was slight, but well proportioned. He had a large forehead, and carried his head erect. His hair, originally fair, had become white, more from the cares of his ministry than from age. His bright and penetrating eyes proved at once the depth of his intelligence and the energy of his character. His whole person was calculated to inspire reverence and esteem.

In the midst of his occupations and prayers in Ireland, where the Church had already been firmly established, Livinus often heard a voice telling him of the wants of those unhappy nations that were still buried in the darkness of idolatry. Being convinced, in the course of time, that he was called to their assistance, he entrusted the charge of his diocese, in Ireland, to the Archdeacon Sylvan, whom he himself had trained; and taking with him once more his three faithful companions, Foillan, Helia, and Killian, he set out for Gaul. There is no record left of this important journey, but we are told that the zealous band of missionaries landed at the port of Wissant, in Flanders, and proceeded at once to preach the Gospel in the surrounding country.

Livinus now gave himself up with absolute devotion to the work that lay before him; for, as he himself tells us,

<sup>1</sup> And his biographer adds, after a very minute description of his appearance:—"Quanto vero pulchrius corporali persona exterius resplendebat, tanto fulgidius habitatore Spiritu Sancto interius coruscabat." See also *Acta Sanctorum Belgii*, tom iii., page 103. Abbé Gheslière.

having left his native land, and despising all perishable honours, God was henceforth everything to him :—

“Egressus patriam, pompæ mortalis honorem”

“Sprevi, devovi; spes Deus una mihi.”

Those who first heard the word of God from the Irish prelate were the inhabitants of Morinia, the district now situated between Calais and Gravelines. He made a short sojourn at Rentina, and another near Tarvenna, the modern Têrouanne. At the later place he established an oratory. It was built in a secluded spot, on the banks of a river, and in the centre of what nowadays appears a picturesque and smiling valley. On the ground thus sanctified a church was afterwards built, and around it grew an important town, which to this day bears the name of Merck-St.-Lievins. On the 12th of November every year crowds of pilgrims can be seen at Merck, who come to honour the memory of their apostle. From this resting-place Livinus made several apostolic excursions into the district of Gesoriacum, and as far as Bologne,<sup>1</sup> where he is still frequently invoked by the sailors in memory of the many miracles he performed in times of storm and peril.

Hearing, however, that still greater ignorance prevailed farther north, and that the interests of Morinia could soon be attended to by the zealous St. Omer, Livinus next started to evangelize the islands of Zeeland at the mouth of the Scheld. These marshy places were then inhabited by a wild and savage race called the Toxandri, given up to the grossest superstition and brutality. But the saint won them

<sup>1</sup> “De temps immémorial les marins de Boulogne, cette population énergique, restée stationnaire dans ses usages, ses mœurs et sa foi, ont toujours eu la plus grande confiance en St. Liévin, patron des matelots. Depuis bien des siècles, ils ont conçu et religieusement mis à exécution la pieuse pensée de venir chaque année déposer au pied de l’autel de ce saint évêque leurs prières, leurs vœux, leurs offrandes, leurs misères, leurs espérances; souvent ils ont ressenti les consolations les plus efficaces, grâce à l’intercession du bienheureux pontife dont ils se plaisent à publier la grandeur. C’est avec intérêt que nous avons entendu de jeunes et courageux marins raconter les témoignages qu’ils ont à invoquer en faveur de la dévotion qui annuellement les amène dans la modeste commune qui porte le nom et garde précieusement la relique de leur saint protecteur.” (M. de La Plane, Inspecteur des Monuments Historiques en France. Page 145.)

over in great numbers. He was particularly successful in the island of Schouwen, where he was held in such honour centuries afterwards that in 1378 Albert, Duke of Bavaria and Count of Holland and Zeeland, established in the church consecrated<sup>1</sup> to St. Livinus at Ziericzee, a chapter of twenty-four canons, to acknowledge the debt of the country to its first apostle.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, sowing on his way the fruitful seed, the Irish bishop arrived, in the month of July, 655, at the monastery which St. Amandus had built on the site of an old Roman *castrum*, and which was afterwards known as the Abbey of St. Bavo. The annals of this monastery, announcing the arrival of the saint and his companions, speak of him as "*Beatus Livinus, genere Scotus et Hiberniæ Archiepiscopus*;" which is quite correct, with the exception of the title *Archiepiscopus*, which did not then exist in Ireland. He was welcomed by the Abbot Florbertus and his monks with the greatest respect and cordiality. The saint remained for some time in the abbey, encouraged the studies of the monks, which were less advanced than those of the Irish monasteries, and celebrated Mass for thirty days on the tomb of St. Bavo, in order to invoke the blessing of heaven and of the saint on his future labours.

The district which was now to become the chief and final scene of his activity, was called Brachentesia. It extended from the Scheld as far as the sea on the north, to the Dyle on the east, and southwards as far as the Haine. It was inhabited by the wildest and most uncivilized of the Nervii, a race of splendid physique, but whom idolatry and vice had reduced to the condition of horses and mules in intelligence. Historians say that they were given to adultery, pillage, perjury, and murder. They were particularly opposed to the restraints of Christianity, and determined to resist it by every means in their power. Nothing daunted, however, the courageous bishop advanced amongst them; and although he met with rude opposition,

<sup>1</sup> Sinte Livins Munster.

<sup>2</sup> Van Meeris, *Groot Charterboek van Holland, Zeeland en Friesland*, tom. iii., page 343. *De Castillion Chron. Sacr. Belgii*, page 154.

yet, by his persuasive eloquence and frequent miracles, he succeeded in converting many to the true faith.

In order to have access to the different villages and hamlets that were scattered over the country around him, Livinus established himself in a central place called Holthem or Hauthem, where, on the first day of his arrival, he expelled a demon from one of the inhabitants, and restored sight to a young man who had been blind for thirteen years. The mother of this fortunate youth, the devoted Craphaïlde, offered hospitality to the saint and his companions; and here, during his intervals of repose, he composed, at the request of St. Florbert, often repeated, the beautiful Latin poem which was intended as an epitaph for the tomb of St. Bavo. This poem which has come down to us, may be found in full in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, by the French Benedictines. It is justly regarded by them as one of the most polished pieces of Latin composed in that age, and it is a high tribute to the ancient monastic schools of Ireland that such perfection in classical studies had been reached by them at a time when barbarism prevailed in the rest of Europe. The prelate mentions that he has neither the time for reflection nor that freedom from anxious cares which the poet requires, and which he enjoyed so much in his young days.

“ Exigui rivi, pauper quam vena ministrat,  
 Lasso vix tenues unda ministrat aquas,  
 Sic ego, qui quondam, studio florente, videbar  
 Esse poëta, modo curro pedester equo.  
 Et qui castalio dicebar fonte madentem  
 Dictaeo versu posse movere lyram.  
 Carmine nunc lacero dictant mihi verba camoenae  
 Mensque dolens, laetis apta nec est modulis,  
 Non sum qui fueram, festivo carmine laetus,  
 Qualiter esse queam, tela cruenta videns?  
 Accingar studio, quamvis non viribus aequis;  
 Est non posse leve, non renuisse bonum:  
 Ergo tibi tumultum scribens, Sanctissime Bavo,  
 Qui volo quod nequeo, quod valeo, facio.”

“ Thus [wrote the late Cardinal Pitra] the Irish Apostle, formerly bard and poet as well, was able to draw from his lyre, steeped in the Castalian fountain, the metre and harmony of

Pindar. Inspired by the heroism of the austere St. Bavo, he composed a glorious epitaph, and prophesied, in accents of lyric sweetness, his own approaching martyrdom, whilst, like the great classic poets, he foretold, at the same time, for his verses, the immortality which they deserved.”<sup>1</sup>

But, notwithstanding his many missionary successes, St. Livinus was well aware that he was surrounded by danger, and that the weapons of the impious were raised against him. Wicked men who felt his reproaches had already resolved on his destruction. Knowing their plots and projects, the saint did not hesitate to remind them of the frightful death of the impious, of the judgment that follows it, and of the eternity of pain by which sin is punished. It was in the midst of one of these discourses, delivered at his retreat at Hauthem, that his enemies rushed on him with fury, and perpetrated the horrible sacrilege represented so realistically in the picture of Rubens. But the punishment of the would-be assassins was instantaneous; and by a miracle, which is recorded in all the stories of the saint's life, his tongue was at once restored to him. It is added, moreover, that the soul of the saint was filled with delight immediately after, when our Lord,<sup>2</sup> radiant with glory, appeared to him, and addressed to him the consoling words: “Rejoice, beloved son, and work still with courage, for to-morrow I will receive thee into My kingdom, and thou shalt be happy with Me and with thy brethren for ever.”

Knowing, therefore, that his end was near, the saint summoned his disciples and followers together, spoke to them of the kingdom of heaven, exhorted them to remain firm

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Ord. Bened. Sacc.*, ii., ann. 653.

<sup>2</sup> “Apparuit ei Dominus Jesus Christus cum discipulis suis, magna luce circumfusus; dixitque illi. Gaude, dilecte mi, constanter operare; hodie circa horam sextam recipiam te in regnum meum et gaudebis mecum cum fratribus tuis in aeternum. Hac visione roboratus miles et amicus Dei, sciens diem remunerationis suae imminere sibi, mane illuscescente, plebem fidelium, qui per ejus doctrinam Christo crediderunt, convocavit. Quos, ut in via veritatis persisterent, admonuit, et ea quae ad regnum Dei pertinent, docuit. Et finito sermone benedixit eos et omnes adstantes ad pias flexit lacrymas et salutatis omnibus pie in Christo, invitis eis, abcessit.” (*Vita Bonifacii apud Mabillon*, vol ii., page 440.)

in the faith, and having moved them to tears, he took leave of each one and departed with his companions for the village of Elsea or Esshe, some miles distant from Hauthem. But here again his persecutors were lying in wait for him. Two brothers, named Walbert and Meinzo, followed by a band of murderers, watched his arrival. The venerable prelate was in the act of prayer, with his hands and eyes raised up to heaven, when his companion, St. Foillan, informed him that his enemies were at hand. Livinus then calmly advanced towards them, and said: "What do you desire, my brothers? If you repent of your sins, God will open to you the treasures of His mercy." But finding that words of kindness and grace produced no effect, he immediately added: "I know, my brothers, that you desire my death, but I have absolute confidence in Him who said: '*Fear not those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul. Fear rather Him who can send both body and soul into hell.*' It is only the death of the body you can inflict on me; but through it I shall be born to eternal life, to live for ever with Jesus Christ."

The assassins then closed around the august Pontiff, and made sure of his death. A mortal wound was inflicted on his head, and the land of Alost was made red with his blood. The fury of his enemies was not satisfied, however, with a single victim. For when the pious Craphaïlde, who had often sheltered Livinus, appeared on the scene, bearing in her arms her infant Brixius, and giving way to all the anguish of her heart, she upbraided the murderers for their barbarous deed, both mother and child were immediately put to death.

The remains of the Pontiff-Martyr were brought by his disciples to Hauthem, and buried there. The spot thus consecrated soon became the scene of prodigies and miracles, which spoke more eloquently to the multitude than any words of the apostle.<sup>1</sup> The result was, naturally, a rapid increase in the number of the faithful, so that where oratories sufficed before, churches had now to be built, especially at Hauthem, where the saint resided before his death, and

<sup>1</sup> *Vie de St. Lièven*, par J. de Smet, page 60, 160.

where his body was interred; and at Esshe, sanctified by his heroic death. These churches have often since been renewed. The imposing structure, which is to be seen to-day at the little town of Hauthem, about six miles from Ghent, was built in its present shape in 1769. At the entrance to the choir stands a square mausoleum over the grave of Saint Livinus. It was erected in the fifteenth century by the Abbé Van Brussele. Its four corners are supported by granite columns, and its sides ornamented with pilasters. The intervening panels were at one time covered with arabesques; but these are now replaced by paintings, representing scenes in the life of the martyr. On the tomb reclines a life-size statue of the saint, in the robes of a bishop, with a crozier in his hand. About a mile from Hauthem there is another little chapel, erected in honour of St. Livinus. It is a centre of devotion for the whole country-side, and bears many a record of supernatural favours obtained through the intercession of the saint. Near it is a limpid well which, according to tradition, the Irish prelate established, by striking the ground with his crozier; and which, as the peasants proudly affirm, never runs dry, even in the greatest heat. Both chapel and well are surrounded by a thorn-hedge, fragrant in the summer time with wild-rose and honeysuckle. There is an air of mystery and religion about the place which Catholics recognise, expressing, as they pass, their consciousness of its solemnity. We were informed by the Curé of Hauthem, the venerable Abbé Vangeert, that the precious archives of his church, which contained much valuable information about St. Livinus and his work, were destroyed during the French Revolution. The church at Esshe is even larger and finer than that at Hauthem. It was built in its present dimensions in 1788. There is, besides, a separate chapel at Esshe, erected on the very spot where the saint was put to death. It is decorated with pictures, one of which is specially prized on account of its antiquity. That Esshe is not unmindful to-day of the benefits conferred upon it by its martyr, can also be judged from the spirit of the Latin poem of over three hundred verses composed in honour of the saint by the late pastor of the parish, the Abbé C. Remes. We regret that we

cannot give in full this beautiful poem, written by a simple Belgian priest, in the metre adopted by the saint himself. An extract must suffice to give us an idea of its spirit and of its elegance :—

“ Quod dudum decuit, te nunc, Livine, canemus.  
 Accipe quae grata carmina dono manu ;  
 Nam latium melos et quondam tibi carmina curae.  
 Haustaque castaliis fontibus unda fuit ;  
 Cumque manu ludens agitates plectra, placebant  
 Et tua dulcisonis plectra canora modis ;  
 Sive canis nostro praeconia justa Bavoni,  
 Versibus exornans chara sepulchra tuis ;  
 Seu canis infestos strictosque minaciter enses  
 Lethumque adventans jam proprio gradu,  
 Laetarisque volens ut mox tibi tempora cingat  
 Exoptata sacri laurea martyrii,  
 Provide Flandriadum pater, heros inclyte, quondam  
 De nostris proavis quam bene promeritus !  
 Haec regio Erroris foedi ne serva periret,  
 Sed caput excusso tolleret alma jugo.  
 Tu natale solum liquisti sponte, tuâque  
 Sedulus instabas voce, labore, nece.  
 Multa ideo Livinus eras per saecula noster.  
 Non igrata etenim nec mala turba sumus :  
 Ecce tibi statuas memoremque ereximus aram ;  
 Saepe sonant laudes nostra per ora tuae,  
 Saepe senex voti reus invocat ; anxia cogit  
 Te facilem proli mater adesse suae,  
 Te pueri per rura canunt, votiva puellae  
 Concinnant aris florea dona tuis.  
 Et te Ganda colit venerans cum prole fideli,  
 Ganda olim hospitio subsidioque fovens.  
 . . . . .  
 Inceptis, Livine, favens his annue nostris ;  
 Haec tibi complaceant, perpetuoque Patri.  
 Nos sumus usque tui, nutriti fructibus omnes,  
 Quos retulere tua semina sparsa manu.  
 Ne pereat tuus ille labor, sed tempus in omne  
 Proventu fructus uberiore ferat ;  
 Sollicitoque, precor, te gaudeat Escha patrono,  
 Et bene proficiens sit mea cura meis.”

In the year 842, when Eginhard, the celebrated chronicler of the reign of Charlemagne, governed the abbeys of St. Peter and St. Bavo, the body of St. Livinus was raised from the earth and placed in a magnificent shrine by Therry,

Bishop of Cambrai. The Bishop was induced to perform this important ceremony after having made a careful investigation of the miracles related to him as having occurred at the tomb of the martyr, and having discovered that their number was far greater, and their character more impressive than even he had been led to believe. About a century later, and in order to honour the saint with greater pomp and splendour, his body was removed to the abbey of St. Bavo at Ghent. It was then that, in order to recompense Hauthem for the loss of its treasure, the great annual procession began from Ghent to Hauthem, along the road which is still called in Flemish, *Sinte Lievin's Baen*, through Gontrode and Oosterzeele, in which the relics of the saint were brought back for one day in the midst of an immense concourse to their first resting-place. In the course of years this procession assumed enormous proportions, and became an event of such national importance that it was suppressed, for political reasons, in 1539, by the Emperor Charles V.

The shrine of St. Livinus was long considered one of the most precious treasures of Ghent. It was richly decorated with gems and gold. This of itself was enough to excite the passion and greed of the so-called reformers of the sixteenth century. In the troubles of the year 1578, when the Calvinists were for a short time in the ascendant, the Catholic churches of Ghent were pillaged, and the shrine of St. Livinus robbed and destroyed. The body of the saint was never afterwards discovered. Fortunately some of the relics had been previously distributed, and these are still religiously preserved in the cathedral of St. Bavo, at the churches of Hauthem and Esshe,<sup>1</sup> at Merck-St.-Lievins, at St. Omer in France, and at the ancient abbey of St. Pierre de Mont Blandin. The late Cardinal de la Tour d'Auvergne gave a portion of the relics kept at St. Omer to the clergy of the parish of St. Géry at Arras, where the faithful had always kept alive the memory of the saint. Confraternities in honour of St. Livinus were established in the time of Pope Benedict XIV.

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Sanctorum Belgii*, tom. iii., page 126.

at Yprès, Arras, and Rumancourt, and were approved by the Pope. In the little town of Ledeberg, a suburb of Ghent, a handsome church is dedicated to the saint. Special side chapels are consecrated to him in the cathedrals of Bruges and Ghent, and in the church of St. James, in the latter city. In the seventeenth century a French nobleman of the diocese of Cambrai, the Chevalier de Cardevacque, built a beautiful chapel in honour of the saint at the town of Havricourt, in gratitude for miraculous favours received through his intercession. This chapel was destroyed by the vandals of the revolution in 1793; but in 1807 the people rebuilt it at their own expense, as beautiful as ever. However, the finest monument which the gratitude of his people ever erected to the memory of St. Livinus, was the church which bore his name in the city of Ghent itself, and which was also unhappily destroyed during the French Revolution. It was for the high altar of this magnificent church, then in the hands of the Jesuit Fathers, that Rubens painted his famous picture. In the days of Joseph II. the work of the great master was sold to the French, and was for years in the cabinet of King Louis XVI. The French Government returned it as a present to the city of Brussels about forty years ago, and in the museum of that city it now remains.

Several other painters of the Flemish school treated scenes from the life and death of St. Livinus. The death scene by Gerard Seghers, in St. Bavo's Cathedral, is one of the best; and as it hangs as a pendant to the great picture of the Mystic Lamb, by the brothers Van Eyck, it comes a good deal under the notice of visitors. Amongst the works of Van Cleef, Roose, and Gabriel de Crayer, many also were inspired by the life and miracles of the saint.

Such are the principal material traces of the life and work of St. Livinus that exist to-day in the country he evangelized. But far more important than all monuments of material glory is the spirit that he left behind him. Through all the vicissitudes of its political history this district of Belgium has remained true to the teachings of its apostle. It has never yielded to any province in Europe in its generosity to the Church. Even at the time when

Christian faith had reached its highest mark, and Crusaders were required in their thousands to give up all earthly ambitions, and go to fight for the interests of Christendom, no country contributed more devoted and disinterested sons to the cause of the Cross. In them the words which Tasso puts into the mouth of their countryman, Godfrey de Bouillon, were most fully realized—that they did not leave their native land and cherished homes, and expose themselves to the perils of sea and war in order to gain any vulgar or vain applause, but for a nobler end, and one more worthy of Christian arms :—

“ Già non lasciammo i dolci pegni e’l nido  
Nativo noi, se’l creder mio non erra,  
Nè la vita esponemmo al mare infido,  
Ed ai perigli di lontana guerra.  
Per acquisitar di breve suono un grido  
Vulgare, e posseder barbara terra.  
Che proposto ci avremmo angusto e scarso  
Premio, e in danno dell’alme il sangue sparso.”

And later on, when other countries were yielding so miserably to the clamours of heresy, Providence placed Belgium under the protection of a monarch of inflexible character, and under the immediate government of a man whose name is still remembered as the scourge of the turbulent and intolerant sectaries, who sought to inculcate their doctrines by fire and sword. If Philip II. and the Duke of Alba conferred no other blessing on these provinces than to protect the simple faithful from the reckless fury of the innovators, they would still deserve our fullest gratitude; but they gave, besides, to all whom it might concern, the salutary lesson, that energy and determination were not to be at the service of heresy alone, and that chivalry could be as fearless in the defence of faith as it ever was in the cause of fatherland.

After the death of Philip, Belgium passed to the Crown of Austria. It was conquered by France, and held by the Bourbons a short time after Fontenoy, but returned again to the Empire till the French Revolution. On its fields some of the greatest battles in the history of Europe were fought,

from the days of Clovis and Pepin to those of Marlborough and Wellington. It was joined to Holland under the Prince of Orange for a number of years, but in 1830 threw off all foreign power and influence. Since then it has enjoyed the blessings of autonomy and peace, and has become one of the most flourishing and prosperous countries in Europe. Through all these changes its spirit has been the same. Baius and Jansen did their best to pervert their countrymen, but were not more successful than Luther and Calvin. Malcontents and troublesome spirits there are, no doubt, there as elsewhere, and dangerous and irreligious men have sometimes even succeeded in getting hold of the Government. But, in the main, the people of Belgium are sound. The districts around Hauthem and Esshe are particularly religious; and anyone who sees the immense crowds of fervent Catholics who throng the churches of Ghent on Sunday, will feel satisfied that the blood of St. Livinus was not shed upon their soil in vain.

J. F. HOGAN.

---

## DID MOSES WRITE THE PENTATEUCH?—II.

IN a previous article we pointed out the *external* evidence in favour of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. We then saw that an unbroken tradition, reaching from Josue to Jesus Christ, and thus extending over a period of nearly fifteen hundred years, recognised the work as that of Moses; indeed, that for more than three thousand years the Mosaic authorship was practically unquestioned. And in order to appreciate properly the force of this argument, we must bear in mind that this unanimity was not the result of any vague tradition coming down from prehistoric times, and having its origin in some ancient myth or legend. No, the days of myths and legends had passed away for the Jewish people; "the dim twilight mystery that floats around the cradle of a nation" had disappeared in the light of a fairly

advanced civilization. For it must not be forgotten that with the traditions of the Hebrews before they became a nation, we have nothing to do at present. In the time of Moses, the children of Abraham had already developed into an organized nationality; and in return for the freedom they had lost in Egypt, had gained a knowledge of many of the arts and sciences in which that country then excelled.

Setting out from Egypt under Moses, Israel was therefore a nation fairly advanced in civilization, as well competent to vouch credibly for the fact that it had received its code of laws from Moses, as is the American United States Confederation to point to every law-giver it has had since it became a nation.

“Intensely conscious, therefore [says Dr. Smith], of her national existence from the very commencement, she (Israel), by the mouth of Joshua and his contemporaries, asserted, and wrote in her public annals, the fact that she had received from Moses her written code of laws in the form which we now have; and in every after age she reiterated the assertion, until it was testified to in a still higher way by the Eternal Witness, who could say of Himself, ‘Before Abraham was I am.’”<sup>1</sup>

And now let us turn to the Pentateuch itself, and question it as to its authorship; in other words, let us see whether the Mosaic authorship is supported by *internal* evidence. An examination of the internal evidence is all the more necessary because our adversaries triumphantly appeal from history and tradition to the work itself, to “the inconsistencies involved in the traditional view of the origin of the Pentateuch,”<sup>2</sup> as furnishing clear and conclusive proof that Moses did not write it. We open the Pentateuch to see whether it claims Moses as its author; if it does, it has at least as much right to be believed as a profane work upon a similar question. Now, many a letter, for ages received as written by Cicero, has no other evidence of its authorship than the fact that it bears his name; and such evidence is regarded by everyone as sufficient, unless there is clear reason for doubting it. In books so reverently esteemed and

<sup>1</sup> Smith, page 230.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Driver, Oxford, in the September Number of *The Expositor*.

jealously guarded<sup>1</sup> as were the Sacred Scriptures by the Jews, such evidence ought to have still greater weight. The care with which they were guarded made it impossible for a later writer to insert even one passage claiming the authorship for Moses; so that if such a passage is to be met with, it must have stood where it now stands ever since the work was written. This would mean that, when the work was written, and first came before the Jews, it must have claimed Moses as its author; and since it was received with such reverence, it must have had its claim allowed, and been recognised as the work of the great legislator.

The important question then is, are there any such passages which claim for Moses the authorship of the Pentateuch? In Deut. xxxi. 9, near the close of the Pentateuch, we read: "And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it to the priests, the sons of Levi, who carried the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and to all the ancients of Israel." And again, after the appendix descriptive of Moses' last interview with Jehovah had been added, we read: "Therefore, after Moses had written the words of this law in a volume, and finished it, he commanded the Levites who carried the ark of the covenant of the Lord, saying: Take this book, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God, that it may be there for a testimony against thee." (Deut. xxxi. 24-26.) We are reminded at once by these verses of the ancient custom according to which writers sometimes signed themselves at the end of their work, or at the end of each great division of it. Thus, Thucydides, at the end of each great section of his *History of the Peloponnesian War*, subscribed himself *Θουκυδίδης ζυγγραφε*; and we know that the celebrated Egyptian scribe, Pentaur, probably a contemporary of Moses, sometimes put

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, a learned Jew, of the first century, says:—"Quanta porro veneratione libros nostros prosequamur, re ipsa apparet. Quum enim tot jam sæcula effluxerint, nemo adhuc, nec adicere quiddam illis, nec demere aut mutare aliquid ausus est sed omnibus Judæis statum ab ipso nascendi exordio, hoc insitum atque innatum est Dei ut hæc esse præcepta credamus, iisdemque constanter adhaerescamus, et eorum causa, si opus fuerit libenter mortem perferamus." (*Contra Apions*, i. 7, 8.)

his name at the end of his work.<sup>1</sup> In like manner in the texts quoted, Moses<sup>2</sup> tells us that he wrote "this law;" and what we have to determine now is, what he meant by "this law" which he claims to have written. Did he mean, as our adversaries would have it, merely the whole or part of Deuteronomy, or did he mean the whole Pentateuch? That he meant the latter, we hope now to prove.

In the first place, "this law," which Moses is declared to have written, was to be read on certain occasions to the people: "And Moses wrote this law . . . and he commanded them, saying: After seven years in the year of remission, in the Feast of Tabernacles, when all Israel come together to appear in the sight of the Lord thy God in the place which the Lord shall choose, thou shalt read the words of this law before all Israel in their hearing." (Deut. xxxi. 9-11.) Was it, then, merely Deuteronomy that was read on those occasions, or was it not rather the whole five books of the Pentateuch (or, at least, extracts from all five)? That it was the latter, we learn from the tradition of the Jewish rabbins; and, surely, on such a point their opinion must have great weight. Seeing that there is question of a solemn precept which had to be fulfilled by the Jews every seven years, it is very unlikely that the ancient Jews in the time of Moses were allowed by him to misunderstand the precept, and equally unlikely that their descendants forgot its meaning. Moreover, that more than Deuteronomy was read on the Feast of Tabernacles, we can prove conclusively from the Sacred Scriptures. In 2 Esdras viii. 13-16, we read: "And on the second day the chiefs of the families of all the people, the priests and the Levites, were gathered together to Esdras the Scribe, that he should interpret to them the words of the law. *And they found written in the law* that the Lord had commanded by the hand of Moses, that the children of Israel should dwell

<sup>1</sup> In Papyrus, Sallier, No. 3, Pentaur's name stands at the end.

<sup>2</sup> Were we to admit that at least the last three or four chapters of Deuteronomy, and, therefore, the texts from which we are about to argue, were written by someone later than Moses, the admission would not in the slightest degree weaken our argument, but would merely change its character; it would then be an external, instead of an internal, argument.

in tabernacles, on the feast, in the seventh month." Now, the only place where it is *written in the law* that the children of Israel should dwell in tabernacles is not any part of Deuteronomy, but Lev. xxiii. 39-43. Hence, on that solemn occasion described in 2 Esdras, when the Jews for the first time since their return from Babylon to their native land celebrated the Feast of Tabernacles, more than Deuteronomy was read by Esdras; so that to him and his contemporaries, reading the law, meant reading more than Deuteronomy. We may, therefore, accept the tradition of the Rabbins, that the five books of the Pentateuch were read at the Feast of Tabernacles.<sup>1</sup> But as we have seen from the text already quoted (Deut. xxxi. 9-11) what was read at the feast was what Moses had written; therefore Moses wrote the whole Pentateuch.

The same conclusion may be arrived at by comparing Deut. xxxi. 9 with Deut. i. 5. Before stating this argument, however, it is necessary to direct the reader's attention to the peculiar structure of the Book of Deuteronomy. With the exception of nine verses in the end of the fourth chapter, the whole from i. 6 to xxxi. 1 is comprised in three long discourses of Moses to the people.

In introducing the first of these discourses the writer of Deuteronomy tells us that Moses began to expound "this law," and after the close of the third discourse he tells us that Moses wrote "this law." Bearing in mind the structure of the book, we must conclude at once that the law which Moses is said to have written, xxxi. 9, is the same law which he undertook to expound, i. 5. If, then, we show that the law which he undertook to expound is that contained in the preceding books of the Pentateuch, of which Genesis is the groundwork, and on which Deuteronomy is only a commentary, it will follow from xxxi. 9, that Moses is the author of the preceding books as well as of Deuteronomy. In

<sup>1</sup> It need not surprise us that the whole Pentateuch was read to the people during a feast of eight days, if we bear in mind that the Greeks sometimes sat for ten or twelve hours at a time in their theatres (see Müller, *History of Greek Literature*, page 62), and that Esdras read from the morning, or, as the Hebrew has it, from the light until midday. (2 Esdras viii. 3.)

Deut. i. 5 we read :—"And Moses began to expound (Vulg. *explanare*) the law (Hebrew *הַתּוֹרָה* = this law), and to say," &c. Now, a law must exist before it can be expounded. Blackstone's *Commentaries* presuppose the law of England, and the Justinian Pandects the Roman code ; and, in like manner, the commentary by Moses, which is contained in Deuteronomy, presupposed the law of the preceding books of the Pentateuch. To evade the force of this argument, our adversaries explain Deut. i. 5 to mean : Moses began to declare (or, according to some of them, to write down) the following law. But our translation is supported by all the ancient versions—the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the Syriac, and Samaritan. Besides if "this law" referred to the law *following* in Deuteronomy, the demonstrative "this" would be separated from its object by four long chapters, for it is only in the fifth chapter that the law commences, whereas the explanation or commentary begins at once in the sixth verse of the first chapter. Deut. i. 5, therefore, must mean that Moses began to *explain* a law already in existence ; and, therefore, "this law" referred to in that verse must be the law of the preceding books of the Pentateuch.<sup>1</sup> Bearing in mind, then, what we have said as to the identity of "this law" in i. 5, and in xxxi. 9, it follows that in the latter verse of Deuteronomy, Moses is declared author of the preceding books of the Pentateuch.

Again, if we consider the characteristics of "this law," of which Moses is declared author, we are forced to the conclusion that it is not merely Deuteronomy. To quote from Dr. Smith :—

"Its repeated solemn delivery to the guardians of public order, as the national code (Deut. xxxi. 9, 25, 26) ; its consignment to the sanctuary of the ark, as the sacred book of Israel (26, 27) ; the obligation imposed to have it publicly read every seven years, as the adequate rule of individual as well as of national conduct (11-13) ; its implied provision for every law-case that might arise before the judges, both civil and ecclesiastical,

<sup>1</sup>That "this law," in Deut. i. 5, includes the historical as well as the legal parts of the preceding books, is proved by the fact that in expounding it Moses comments exclusively upon the history throughout his first discourse. (Deut. i. 6—iv. 40.)

even when sitting together in the supreme court of appeal (Deut. xvii. 8-13), are consistent only with the supposition that it is the entire Mosaic law which is meant. Now, did the Deuteronomist think that his own book constituted the entire Mosaic law? So far from that, he constantly takes the previous legislation as the groundwork of the Deuteronomic summary. Is it question of leprosy, he contents himself (Deut. xxxiv. 8) with referring to the priests, who in Lev. xiii., xiv. had received from him a code of most minute instructions on the subject. On the Levitical ordinances he has scarce a word to add to the voluminous appointments of the former books. Circumcision, with its ceremonies, though the fundamental law of the theocracy, is not so much as alluded to in Deuteronomy."<sup>1</sup>

Deuteronomy, then, is not a complete national code, whereas "this law," which Moses wrote, was evidently such. The Pentateuch, then, claims Moses as the author not merely of Deuteronomy, but of the whole five books; in other words, we have *direct* internal evidence that the Pentateuch was written by Moses.

And now let us examine the work to see what casual indications of its authorship it may contain; in other words, what *indirect* internal evidence we can adduce to support our conclusion. A book will naturally bear some traces of its age and authorship, and of the circumstances in which it was written. These indications, indeed, in the present instance, will not be such as to fix definitely the authorship upon Moses; but they will show that the Pentateuch was written in his time, and by one circumstanced as he was. The contention of our adversaries is, that it cannot have been written for centuries after Moses. If we show that it was written in his time, then, especially in the light of tradition, we may and ought to conclude that it was written by the great legislator himself.

In the first place, it is hardly necessary to point out that the legislation of the Pentateuch was drawn up in the Arabian desert, and for the Jews while wandering in the desert. The tabernacle is the centre around which the tribes of Israel are encamped in such close proximity that when the camp had to be shifted they could all be summoned

<sup>1</sup> Smith, pages 236, 237.

by the trumpet's call :—"All the children of Israel shall camp by their troops, ensigns, and standards, and the houses of their kindreds, round about the tabernacle of the covenant. (Numb. ii. 2.) "And when thou shalt sound the trumpets all the multitude shall gather unto thee to the door of the tabernacle of the covenant." (Numb. x. 2.) Again, the Levitical ordinances regarding sacrifice, leprosy, and legal purification, unquestionably suppose the whole people encamped together in the desert. (See Lev. iv. 11, 12; xiii. 44, 46; xvi. 21.) And it is not merely the legislation that bears the impress of the desert; the historical portion of the Pentateuch shows such an acquaintance with the Arabian desert, and with the wanderings of God's people therein, as no person could have obtained unless as one of the wanderers of the Exodus. It is not a mere general description, such as a later writer might have gathered from tradition, but ever and anon, as the desert wanderings are described, such minuteness of description, such accuracy in details, is incidentally displayed, that though more than three thousand years have since elapsed, many stages of the desert march can still be readily recognised. For instance, we are told (Ex. xv. 22-24) that, after crossing the Red Sea, and journeying three days into the desert, the Israelites came to Mara, where the waters were bitter. Now we learn from a modern traveller that just about a three days' journey from where the Israelites must have crossed the Red Sea, is still to be found the fountain of Hawarah, which the Arabs "consider the worst in all those regions."<sup>1</sup> Again, the account of the encampment by the Red Sea (Num. xxxiii. 10), which earlier commentators found so hard to explain, not being able to see why the Israelites, having left the Red Sea, should again return to it on their way to Sinai, which lay in the heart of the peninsula, has been entirely vindicated by modern travellers. "The nature of the country shows conclusively," says Robinson, "that if they passed through this region at all they must necessarily have taken this course, and had their

<sup>1</sup> Robinson, *Bibl. Researches in Palestine*, i., page 66.

encampment at this place.”<sup>1</sup> It would be easy, if space permitted, to multiply instances of this kind where modern travel and investigation have singularly confirmed the Bible narrative regarding the desert wanderings.<sup>2</sup>

Again, the writer of the Pentateuch knew Egypt intimately and Canaan only imperfectly. That he knew Egypt, is apparent on every page of the work. When the people are represented as murmuring for meat (Numb. xi. 5), the articles of diet mentioned are just those which we know to have been most common in Egypt: “We remember the fish that we ate in Egypt free-cost; the cucumbers come into our minds, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic.” Now we learn from very ancient paintings that fish was always very extensively used, and the vegetables mentioned have always been excellent and in great abundance in Egypt.<sup>3</sup> Again, the story of Joseph shows the most intimate knowledge of Egyptian customs. For instance, the three baskets of pastry on the head of Pharaoh’s baker (Gen. xl. 16, 17) are perfectly intelligible when we know that ancient paintings and sculptures frequently represent three or four baskets carried, one upon another, on the head. “When the sons and daughters of the princes of Egypt served their parents at table, they carried upon their heads three baskets, one piled upon the other, and in the uppermost are the bake-meats.”<sup>4</sup>

We might cite many other instances of our author’s familiarity with things Egyptian; for instance, the peculiar tenure of land existing in Egypt in classic times,<sup>5</sup> whereby the king and priests owned all the land, is precisely that which is described in Genesis xlvii. 20-26, as introduced by Joseph. Again, the Egyptian contempt for shepherds, mentioned in Genesis xlvii. 34, is proved by Egyptian monuments, which generally represent them as most contemptible.<sup>6</sup> And while our author knew Egypt so well, he knew Canaan

<sup>1</sup> *Bibl. Researches*, i., page 72.

<sup>2</sup> See, *c. g.*, Smith, pages 348-357.

<sup>3</sup> See Wilkinson’s *Anc. Egypt*, page 190, 26.

<sup>4</sup> Osborn’s, *Israel in Egypt*, page 37.

<sup>5</sup> Herod. ii. 109.

<sup>6</sup> Wilkinson, *ibid.*, ii., 175.

only imperfectly. Throughout he speaks of it as one who was certainly not in it while writing, and to whom it was still a strange country. For instance, he tells us that Sara died "in the city of Arbee, which is Hebron, *in the land of Chanaan*" (Gen. xxiii. 2); and that Jacob "passed over to Salem, a city of the Sichimites, *which is in the land of Chanaan*" (Gen. xxxiii. 18). No one writing in Canaan, or familiar with the country, would write in this way of important towns in it.

And not only our author, but those also for whom he wrote, while familiar with Egypt, were unacquainted with Canaan. When he wants to illustrate for them some subject connected with Canaan, he borrows his illustrations from Egypt. Thus, the Jordan district, before the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha, is "like Egypt as one comes to Segor" (Gen. xiii. 10); and to show the antiquity of Hebron, it is compared with an ancient city of Egypt: "For Hebron was built seven years before Tanis, the city of Egypt." (Numb. xiii. 23.) This is, surely, not the language of one writing for his countrymen centuries after they had settled in Canaan; for such his comparisons with Egypt would have been useless. But for those who wandered in the desert, their minds still filled with Egyptian memories, and with Canaan as yet only a *promised* land, it was far different.

The manner in which the laws of the Pentateuch are given, shows that they were written down as they were delivered, and not collected together by a later hand. Had the latter been the case, it is natural to conclude there would have been some attempt to group together those bearing on the same subject. As it is, however, we have laws most intimately connected, scattered everywhere up and down the work. Some occasion, perhaps, arose for modifying a former law, and accordingly we have the modification not, however, added on to the original law, as a later compiler would have done, but standing just in the place to which, in the sequence of events, it would be entitled.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See, e. g., the modification of Exod. xii. 1, and foll. in Numb. ix. 6-11; and of Numb. xxvi. 53, in xxvii. 1-6; compare also Numb. xxxvi. 1-12.

The language of the Pentateuch shows that it was written at a very early date. We must not, indeed, expect to find the difference of style between earlier and later writers so marked in Hebrew as they are, for instance, in English. The Prophet Malachy was separated from Moses by more than a thousand years, yet we should seek in vain in their respective works for such peculiarities of style and diction as differentiate the writings of the author of *The Faerie Queene* from those of the late lamented Laureate. "In the whole series of the ancient Hebrew writings," as they lie before us in the Old Testament, . . . the language appears to stand almost on the same stage of development as to its general character . . . and the fact that the Old Testament books had been handed down as sacred writings, must have been highly favourable to its remarkably persistent uniformity."<sup>1</sup> Speaking of this fixed character of the Hebrew and other Semitic languages, Rénan says, "Les langues semitiques, en effet, ne vivent pas comme les langues indo-europeennes; elles semblent coulées dans un moule, d'où il ne leur est pas donné de sortir."<sup>2</sup> And yet, notwithstanding this striking general uniformity, we meet with some remarkable peculiarities in the Pentateuch. For instance, the pronoun הוּא = *hu* (he) is generally used for the feminine as well as the masculine; while הִיא = *hi* (she) is almost always, if not always, used for the latter in all the later writings. In like manner כֶּעָר = *naar* (a boy) is used twenty-two times<sup>3</sup> in the Pentateuch to signify כַּעֲרָה = *naarah* (a girl), and never, even once, used in that sense in any other book. Other peculiarities of the same kind might easily be adduced,<sup>4</sup> but the above are sufficient to show the reader that the Pentateuch has peculiar grammatical forms, which, as Gesenius and other Hebrew scholars point out, are archaic, and prove the early date of its composition.

To sum up what we have been saying. The Pentateuch

<sup>1</sup> Davies' Gesenius, *Heb. Grammar*, Introd., § 2, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Rénan, *Histoire Génér. des lang. Semit.*, page 120.

<sup>3</sup> See Gesenius *ad vocem*.

<sup>4</sup> See *Cornel*, vol ii., page 66, 5; Smith, page 525.

claims Moses for its author, and this claim, especially when backed up by the tradition of three thousand years, we are bound to accept, unless the character and contents of the work furnish clear and overwhelming evidence that Moses cannot have written it. That they nowhere furnish such evidence, we hope to prove when we come to consider the chief arguments of the "critical" school. Meanwhile we have tried to show that internal evidence, direct and indirect, so far from weakening, serves to strengthen and emphasize the voice of tradition. We have tried to show that the Pentateuch was written by one who was intimately acquainted with the Arabian desert; by one who knew Egypt thoroughly, and Canaan only imperfectly, and whose readers, in like manner, while supposed to be familiar with Egypt, were as yet strangers to Canaan; by one who had received the law in instalments, and written it down as he received it; in fine, by one whose archaic grammatical forms distinguish his work from all the other writings of the Old Testament, and stamp it with the seal of an earlier hand.

That this indirect internal evidence does not fix the authorship upon Moses precisely, we readily admit; but we think, at the same time, that it proves the work to have been written, not, as the "critics" would have us believe, in the time of David or Josias or the Babylonian Captivity, but in the days of the desert wanderings, when Egypt was still unforgotten by the Jews, and Canaan still unknown, and Moses still alive to preside over their legislation and to chronicle their history. More than this we do not require to prove; indeed we are not bound to prove so much, for it must be borne in mind that the burden of proof rests not upon us, but upon those who deny the Mosaic authorship. Resting on the unbroken tradition of more than three thousand years, our view, that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, is in possession until it has been clearly and unmistakeably dislodged.

That it has not yet been dislodged, we hope to show when we come to examine and reply to the chief arguments of the "critical" school.

JOSEPH M'RORY.

## CARDINAL MAURY.

I.—1746-1791.

ON September 26th, 1791, a Papal Consistory was held for the purpose of disposing of the cardinal's hat lately resigned by the notorious Loménie de Brienne, Archbishop of Sens. Pius VI. announced that he had at once filled up the vacancy, but that he reserved the nomination *in petto*. There was little doubt as to the object of the Pontiff's choice; yet it was not until February 21st, 1794, that it was formally made known to the world that the hat had been bestowed upon the intrepid defender of Church and king in the National Assembly, the Abbé Maury.<sup>1</sup>

The inhabitants of the old Papal State of Avignon used to possess the singular privilege of being eligible for any post in the kingdom of France, although they were subjects of the Pope. They did not neglect to avail themselves of this favour. Their native province afforded them every opportunity of cultivating their youthful talents, but gave them no scope for their mature ambition. Hence there was naturally a steady current from the tiny state to Paris. Among those who helped to swell the stream was the young Jean Sifrein Maury. As he loved to relate in after years, his father was the most respected shoemaker in the town of Valréas. Here it was that the future orator of the aristocratic party was born in the year 1746. A good priest, noticing the precocious talents of the child, undertook to teach him Latin, and afterwards obtained for him a bursar in the college of the town. He was soon at the head of his class, and the ringleader in mischief. His power of repartee early manifested itself. One day a nobleman who visited the school complained that the boys spoke only Provençal. Maury was indignant. "We can only know what we are

<sup>1</sup> The materials for this article are derived from the following works:—

1. *L'Abbé Maury (1746-1791)*. Par Mgr. Ricard.
2. *Correspondance diplomatique et Mémoires inédits du Cardinal Maury (1792-1817)*. Par Mgr. Ricard.
3. *Cardinal Maury: ein Lebensbild*. Von Dr. Joseph Hergenröther.
4. *Le Cardinal Maury: sa vie, ses œuvres*. Par M. Poujoulat.
5. *Œuvres choisies du Cardinal J. S. Maury*. Cinq tomes. Paris: Aucher Eloy et C<sup>ie</sup>, 1827.

taught," he said; "some day I hope to learn French, and to speak it well. But I never mean to forget my patois; because learning consists in acquiring, not in forgetting." When he was thirteen Valréas had no more to teach him. He was accordingly sent to Avignon, to study rhetoric and philosophy, and afterwards to the provincial seminary for theology. At the early age of nineteen he had finished his seminary studies. Some years must elapse before he could be ordained. How was the interval to be spent? He had already set his heart on going to Paris. After extorting a reluctant consent from the old shoemaker, his father, he slipped away from home one morning early, and, mounted on a mule behind his elder brother, started on his journey. At Montelimar the brothers bade each other good-bye, the elder having given the other his little all, three crowns, as a parting gift.

Three crowns are not a great sum to begin life with; but Maury possessed a large fund of self-reliance and boldness. He went straight to the Collège de France. There the professors soon noted his rapt attention and ready answers, while, alas! his patched clothes, his hob-nailed boots, and his Provençal accent drew upon him the ridicule of his fellow-students. Long afterwards, when nobles and prelates crowded round him to beg him to speak in their behalf, and to save them from ruin, he could ill conceal his scorn for those proud aristocrats who had once made merry over his poverty and plebeian birth. But now he must have food and lodging as well as learning. The old familiar devices of the hungry scholar were resorted to: lesson-giving and proof-correcting. In these fields, however, the labourers were many and the harvest scanty. Want soon compelled him to seek other means of subsistence. There was at that time, as indeed there is still, a sort of underground trade in manuscript sermons. Maury's genius easily turned out large numbers of these in a style very different from that of the ordinary sermon-monger. This practice helped to give him that copious flow of language which was one day to delight his friends and to confound his adversaries. What was more

important for the moment, it brought him bread and gave him a roof. In 1766 a prize was offered for the best *éloge* of the Dauphin, who had lately died. Maury competed, and, happily for him, failed. His essay, which was afterwards published, is still extant. It shows that he fell into a fault not uncommon with thoughtful young writers: that of correcting and pruning his composition until nothing was left but the baldest statement of facts. He failed again in an *éloge* of the French King Charles V. This second check did not discourage him. He toiled harder than ever at his books, but at the same time he became convinced that book-learning alone was not enough for his aims. The literary spirit of the age could only be acquired by assiduously frequenting the best *salons* of the capital. If the higher classes under the old *régime* rigidly excluded the wealthy bourgeois from their society, they always had a welcome for anyone gifted with *esprit*. Maury's humble birth and Provençal accent did not stand in his way. His well-stored mind, his ready wit, his gay disposition eminently fitted him to entertain and be entertained. He was soon thoroughly at home. Mdlle. de Lespinasse was especially gracious to him. D'Alembert, the high priest of her *salon*, and the confidant of Voltaire, took kindly notice of the youthful abbé. Morellet, who had openly embraced infidelity, paid him the doubtful compliment of trying to tempt him to follow his example. But it was Marmontel who befriended him most of all. That able writer, overlooking the differences which must necessarily divide a *philosophe* from one at least professing Christianity, acted the part of a generous admirer and a kind critic. Maury sometimes rebelled against the patronising airs of his friend, but always came to acknowledge frankly that he owed much to his advice.

Meantime he was ordained priest at Sens, in 1769, after a brilliant examination. It must be confessed that his life at this time was little in keeping with his sacred calling. He never, indeed, became a scoffer at religion, like so many of his brethren, nor did he give way to profligacy; but he was a typical child of the age. His early mornings were spent in long hours of study: the rest of the day was given

up to the gaities of the capital. Never was there a time when the fair sex exercised so powerful an influence. Maury himself, while possessing remarkable powers of fascination, was particularly susceptible to their charms, and on their side they were always his ardent champions. To his credit, it must be added, that he never forgot the humble family from which he sprang. His mother, of whom he could never speak without emotion, died not long after he left home. As soon as he was able to spare anything from his scanty earnings, he brought two of his brothers to Paris to prosecute their ecclesiastical studies. Later on, two nephews and two nieces were educated entirely at his expense. The old shoemaker, who had so unwillingly consented to allow Jean Sifrein to leave his native province, could not credit the stories of his son's success. One evening, in the winter of 1789, while Maury, then at the height of his oratorical fame, was surrounded by an enthusiastic group of admirers, all of them nobles and prelates, a grey-haired country workman forced his way into the brilliant assembly. The abbé at once recognised the intruder, and to the surprise of those present threw himself into his arms. Then, taking him by the hand, he led him up to the hostess. "Madame," he said, "allow me to introduce my father." "Yes, madame," said the old man, "I wanted to see whether it was all true about my boy, and I have come to embrace him before I die." And once more father and son embraced each other amidst the loud applause of the company.

When on his road to Paris from his native town the young Maury had been asked by his fellow-travellers what he intended to do in the great capital. "I mean to be the king's preacher and a member of the Academy," was his reply. In all his studies he kept these two objects steadily before his eyes. He was, indeed, a born orator. Nature had endowed him with a powerful and penetrating voice, a bold and lively temperament, a memory that never failed, and, especially, an expansiveness of character which impelled him to speak out whatever was in his mind. These gifts he cultivated with great assiduity. His boast always was that he loved hard work : to that alone he attributed his success

in the pulpit and in the tribune. It was his constant practice, as, indeed, we read of every other great orator, to declaim aloud the masterpieces of eloquence, especially Bossuet's *Oraisons Funèbres*. His accent, which at first betrayed his Provençal origin, was soon corrected by his visits to the chief *salons* of the capital. Those who were enchanted with his animated conversation, or listened with rapture to his readings from the orators and poets, were confident that he was destined to be recognised as one of the foremost orators of his age. We have seen that his early attempts as a writer had not met with success. Further years of study and practice, and the company of literary men, had improved his taste, or rather imbued it with the debased spirit then in vogue. At length, in 1771, his chance seemed to have come: Fénelon was the subject of the Academy prize.

The boundless reverence expressed by the Encyclopedists for the saintly Archbishop of Cambrai, may at first excite surprise. His emotional piety, his humble submission to authority, his devotion to the House of Bourbon, could hardly call for praise from such a quarter. But this admiration was really part of a deeply-laid scheme. For nearly a century, Bossuet, at once the victorious champion of Catholicism against heresy and the eloquent defender of the rights of the Gallican Church, had exercised supreme sway over the intellect of France. As long as he was held in high honour the causes for which he laboured must likewise be revered. The philosophers could not dispute his learning or eloquence, but they could undermine his influence by singling out for their reverence the gentle victim of the savage intolerance of the Eagle of Meaux. To attack Bossuet under cover of belauding Fénelon, became the mode. To his credit, it must be said, that Maury resisted the temptation to fall in with the taste of his judges. While praising in glowing language the genius and virtue of his hero, he took care to defend Bossuet from the charge of intolerance, and to claim for him his rightful pre-eminence among the glories of the Church of France. This outspoken language proved fatal to his chance. The prize was

awarded to La Harpe for a composition far inferior, but which appealed to the so-called tolerance of the day, by comparing the gentle Archbishop to the fiery ex-monk Luther.

This third failure, however, opened up the road to success. A grand-nephew of Fénelon, who at that time was Bishop of Lombes, in Gascony, was so struck with the panegyric of his ancestor, that he gave Maury a canon's stall in his cathedral, and appointed him Vicar-General. The Academy, too, hastened to show its regard for the defender of French pulpit oratory, by selecting him to preach the panegyric of St. Louis, at the Louvre, in 1772. Once again the youthful abbé dared to brave the prejudice of the day. It was the fashion with Voltaire and his disciples to heap ridicule and contempt upon the Crusades as the outcome of religious fanaticism, as unjust to the patriotic Moslem, and as useless, or rather injurious, to the best interests of France. Maury himself had written of them in this spirit in his *Eloge de Charles V.* He had now to speak in praise of Louis IX., the very incarnation of the crusading spirit, whose long absence from his country, whose defeat, captivity, and death in a distant land seemed to afford the amplest justification for the sneers of the philosophers. But difficulty only served to bring out Maury's powers. Postponing for a time any allusion to the Holy Wars, he dwelt with extraordinary fervour upon the noble qualities of the King, and the virtues of the saint. Then, looking his hearers full in the face, he boldly entered upon the thorny part of his subject. "Ah!" said he, suddenly, "if St. Louis were to rise from the grave, and appear in the midst of this assembly, 'What!' he would cry out, 'is it you Frenchmen who attack me?'" The saintly hero was made to defend himself with no small skill, and then at last to exclaim, "No; your censures cannot touch me." This was enough for a French audience: the orator was interrupted by thunders of applause. Next day the Academy presented a petition to the King to confer some mark of favour upon the eloquent young pulpit orator. Maury at once received a benefice, and was nominated royal preacher for the following year. He was only twenty-six years old;

without family, without wealth, without interest, he had already gained by his own exertions one of the highest objects of his ambition.

In spite of his wonderful success, Maury cannot be thought worthy to take rank as a preacher beside Bossuet and Bourdaloue, Fénelon and Massillon. Although, as we have seen, he had, on more than one occasion, openly opposed the philosophic spirit of his time, he himself was too much imbued with it to be able to enunciate the stern and simple truths of the Gospel. Louis XVI., who was not likely to be a harsh critic, or to be led away by the desire to appear smart, said of him : " If the abbé had only given us a little religion, he would have given us a little of everything." Maury himself, long afterwards, destroyed his sermons. When remonstrated with for thus injuring his reputation, he replied : " My reputation ? I am the best judge of that. What I have done was to save my reputation." He acknowledged that the cabal of philosophers was so strong that a preacher could not expound Christian doctrine and morality in their presence—nay, that he dared not even pronounce the name of Jesus Christ. Two sermons, however, escaped the general conflagration, and well deserved to be spared : one on St. Augustine, preached at the General Synod of the French clergy in 1775, in which he fearlessly exposed the failings of the bishops, and begged them to walk in the footsteps of their illustrious predecessor in the episcopate ; the other on St. Vincent of Paul, preached at St. Lazare in 1784, in which he denounced the ingratitude of France towards one of her worthiest sons. It is rather as a debater than as a preacher that Maury will be remembered. But before we come to his triumphs in the tribune, we must not forget to speak of his literary success.

In spite of Voltaire's elaborate sneers, a *fauteuil* among the Forty Immortals was much coveted in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Men of letters strove among themselves to belong to that famous body, although it represented fashion rather than learning. A grand seigneur or a prelate of high rank, with the least pretension to literature, was readily admitted ; but a simple abbe or bourgeois, however

great his abilities might be, was forced to wait for many years. When Maury entered on his canvass he was told that grey hairs were indispensable; and one academician rather maliciously warned him that a bishop might become a member of the Academy, but no one had ever heard of a member becoming a bishop. His old rival La Harpe was ungenerous enough to lead the opposition to his nomination, and actually rose from his sick bed to cast an adverse vote. But Marmontel and the venerable Abbé de Boismont overcame all objections; and at length, on December 16th, 1784, Maury's election was secured. Once again he found himself, to the gratification of his enemies, in a difficult position; and once again, to their confusion, he triumphed. It had originally been intended that he should succeed De Boismont, and with this view the latter had carefully instructed his young friend so that the inaugural address might do honour to both of them. Happily, De Boismont had the gratification of having him not as a successor, but as a colleague; while Maury had to deliver a panegyric on De Pompignan, Archbishop of Vienne, who had never been present at the Academy, and, moreover, had been the butt of Voltaire's gibes. Nothing could have been more admirable than the exordium of the newly-elected academician. "Gentlemen," he said, "if there is in this assembly any young man, born with the love of letters and the passion for hard work, but a stranger, without assistance, doomed to contend in this capital against all the discouragements of solitude . . . let him cast his eyes upon me at this moment, and let him take heart of grace." Then he related his own early struggles, and how the helping hand of the Academy had been ever held out to him. "Others," he exclaimed, "look upon this sanctuary as the tribunal of language and the public treasury of literature . . . For my part, gentlemen, gratitude raises my thoughts far higher, for I find myself here in the midst of my benefactors." After such an insinuating opening, he was able to enter upon an *éloge* of De Pompignan, and to extort applause from the disciples of Voltaire, as he praised the virtues and even the ability of the prelate.

Maury was now preacher to the king, and one of the Immortals. His youthful ambition had dreamt of no higher objects than these. Little did he think in his days of poverty and toil that his name would go down to posterity, not as a zealous pulpit orator, not as an accomplished man of letters, but as the boldest and ablest defender of the tottering throne and altar. Less than five years after his election to the Academy, he was chosen by the clergy of Peronne to be their deputy in the States-General. In that vast assembly of twelve hundred members some six or seven soon singled themselves out as leaders: Mounier, who away down in Dauphiné, had given the nation an object-lesson in parliamentary government; Siéyes, the famous pamphleteer, who had mastered political science; Barnave, the bitter young orator; the two Lameths, both nobles and democrats; Cazalès, the loyal and eloquent soldier. But even these came to acknowledge that two men towered over them all, each representing the two great opposing principles which animated the different parties in the Assembly. Everyone knows with what tremendous power Mirabeau swayed that huge body. His name at once occurs whenever the National Assembly is mentioned. Little is heard of the Abbé Maury, who was the great tribune's most doughty adversary, and who, though always defeated in the vote, was not seldom the conqueror in the debate. "Skilfullest vamped-up of old rotten leather, to make it look like new," is all that Carlyle can say of him; not perceiving that, even for artistic purposes, the vanquished must be painted as worthy foes of the victors, and that the glory of Achilles would pale without the praise of the prowess of Hector.

It was surely a strange irony of fate that the highly-born Count de Mirabeau should be the champion of the populace, while the court, the nobles, and the prelates should look for help to a simple abbé, the son of a Provençal shoemaker. Like so many prominent members of the Assembly, both were imbued with the fiery spirit of the south; both knew no fear; both presented the same bold brazen front to their foes; both were possessed of that magic power of rousing and

soothing the deepest passions of man. Maury's eloquence could not exactly be described as studied; yet it was the outcome of a well-stored mind, long trained in oratory; and hence, his speeches read far better than his rival's, whose rugged genius poured forth its torrents regardless of the rules of rhetoric. Mirabeau triumphed, because he was the man of the hour, giving voice to the unavenged wrongs and pent-up passions of millions. Maury fell back, step by step, with his face to the foe, making the conquerors pay dearly for their victory.<sup>1</sup> Whenever he rose to speak his voice was drowned by the roars from the members of the left and from the populace crowded in the galleries. Interrupted, yelled at, outvoted time after time, threatened with the vengeance of the mob, deserted by the cowards of his own party, he never lost heart. To tell the story of his numberless conflicts, would be to write the history of the *Constituante*. Here we must be content with some account of one or two of the scenes in which he took a leading part.

From the outset the revolutionary party in the assembly had cast envious eyes upon the property of the Church. That she must surrender something to stave off the famine and

<sup>1</sup> An anagram, much in vogue in the early days of the Assembly, shows how the two men were looked up to as the leaders of their respective parties, and as worthy antagonists of each other:—

“Deux insignes chefs de parti  
D'intrigue ici tiennent bureau.  
Chacun à l'autre est assorti;  
Même audace et front de taureau.  
L'on pourrait faire le pari  
Qu'ils sont nés de la même peau,  
Car retournez *Abbé Maury*,  
Vous y trouverez *Mirabeau*.”

Writing to Capt. Woodford (February 11th, 1791), Burke says:—“I have to thank you for the excellent speeches of the Abbé [Maury] . . . I find there a bold, manly, commanding, haughty tone of eloquence, free and rapid, and full of resources; but, admiring as I do his eloquence, I admire much more his unwearied perseverance, his invincible constancy, his firm intrepidity, his undaunted courage, and his noble defiance of vulgar opinion and popular clamour. These are real foundations of glory . . . He has acquitted himself *en preux chevalier*, and as a valiant champion in the cause of honour, virtue, and noble sentiments—in the cause of his king and his country—in the cause of law, religion, and liberty.” Burke invited the abbé to Beaconsfield, promising to purify the house first, for it had once sheltered Mirabeau. (Burke's *Works*, Bohn's ed., Speeches, &c., ii., page 475.)

general bankruptcy, was recognised by the clergy themselves. They readily [consented to put all their lands on the same footing as lay property with reference to taxation and mortgage. But this would not satisfy the revolutionists. On October 10th, 1789, a motion was brought forward to declare the whole of the Church's possessions national property, to be sold to meet the national indebtedness. The proposer was received with thunders of applause, as well he might be, for he was no other than the Bishop of Autun, the notorious Talleyrand. The clerical party was sorely grieved that one of the Church's own most favoured children should be found to deal her the death-blow. Three days later, Mirabeau supported the motion in one of his most powerful speeches. The Duc de Rochefoucauld attempted to follow on the same side, when he was rudely hurled from the tribune by the sturdy arm of Maury. Taking no notice of his discomfited opponent, the abbe at once entered into a criticism of the plan of confiscation. He showed that, even if carried out, it would rob the poor of their rightful patrimony; that it would confer little benefit upon the State; that none but the stock-jobbers would profit by it. He protested warmly against the spoliation of one class of the nation. He warned his bourgeois hearers that the arguments brought forward against Church property would tell equally against property of all kinds. "Would you be free?" he concluded; "then remember, that without property there can be no freedom, for freedom is the first of all properties, the possession of oneself." It was not till the 23rd that Mirabeau replied. He created much amusement by affecting to treat Maury as a philosophical tyro, and delivering him a mock lecture in logic. With a power that Moliere might have envied, he strung together syllogisms and paradoxes clothed in all the jargon of the schools, detecting in his adversary's arguments now a *petitio principii*, now an amphibology, and now a *transitus a dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter*. At last, carried away by his own cleverness and the merriment of his hearers, he ventured to address his antagonist by name. Assuming a most pedantic air, which convulsed the assembly, "M. Maury," he said,

“now I am going to enclose you in a vicious circle.” “Ah! ah!” roared out Maury; “are you going to embrace me?” This allusion to Mirabeau’s well-known irregularities turned the laugh, and even the great tribune was disconcerted. Fierce discussions were raised concerning the provision to be made to the clergy. Mirabeau promised them a “salary” as “officers of morality and education.” When his opponent protested against the use of these words, he was met with the famous aphorism: “There are only three ways of getting a living: you must either beg, or steal, or earn.” A storm of yells greeted Maury as he rose to reply. For a while his powerful voice was heard above the tempest. The president, with gross unfairness, called him to order. Maury, indignant at such treatment, sternly reminded him of his duty to preserve silence. To this the president replied by trying to drown the orator’s voice by ringing his bell; but he soon stopped, when he was told in a mocking voice, “Take and hang it round your neck.”

Had the revolutionists been content with despoiling the Church of her worldly goods, there might still have been some hope for the peaceful progress of reform. Many devout ecclesiastics had deplored the scandalous condition of the Church of France, and it was the clergy themselves who had secured the union of three orders into one assembly. But nothing short of the ruin of the Church would satisfy the disciples of Rousseau and Voltaire. Under the guidance of those virtuous lay divines, Mirabeau, Barnave, and Robespierre, the assembly drew up a civil constitution for the clergy (July 12, 1790), which all were bound to accept on oath. Carlyle and Thiers make merry over the “trifles” which distinguished the *assermentés* from the *dissidents*. A cause for which fifty thousand ecclesiastics willingly went forth into banishment, for which many hundreds laid down their lives, deserves better treatment. It was during the debates on this civil constitution that Maury and Mirabeau fought their fiercest fights. The great tribune surpassed himself in his denunciation of the crimes of the clergy in the past: the only way to prevent a recurrence of such scandals was to make the Church a department

of State. When Maury ascended the tribune, the revolutionists attempted to drown his voice by their clamours. In vain he appealed to their sense of fairness; in vain he defied them to do their worst. "You have decreed that a sub-lieutenant of infantry cannot be removed from his office except by court-martial; give us, pastors, the right to be tried by our own judges. You are always appealing to liberty against us. We now appeal to liberty against you." The interruptions continued as he denounced the tyrannical character of the measure; until at last, changing his tone to one of pathos, he silenced his hearers as he drew a touching picture of the havoc which this constitution would work throughout the country; how the venerable sanctuaries, from which the pious inmates would be driven, would be changed into vast solitudes: how the people in future years would visit these scenes of ravage, and point them out as the work of the revolution. Then he turned to his mighty opponent. Mirabeau had gone so far as to assert that the civil constitution of the clergy had been introduced in the interest of the clergy themselves, and was intended to bring them back to their ancient purity and fervour. This was, indeed, Satan rebuking sin. Maury did not let slip his chance. "We might, perhaps, observe here, that there are men who have lost the right to praise virtue, and to set up as censors of vice. But let us put aside personalities, and examine the doctrine of M. de Mirabeau." Once again silence reigned in the Chamber as he discussed his antagonist's principal thesis. Mirabeau shook his shaggy head in denial. "I am anxious to state exactly what M. de Mirabeau has asserted. If I am wrong, I beg him to set me right." Mirabeau rose from his seat. The two men confronted each other. Maury continued:—

"Since you have the goodness to answer my question, I ask you whether you did not say that every bishop had unlimited jurisdiction, and was, in virtue of his ordination, a universal bishop of all the churches; and that this proposition contained almost the very words of the first of the four famous Articles of the French clergy in 1682."

"No, sir," replied Mirabeau haughtily, "that is not what I

said; such nonsense came only from your own mouth. This is what I said: 'Every bishop holds his jurisdiction from his ordination; a divine character must essentially be circumscribed by no limits, and, consequently, must be universal, according to the first article of the Declaration of the French Clergy.' That, sir, is what I stated. I never asserted that ordination made a bishop a universal bishop."

This subtle distinction on a point of theology and canon law, coming from one whose studies had lain in a very different direction, and seeming to crush the Church's own champion, was received with tumultuous applause. When order had been restored, Maury calmly resumed: "Very well, then, we are at one; I will take your own assertions, and answer them; and I think that I can easily make you pay dearly for the cheers you have evoked." Then, taking the four Articles one by one, he showed most convincingly that they did not contain a single word corresponding with Mirabeau's doctrine. For three hours he continued, without the slightest signs of fatigue in himself or in his audience, to denounce the bill, and to implore the members to consider well the disastrous consequences which it would entail. At last, as he was descending from the tribune, a sudden thought seemed to strike him. He went back, and cried out in tones of solemn warning: "Take care, gentlemen. It is dangerous to make martyrs: it is dangerous to push to extremes men who have a conscience, and who will extort your esteem by preferring death to perjury."

Maury's power of repartee was remarkable. There is the well-known reply to the cries of the mob: "*à la lanterne!* l'Abbé Maury, *à la lanterne!*" "Would you see me any better there?" On another occasion a ruffian rushed at him with a chopper, crying out: "Where is this Abbé Maury? I'll send him to hell to say his mass there." "Come along then," said Maury, drawing a pair of pistols and presenting them at the would-be assassin; "here are the cruets." In one of their many encounters, Mirabeau, stung by his taunts, roared out: "You are the greatest scoundrel I know." "Oh! M. de Mirabeau," answered Maury, coolly, "you forget yourself." When Regnault said to him one day: "You have a high opinion of yourself, sir;" "Not when I

think of myself," replied Maury, looking him steadily in the face; "only when I think of others."

In September, 1791, the National Assembly was dissolved to make way for the new legislative body. By a decree which was considered at the time an act of noble self-denial, but which was really an act of consummate folly, no member of the first assembly was eligible to sit in the second. Maury's eloquence could, therefore, be no longer of any service to the cause which he had so ably and so courageously defended. His life, too, was more than ever in danger; Louis XVI. had already begged him to be prudent; Pius VI. warmly invited him to take his abode in Rome. It was with great reluctance that he now decided to quit France. Before starting on his journey, he took a last farewell of his old friend Marmontel.

"I have done my best [he said] for the good cause; I have exhausted my strength, not for triumph in an assembly where I was heard in vain, but to cast profound ideas of justice and truth into the mind of the nation and of the whole of Europe. My ambition was to gain the ear of posterity. To leave my country and my friends is enough to break my heart, but I go away with the firm belief that the power of the revolution will be destroyed."<sup>1</sup>

T. B. SCANNELL.

## ON CATHOLIC LENDING LIBRARIES.

THE recent formation of a society for continuing the work, after a long interval, of the authors of the Library of Ireland, suggests some thoughts on the wider aspects of the subject which are possibly worth reducing to coherence.

It will be very generally conceded, that in recent years politics and political matters have absorbed a very large share of the useful social energy of the Irish people, with, as a natural result, the neglect of matters less obvious, perhaps, though scarcely less important. It has been frequently said,

<sup>1</sup> *Ponjoulat*, chap. xii., page 178.

and one must admit with a considerable amount of truth, that the Irish are not a reading people. Of their general intelligence there is, of course, no question. Those of us who have followed the recent tercentenary proceedings of Trinity College, will find ample proof, if such were wanting, from witnesses of unquestioned competency, as to the place of Ireland in the Europe of the Middle Ages. In the present paper, however, it is intended to deal, not with the Ireland of the past, but with the Ireland of to-day; and in the Ireland of to-day there are, it must be admitted, good grounds for the charge of want of ordinary literary tastes amongst a large section of her people. The evidence is everywhere. In the provincial towns, large and small, one searches in vain for what could be called a decent book-shop; and, in most of the towns, of any approach to one. At the newspaper agents one sees a few copies of cheap editions of Lever's novels, a collection of Irish songs and shorter poems, in a form anything but attractive, and a large supply of useless and pernicious London periodical literature. The news-agents will tell you they keep what sells; which is, no doubt, true. But, if the tastes of the customers determine the supply, it is also true that the character of the supply influences, in no small degree, the tastes of the customers. It is a common observation that assistants in book-shops have often to select the books of their patrons: and, even in the large circulating libraries, the judgment of the attendant has frequently to decide for the subscribers. Then, throughout most of the country, it must be acknowledged, regretfully, that with the exception of the newspaper, daily or weekly, and a few works on religious subjects, books are conspicuous by their absence. It will not do to say, in explanation, that the means of the people forbid expenditure in this direction. One has only to compare the condition of things in other countries with what exists at home, to be convinced that narrow means are not the only, or even the principal reason. In the houses of those no better off in England, Scotland, and even in Wales, where difficulties of a special kind exist, there is seldom an entire absence of any approach to a book-shelf; and in some, those who value books for use, and not

for ornament, would find a selection where improvement could not be readily suggested.

It will, of course, be said, and said truly, that the continuous struggle in Ireland, often for most elementary rights, has retarded our social advance ; but, whilst giving this plea all the weight it deserves, an uncomfortable feeling remains, that in this respect much less has been done than in reason might have been expected. Under the Public Library Act, local municipal bodies have the power to allocate, for the establishment and support of a public library, a sum not exceeding a penny in the pound on the area under their control. This useful provision of the law, though extensively availed of in other parts of the United Kingdom, has been adopted by only a few of the Irish provincial towns. There are libraries in connection with certain societies, such as the Mechanics' Institutes, and the Young Men's Catholic Associations, the direction of the latter being generally in the hands of the local clergy. Such libraries, if properly organized and attended to, might be made a means of great usefulness ; but there is reason to believe that they are not well attended to, nor, from an inspection of more than one, could even a partial witness say that the original collection or the subsequent additions had been made with judgment. The present writer can recall the condition of one some years since in an important town in the south of Ireland, where along the middle and most important shelf of the handsome pitch-pine case, there were arranged from left to right Burke and Grattan's Speeches (abridged edition, Duffy) ; the Kenmare publications (several copies) ; Mitchell's *History of Ireland* ; an incomplete set of Lever ; and, for a finish, a few of the preceding season's three-volume novels, the names of whose authors were, even then, unfamiliar. These were the books—useful, no doubt, in their way—intended to supply the needs of the young men who frequented the place ; and will anyone wonder that such attractions were utterly unequal to the excitement of a hand at spoil five, or the fraternal feeling induced by a glass of whiskey-and-water and a friendly pipe.

Compare, for instance, the contents of this case with what

one could procure new, or still better, second-hand, for a very modest outlay, of the best thought in English, and in translations of foreign literatures, and it can scarcely be denied that any man of average intelligence would soon find himself compelled to look somewhere else for instruction or amusement. Here and there throughout the country parochial libraries have been established, but it is difficult to obtain information of any value as to their number or contents; and what one does hear is not encouraging. It is here most could be done to cultivate a taste for sound reading, and furnish, to some extent at least, an antidote to the grosser pleasures, as often resorted to from want of something to do as from any other cause. Fortunately, this portion of the subject has been competently handled by a man who has done much for Catholic social work—Mr. Britten of the Catholic Truth Society; and the results of his efforts are so accessible and encouraging, that there is scarcely an excuse for the further neglect of the important matter to which he has so often directed attention. In a pamphlet sold for a penny by the Catholic Truth Society, 18, West-square, Southwark, London, S.E., will be found a reprint of an article from *The Month* on Catholic Lending Libraries, by Mr. Britten; and so condensed and well written is his statement of the case, that any attempt to summarize it would be almost valueless. The pamphlet has, moreover, the result of his experience in what might be called the smallest class of libraries. To those results further reference will be made after a few remarks on the more general aspects of the subject.

In the selection of suitable books for a lending library, difficulties are almost certain to arise; more especially when the committee of selection is composed partly of clerical and partly of lay members. The stricter views of the clergy will sometimes suggest the rejection of works to which the ordinary Catholic layman sees no objection; and here one is tempted to say, zeal is not always according to knowledge, when judged by results. Pushed too far, those stricter views are simply fatal to the success of a library, by depriving it of the most important elements of success—variety and breadth.

But in the case of purely Catholic libraries, and to a considerable extent in those of more general range, the work of selection has been greatly facilitated. The lists recommended by the Anselm Society afford all the information that can be desired in one direction, and the necessary additions of Irish works could be made with the assistance of the lists of the best hundred Irish books issued as a *Freeman's Journal* reprint.

A few years since, as the result of a discussion of a list of the best hundred books suggested by Sir John Lubbock, *The Pall Mall Gazette* published several such lists, which were subsequently collected and issued as a reprint, at the modest price of three pence. It need scarcely be said that these afford information of a very useful kind, and will be found extremely valuable to all interested in the management of public libraries. This part of the subject is, however, treated pretty fully in Mr. Britten's essay; and works are there referred to for the guidance of librarians; but enough has been said to indicate in a general way where the necessary assistance may be found.

Reference has been already made to what may be called the smallest class of parochial libraries. Here the work of Mr. Britten has been so original and successful, that it deserves special attention. Indeed, the principal object with which this paper has been written is to suggest the adoption of a similar plan in Dublin, where the necessary facilities are as great, perhaps greater, than in London. For a pound, Mr. Britten manages to pick up some thirty volumes, on bookstalls and in second-hand book shops, all in good condition and mostly bound in cloth. I quote from the essay itself:—

“The plan was quickly taken up. From time to time I have renewed the offer; up till now over 3,200 volumes have been sent out, and applications still come in. These are from all parts—from England, Scotland, and Ireland; from the Cape of Good Hope (two); from New Zealand (two); from Canada, India, Penang, and Barbadoes. The applicants have been as varied as the localities; school libraries of different kinds, young men's societies, conferences of St. Vincent de Paul, Children of Mary, parish libraries—all these, with variations, have forwarded

their requests ; and, if I may judge from the letters in my possession, have been satisfied, and more than satisfied, with the volumes sent."

Now, anyone who knows Dublin, knows how easily a similar plan could be adopted for the remote and poor parishes of Ireland ; and if a very busy man, as Mr. Britten certainly is, can deal with so many cases, one can scarcely doubt that with us, where the pressure is not so great as in London, it requires little more than courage and perseverance to make the experiment equally successful. Everyone knows how admirably works of charity are managed by Dublin Catholics ; and it is, perhaps, not hoping for too much, that some one may be found willing to assist a good cause in the manner indicated. At all events, nothing but good can result from a discussion of the subject. The present is an age of discussion ; and, ultimately, not only are lesser matters, but even movements national in their scope, determined by its means. For reasons sufficiently obvious, it is perfectly certain that for years to come Catholic social work of a kind which in other countries can be readily dealt with by laymen, will in Ireland devolve on the clergy. At least, the initiative will have to be taken by them, though after a time, one may hope, their share of the work will resolve itself into little more than intelligent supervision. Under these circumstances, recourse has been had to the *I. E. RECORD*, as furnishing the best medium for bringing the subject under their notice ; and, one may venture to hope, some good may result from the attempt. It remains to be seen what machinery for the distribution of their publications, the new society, with which Sir C. G. Duffy is so intimately connected, purpose to adopt. That they will count on the active sympathy and assistance of the clergy, may be taken for granted ; and it is not easy to see how that assistance can be rendered more effective than in the establishment of the libraries it has been the object of this paper to advocate.

I do not know that I can better conclude than by giving a list of books with which Mr. Britten thinks a start may be made. This list might, perhaps, be modified to some

advantage by the introduction of books more decidedly Irish ; but that is a matter of detail. Here it is : Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare* ; Hawthorne's *Tanglewood Tales* ; A. M. Sullivan's *New Ireland* ; Defoe's *Journal of the Plague, Robinson Crusoe* ; Griset's *Illustrations* (Warne) ; Grimm's *Tales* ; *Pickwick Papers*, *Nicholas Nickleby*, and *Oliver Twist* ; Lady Brassey's *Voyage of the Sunbeam* ; Grant Allen's *Biographies of Working Men* ; *Kenilworth*, *Ivanhoe*, *Rob Roy* ; *Life of O'Connell* (Duffy) ; Mitford's *Our Village*, and Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*.

T. B. GRIFFITH.

### THOMAS DE BURGO :

AUTHOR OF THE "HIBERNIA DOMINICANA," AND BISHOP OF  
OSSORY.—IV.

BEFORE passing on to more important matters in connection with the latter years of Dr. Burke's life, a few incidents which occurred shortly after his return to his diocese may be briefly set down here, and will prove to be not without interest. Towards the end of 1770 he assists at the consecration of Dr. Carpenter, as Archbishop of Dublin, in Liffey-street Chapel. The following January he sends dimissorials to James Butler, afterwards Archbishop of Cashel, dispensation for his receiving priesthood from the Bishop of St. Omer's. The next month he ordains in a private house in Kilkenny six candidates for the priesthood, amongst whom is James Lanigan, afterwards Bishop of Ossory. It was about this time, too, that he gave confirmation to Andrew Fitzgerald, who afterwards joined the Dominican Order, became a distinguished theologian, and died President of Carlow College in 1843.

In 1772 he published his famous *Supplementum Hiberniæ Dominicanæ*. The result of his researches in the foreign convents appears in the copious notes and additions to the history of the convents of Louvain, Lisbon, and Rome ; his

work in the Rinuccini Library in Florence shows to advantage in the large amount of space devoted to the war of 1641, the legation to Ireland, and the Kilkenny Confederation. Other documents appertaining to the ecclesiastical history of the period also appear, among which is the Internuncio's letter of 1768 on the test-oath, inserted without any comment except a reference to the Bull of Paul V. on the same subject, and without any notice of the discussions which had led to the letter. Acting, doubtless, on instructions received during his visit to Rome, and probably on the advice of the Sovereign Pontiff himself, Dr. Burke can be easily defended from the charge of having acted in a precipitate and imprudent manner in the publication of this letter, apart from the fact that it was sent to him for publication by his metropolitan, and that he had had it in his possession for four years before giving it to the world.

It was during these latter years of Dr. Burke's life that the Whiteboy agitation, which had devastated Munster for a length of time, made such fearful inroads into his own diocese. As Dr. Butler of Cashel, writing many years after Dr. Burke's death,<sup>1</sup> insinuated that he did not use every means in his power to check the insurrection, it may be as well to quote a contemporary writer to prove the contrary. Lord Taaffe, writing as far back as 1767, says:<sup>2</sup>—

“The Irish Catholics easily foresaw that the disorders of the Munster levellers would affect them, and on the first rising of the mob addressed the Earl of Halifax, then in the Government, with the strongest assurances of their allegiance to his majesty. The superiors of the Catholic clergy in that province (Leinster) were at the same time edifyingly active in pressing the duty of obedience and loyalty on their people. This is well known. He of Waterford exerted himself by giving the Government the best and earliest intelligence he could get of the intentions and motions of these miscreants. He of Ossory distinguished himself also by excellent instructions (published in the public papers) for the civil conduct of the people under his care. They issued excommunications, and denounced in vain the most tremendous censures of the Church against the incorrigible and obstinate.”

<sup>1</sup> *Justification of the Tenets of the Roman Catholic Religion*, 1787.

<sup>2</sup> *Observations on the Affairs of Ireland*, 1767.

The hatred of the Whiteboys was directed in a special manner against Robert Butler of Ballyragget, who, although an excellent Catholic, was an aristocrat of the old school, whose loyalty appears to have been of an extreme type. So strong was their determination to retaliate upon him, that towards the end of 1774 he had to fly the country. After his departure, the disturbance might have quieted down in the locality, especially as a military force had been sent into the town, but suddenly his brother James, who had just returned from France, after his elevation to the archiepiscopal see of Cashel, appeared upon the scene, and organized a league of the inhabitants of the town against the Whiteboys. The parish priest, whose assistance he obtained, went so far as to have the members of the league supplied with arms, and the oath of association administered to them in the parish church by a Protestant justice of the peace. Well might Dr. Burke cry out *non tali auxilio*, and resent such uncalled-for interference in the affairs of his diocese. The first operations of the league only incited the Whiteboys to worse outrages; they vowed vengeance, and swore they would murder the townspeople and burn the town; and having gathered together in great numbers from every part of the diocese, they attacked the town, and were only repulsed with great loss of life on their side. The following extract from the pastoral issued the same year by Dr. Burke shows that although he did not form armed associations against the people, justly considering such measures to be the duty of the Government, who could be cruel enough when occasion demanded, he did not fail to denounce the evil-doers, and try by every legitimate means in his power to bring them back to a sense of their duty:—

“They act [he says] directly in opposition to the principles of our religion; nay, in opposition to the law of nature made clear by the very light of reason. . . . They ought to be amenable to the laws of the nation, and not provoke the Government, which is mild beyond expression. I command them to behave as peaceable subjects, and to deserve a continuance of that lenity and moderation we experience many years past.”

In March, 1774, the test-oath was introduced into Parlia-

ment, and the Irish Catholics were free the following June, to testify upon oath their “abhorrence of certain doctrines attributed to them,” and to swear allegiance to his Majesty George III. This oath could easily have been drawn up in a way which would satisfy the Protestants without hurting the feelings of the Catholics, who could then have testified their loyalty, and claimed the rights of citizenship without committing an act of disloyalty to the Holy See. In fact, just before the bill had been proposed in Parliament, Dr. Carpenter, together with the leading Catholics of Dublin, had drawn up an oath which would have been taken universally. The English rulers, however, were only true to their old policy of *divide et impera*; when, to the consternation of the Catholics, the oath they proposed was almost identically the same as the one proposed by James I. to his Catholic subjects, and condemned by the Holy See. No essential difference can be discovered between them. The Pope in past times had claimed and exercised a deposing power. Could Catholics lawfully and without disrespect swear that such a power did not belong to him under any circumstances, and swear in addition that he had no temporal or civil power direct or indirect in the kingdom? James did not deny the Pope’s spiritual supremacy over his Catholic subjects. In a treatise which he wrote on the subject of the oath,<sup>1</sup> in which he bitterly complains of the Pope’s ingratitude in not allowing his Catholic subjects to testify their ordinary civil allegiance to him, he declares that “he never did, nor would, presume to make an article of faith;” that “the oath was ordained only for making a true distinction between papists of quiet disposition, and in all other things, good subjects, and such other papists as, in their hearts, maintained the like bloody maxims that the powder-traitors did;” that “it was his care that the oath should contain nothing but matter of civil and temporal obedience, due by subjects to their sovereign power.”

In spite, however, of this declaration of the object and

<sup>1</sup> “*Triplici modo Triplex cunctis, or an Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance, against the two Breves of Pope Paulus quintus, and the Letter of Cardinal Bellarmine to the archpriest.*” 1608.

scope of the oath, the condemnation was not retracted, a condemnation so direct and explicit, putting the matter beyond yea or nay, that it is worth while to give an extract from the English translation of the Brief made by James himself:—

“ It must evidently appear unto you [says the Pope] by the words themselves, that such an oath cannot be taken without hurting of the Catholik faith, and the salvation of your soules ; seeing it containes many things which are flat contrary to fayth and salvation. Wherefore we doe admonish you that you doe utterly abstaine from taking this and the like oathes.”

That allegiance to the reigning house, to the exclusion of the Stuarts, should be sworn, was not by any means a source of difficulty ; and there is no evidence to prove that any of the bishops and clergy were reluctant to take the oath from a feeling of attachment or gratitude to the Stuarts, or because they indulged mad fancies about a revolution and a return of the Stuarts to the throne. Charles Stuart, indeed, finds himself referred to as “ the person taking upon himself the stile and title of Prince of Wales during the lifetime of his father, and who since his death is said to have assumed the stile and title of King of Great Britain and Ireland by the name of Charles III.” It was quite natural that he should be mentioned ; not, however, that there was any real apprehension on account of a man who was now past the prime of life, without hope of issue, with a ruined character, and so little in favour of the Roman Pontiff that he had been obliged to leave Rome several years previously. Charles found his name in the oath because he had never made a formal renunciation of his claims ; just as, on the supposition of an oath of allegiance to the French republic being enacted at the present day, every possible claimant to the throne of France, royalist or imperialist, would probably find his name inserted in it. On the same principle, in the oath for the English Catholics of 1791, the descendants of Charles are mentioned, though he, in fact, had died without issue. The claims of Charles Stuart at the time of which we are speaking did not come within the sphere of practical politics : the difficulties were entirely of a theological character, and

were the cause of disunion among bishops and clergy, and between civil Governments and the Holy See in several countries besides Ireland, and from a period much anterior to this, almost bringing about a schism where the claims of the Government in what they considered their civil rights were pushed beyond endurance. In the light of events which followed in Ireland, in view also of the struggle at the time in Catholic countries to *nationalize* their churches, to resent the interference and authority of the Papal nuncios, and to limit the influence of the Holy See in their ecclesiastical affairs, the conviction will force itself upon us that the framers of the oath had deeper designs than merely to satisfy the bigotry of the Protestant public, always ready, as events of the present hour prove too clearly, to raise a senseless cry about persecution and Rome rule, and demand guarantees for good behaviour on the part of the Catholics. That a real schism was hoped for and intended, is not an idle conjecture, and such a view of the designs of the Government is considerably strengthened by the remark made by Grattan some years afterwards to one of the bishops on the question of the veto, viz., that at best they would have a marked schism and more than one kind; and that, if he were not greatly mistaken, that that was intended, and diligently and systematically pursued.

And it must have seemed for the next couple of years to many thoughtful minds that the Irish Church was really in danger of schism. The clergy divided into two camps on the question at issue. To one party, including the Archbishops of Tuam and Dublin, several of the bishops, and the whole body of the regulars, the oath was unlawful; Rome had spoken, and they were to bow submissively to decisions already given upon oaths exactly similar in every respect. It is not surprising to find the regulars decisively standing out on this side of the question. In the seventeenth century they had borne the brunt of the fight in England against the oath of James; in France they had set themselves in opposition to the declaration of the French clergy; and in Ireland the Dominicans, in particular, had followed the guidance of Rome with such fidelity as to have drawn forth

the exclamation of Rinuccini, that it seemed to be of their very nature to defend the Holy See.<sup>1</sup> Foremost on this side was Dr. Burke, who, through his well-known influence in Rome, his celebrity as a theologian, and recently by his publication of the nuncio's letter, occupied a commanding position in the country. There can be no doubt that his long residence in Rome, his contact with Italian theologians, and personal devotion to the Pope, had contributed in no small measure to form his opinions, and to give him that unerring instinct in matters of faith which mere reading can never supply.

To the other party, which included all the bishops of Munster, and some from other provinces, and large numbers of the secular clergy, the oath was objectionable and harsh in its expressions, but there was nothing in it positively contrary to the principles of the Catholic religion. Nineteen out of twenty of the Munster clergy had been educated in French seminaries, as we learn from the letter of a bishop of Killaloe, in which seminaries they learnt their theological principles from French theologians, who were fond of exaggerating the civil power of State at the expense of the ecclesiastical power of the Pope. What was more natural than for them to complain that a yoke should be imposed by the Holy See on Irish Catholics which had been thrown off in France, and to seize with avidity the tempting bait of the test-oath thrown to them by the Government; looking upon it, as Dr. Butler afterwards described in his correspondence with Rome, as having fallen from heaven?

Such, however, was the influence of the nuncio's letter, well known now through its publication by Dr. Burke, that this party hesitated for some time to commit themselves to the oath, when the arrival from France of Dr. Butler, the new Archbishop of Cashel, gave them a determined champion, and put an entirely new aspect on affairs. A man of indomitable will, of great talent, and a good classical scholar, he was, however, equipped with only an

<sup>1</sup> "Ingenitum est Dominicanis defendere sanctam sedem."

ordinary student's knowledge of theology, acquired in a country in which sacred learning had sadly declined for a number of years. His extreme youth<sup>1</sup> might have modestly suggested a place in the background for some time in a controversy which would bring him into conflict with half of the other bishops of the country, and probably with the Holy See; but he seemed determined to take a leading part at once, and use his authority and position to its utmost extent. His mind had been evidently made up before leaving France; the principles he fought for he had learnt there. If during his subsequent career his loyalty appeared aggressive, the character of his own family is not more to be blamed than the training at St. Omer's, where, according to a well-known writer,<sup>2</sup> "the student was instructed to worship a throne, and to mingle his devotion to heaven and to monarchy."

It would be unjust to Dr. Butler and his suffragans, whom he called together at Thurles, to pass as severe a judgment upon them as ecclesiastical historians have passed on the conduct of some of the German bishops of this period, who were complaining of the restriction of their rights, declaring that as bishops they had no need to consult the Holy See, agitating for the abolition of nuncios, and making tentative efforts in conjunction with the Emperor to form a German national church. Still, consciously or unconsciously, the action of the Munster bishops in disregarding the nuncio and Holy See, and seeking the sympathy of the French clergy by sending the test-oath to the Sorbonne theologians for their decision, tended, to say the least, to drag the Irish Church into the vortex of the schismatical and destructive

<sup>1</sup> He was not thirty years of age when consecrated bishop, and soon afterwards became archbishop. Alban Butler, in recommending his case to the internuncio, who was a *sine qua non* in the matter, led him to believe that James Butler had been a priest for four years—*munia sacerdotalia, quatuor annis exerceat*—though he had been ordained under his own eyes in St. Omer's eighteen months previously. It had been often observed that men who spend their lives in poring over the musty records of the past have a weak memory for recent events. Again, though he describes him as excellently versed in all manner of sacred learning, he is not able to state that he took a single theological degree.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Jonah Barrington.

movements on the continent, where the old Catholic spirit was dying out, and rationalism, under various disguises, was making headway in ecclesiastical polity.

We are still more filled with respectful astonishment at the other decision arrived at, viz., to invade the diocese of Ossory, and in the episcopal city of Dr. Burke, where they were sure of getting a warm reception from Father Molloy, who was an ardent supporter of the oath, pass a solemn condemnation on the *Hibernia Dominicana* and its supplement, and thus lessen Dr. Burke's credit in the country, and destroy indirectly the authority of the nuncio's letter. Other bishops in the meantime, who were in favour of the oath, were induced by Dr. Butler to take part in a meeting which could only be held in defiance of the principles of Canon Law. Dr. Burke was equal to the occasion. When he learned that the meeting was to be held, he protested loudly against its illegality, and when he found that some of the bishops, in spite of his protests, were on their way, he sent them word that if they remained twenty-four hours within his diocese against his will, he would declare them all excommunicated for usurping ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The result was that the bishops very prudently turned back, and the projected meeting was abandoned.

The bishops of Munster soon made amends for their defeat by holding a solemn conclave near Cork, and declaring, without even waiting for the decision of the Sorbonne, that the oath contained nothing contrary to the principles of the Catholic religion. A fortnight afterwards they met at Thurles, and, with the exception of Dr. MacMahon of Killaloe, who absented himself, passed sentence on the *Hibernia Dominicana* and its supplement, giving "our entire disapprobation of them, because they tend to weaken and subvert that allegiance, fidelity, and submission, which we acknowledge ourselves we owe from duty and from gratitude to his Majesty King George III., because they are likely to disturb the public peace and tranquillity, by raising unnecessary scruples in the minds of our people, and sowing the seeds of dissensions amongst them, in

points in which they ought, both from their religion and their interest, to be firmly united; and because they manifestly tend to give a handle to those who differ in religious principles with us, to impute to us maxims that we utterly reject, and which are by no means founded in the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church.”

The cutting out of the ten pages relating to the Stuarts a reprint from Porter's *Annals*—was a mere blind, and can be considered no more than a shallow pretext for discountenancing the whole work. The real *lapis offensionis* was the nuncio's letter; but cutting out that would be too overt an act. That the cause of dissension at the time was doctrinal, and not political, may be plainly seen in the reference to the “unnecessary scruples,” and “the maxims which they utterly reject;” again, in the special condemnation of the supplement, the only possible objectionable part of which was the nuncio's letter; and again, in Dr. Butler's subsequent explanation to the Protestant Bishop of Cloyne, where he speaks of the Munster bishops entirely discountenancing the principles of Dr. Burke, and describes his own letter to Rome, in which he disclaims every idea of Papal supremacy in *temporals*, and reprobates, in the most unequivocal terms, those other *obnoxious* doctrines so unjustly attributed to his religion. In this letter to Cardinal Marfoschi, he refers to “certain scholastic opinions, which, through too intemperate a zeal, have been unhappily spread amongst us; these being looked upon by our dissenting brethren as part of our creed, excite their aversion for a religion so inimical to the safety of kings and tranquillity of subjects.”

Seeing it in this light, the condemnation of the *Hibernia Dominicana* shows a very independent attitude towards the Holy See. The reasons given by the bishops for the condemnation are nugatory. If, according to them, the said book and supplement caused general uneasiness and alarm amongst the people, the uneasiness could be allayed only by publishing the condemnation far and wide. Why, then, did they confine it to their clergy? And the other reason, that it caused dissension amongst the people on points on which

they ought to be united, must have caused no small amusement to the bishops opposed to the oath.<sup>1</sup>

More than two months elapsed before Dr. Butler gave any intimation of what had happened to the Holy See, and then only in a letter to the Cardinal Protector, in which he makes an informal statement about the "declaration," and gives an imperfect account of the oath, omitting the very points which were the whole source of trouble. A few days afterwards the Sorbonne decision arrived, and, as might have been expected beforehand, was entirely favourable to the oath. Very little stress, in their decision, is laid on the authority of Popes and Councils, and a great deal on declarations of the French clergy. They put aside the clause about the Stuarts, which, being a political, not a doctrinal matter, did not belong to them to decide upon. In reference to the clause which denies to the Pope any civil or temporal power, directly or indirectly, in the kingdom, they state that that clause was in direct conformity with the famous declaration, published by the clergy of France in 1682, which the French divines not only take for the standard of their opinions, but bind themselves every day to adhere to. They add—and this should have made their decision doubly suspicious—that an opinion similar to this was given in the year 1680 by sixty doctors of the sacred faculty of Paris, upon an oath framed in England concerning the supreme, independent authority of kings.<sup>2</sup> This answer from Paris, confirming their previous declaration, was enough for the Munster bishops: and the next month, at the Winter Sessions, they publicly subscribed to the oath, together with a great number of the laity.

The events which took place the following years with regard to the test-oath, and the correspondence which passed between Ireland and Rome on the subject, are of the most complicated nature, making it hard to get at the real

<sup>1</sup> Anyone may satisfy himself on the justice of these remarks by consulting un mutilated copies of the *Hibernia Dominicana*, which may be found in nearly every Dominican convent in Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> This decision on the subject of the oath, proposed by James I., was condemned at Rome, and put on the index in 1683.

truth of the matter, and to estimate how false was the position into which the Archbishop of Cashel had dragged the Irish Church. That that position was untenable, that the condemnation of the *Hibernia Dominicana* was really a condemnation of the Nuncio’s letter, and that the Holy See never approved of the oath, may be easily deduced by a critical analysis of a pamphlet of Dr. Butler’s<sup>1</sup> published by him when the correspondence was all over, and he had an opportunity of selecting from it what was most in his favour. Dr. Woodward, the Protestant Bishop of Cloyne, had taken the Nuncio’s letter from the supplement of the *Hibernia Dominicana*, and attempted to prove from it that Catholics held one doctrine, and perjured themselves in publicly professing another. The natural line of defence would be that the Nuncio in condemning the oath, did not of necessity commit himself to any of the doctrinal points enumerated. But this line of defence not being open to Dr. Butler, he tries hard to prove that these doctrinal points were allowed by the Holy See to be the tenets of his religion. Inaccurate in his statement of facts, especially whenever he refers to Dr. Burke, his reasoning is shallow in the extreme. He gives the full text of the condemnation of the *Hibernia Dominicana* by the Munster prelates, to prove that “they disclaimed every idea of Papal supremacy in temporals.” He inserts the decision of the Sorbonne divines. To the very natural question of Dr. Woodward, What was the opinion of these divines compared with the authoritative letter of the Papal legate, his only answer is to question Dr. Woodward in this wise: “I will ask,” he says, “what is the opinion of Dr. Burke in opposition to the *united decision* of all the titular bishops of Munster . . . and in opposition to the superintendent of the Catholic Church in Ireland.” And to support this strong assertion, viz., that the Cardinal Protector of Ireland was opposed to Dr. Burke’s opinions, and approved of the test-oath, he has no evidence to bring except a vague complimentary remark. This is the Cardinal’s letter:—“I received your letter of the 30th of last September, which

<sup>1</sup> *Justification of the Tenets of the Roman Catholic Religion*, 1787.

was most acceptable to me, both on account of the very great love you show for good morality and sound doctrine, and for your humanity and goodness to the very deserving young man, A. B., whom I had most earnestly recommended to your friendship, for which kindness I return you many thanks." We cannot attach much importance to this letter, or gather from it that the Cardinal Protector was opposed to Dr. Burke's principles, as it was written before the Cardinal was made aware of the Thurles meeting, and was the answer we might just expect to the imperfect account, already referred to, given him by Dr. Butler of the test-oath and the declaration at Cork. But Dr. Butler thought otherwise, copied it out, and sent it on to Propaganda. What was thought of it there, and the authority of the writer, we learn from a letter of Cardinal Castelli to the Archbishop of Dublin :—

"As to the letter, a copy of which the Archbishop of Cashel sent here to be read, whether it be true or false, I trust it can have no weight whatever with good and prudent men, since the opinion of a private individual, whatever exalted position he may hold, is to be altogether put aside for what the Sacred Congregation, with the approbation of our Most Holy Father, has recently decreed in the matter; more especially as the author of the letter does not belong to the Sacred Congregation, nor is aware of what is discussed and decreed in it."

Yet, after eleven years, Dr. Butler parades the Cardinal's letter before the world as his principal documentary evidence for his assertion that his conduct met the approval of the authorities in Rome.

His other arguments are of the same description. This is how he treats the Bull of Pius V. :—

"When, however, we have denied the power of deposing temporal sovereigns, as it is asserted by Dr. Burke to belong to the Pope [neither Dr. Burke, nor the Nuncio makes the assertion], it has been answered that Popes have yet frequently excommunicated and deposed temporal princes. Very true. A Bull of this kind was published against Queen Elizabeth by Pope Pius V. But what did her Roman Catholic subjects do upon it? They prayed for her, and fought for her, and afterwards . . . voluntarily made a tender of their lives in defence of her Majesty's title against the Pope himself or any Popish invader." . . .

Such is the whole tenor of a pamphlet, in which bishops, nuncios, and Popes are censured, to justify the conduct of the Munster prelates.

To return to the events following the "declaration" and the meeting at Thurles, it is little wonder that the public display in taking the oath, stirred Catholic feelings in the country to the depths. It is no wonder, too, that the Archbishop of Dublin wrote to Rome, begging that strong measures might be taken at once with a body which had acted so independently. But Pius VI., though cut to the heart, was afraid to act with due severity at a time when the horizon was so dark, and schism was threatening in more countries than one. The answer that Dr. Carpenter received from Cardinal Castelli was, that "in such troubled times, strong remedies could only be used at the risk of greater calamities;" in other words, that excommunication would open the door to schism.


At this critical juncture of affairs Dr. Burke was called to his heavenly reward. A marginal entry on the register belonging to the Church of St. Canice thus records the event:—"Dr. Burke departed 7<sup>th</sup> 25th, 1776." He was indefatigable to the last, and, up to a few weeks before his death, he was preparing for the press a second edition of the *Hibernia Dominicana*, the book upon which so much odium had been cast the year before his death. In the midst of his heavy trials he had the consolation of seeing the Friars of his Order once more in possession of the Black Abbey, and though he did not live to see the restoration of the church,<sup>1</sup> a house was erected for his brethren, before he closed his eyes in death, on the site of the old choir; unsuited, indeed, to the requirements of the monastic life, but still all that could be desired or hoped for at the time.

No historical writer attributes the paltry concessions of 1778 to the influence of the test-oath in softening

<sup>1</sup>The transept of the church was roofed in 1779, though it was not opened for public worship till 1814. In 1861 the nave was opened, and the whole church put into the state it was in at the time of the suppression. The house built in Dr. Burke's time still remains, but will soon be demolished, as the foundation-stone of a convent, more in keeping with the architectural features of the Abbey Church, has been lately laid by the present bishop of the diocese.

Protestant prejudices, or to any cause except the difficulties the English found themselves in by the rebellion of the American colonies. The Irish exodus had begun, and the Irish exiles were fighting bravely on the side of the Americans against their inveterate enemies. It was not by means of the profession of dangerous principles, through motives of expediency, that concessions came from a contemptuous Government and an arrogant Protestant ascendancy. The concessions, wrung mainly by fear, had already begun before the Test-Act had become law, and Catholic Emancipation would have come sooner if men of the stamp of Dr. Burke had not been so rare. Opposed bitterly during the closing years of his life, calumniated after death, left undefended by his own brethren, the putting together of the facts of his life and teaching has been a work of no small difficulty. It has been done in the hope that these facts will exhibit him as the determined champion of the rights of the Holy See; a learned, honest, and plain-spoken bishop, and an honourable and reliable witness of Catholic teaching.

Under a plain, flat tombstone, raised a couple of feet above the surrounding tombs, and within a stone's throw of the little cottage in Maudlin-street, lies all that now remains of one of the greatest of the Irish bishops of the last century. The stone is split in two; the inscription, hardly a letter of which is legible, runs thus :

  
 E. D. S.  
 D. O. M.  
 Hic jacet illustrissimus et  
 Reverendissimus Dominus  
 F. Thomas de Burgo  
 Episcopus Ossoriensis  
 Ex ordine Prædicatorum assumptus  
 qui  
 vita exemplari, eximia eruditione  
 ac zelo apostolico, ecclesiam  
 Sibi commissam  
 Per septem decem annos illustravit  
 Obiit Kilkennix die xxvi. Sept.  
 Anno Salutis MDCCLXXVI.  
 Aetatis LXXI.  
 R. I. P.

Costly monumental crosses, elaborate in construction and rich in design, crowd around, gracing the tombs of many whose death was no loss to the world ; while the great bishop who ruled the Church of Ossory in days of sorrow, lies in a neglected and unknown grave. Thousands pass and repass every Sunday within a few yards of the spot, not one of whom is able to point out the stone that was laid to perpetuate his memory.<sup>1</sup>

AMBROSE COLEMAN. O.P.

---

## THE PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF ALCOHOL.

TO have anything like a fair grasp of the great temperance question that agitates the civilized world to-day, it is necessary for us to know something of the physical effects produced on the human body by alcohol. We must approach the study of our subject without prejudice, and carefully examine the reasons that are so generally advanced for the use of alcoholic or intoxicating drinks, and endeavour, as far as in our power, aided by the light of scientific knowledge and experiment, to come to a correct and proper conclusion in regard to the actual properties of this widespread and popular drug. What I purpose doing in the present paper, therefore, without further preamble, is to take up and weigh in the balance some of the theories we so often hear propounded on this point ; and in doing so intend to submit for the attentive consideration of the reader not, indeed, my own views, but the authoritative conclusions of the highest scientific and professional men who have examined carefully into the subject.

With regard, then, in the first place, to the word *alcohol*, we are told that it is derived from an Arabic word, *a'l-ka-hol*, which means " a subtle essence." The term was originally employed to designate a dark and almost impalpable powder

<sup>1</sup> There is a mistake of four years in his age as marked on the monument. He died in his sixty-seventh year.

used by the Eastern women to tinge their hair and the margin of their eye-lids. Gradually the name came to be applied to other fine or impalpable powders, and in this sense we find it used even in English so late as 1812. "I have already referred," says Sir H. Davy, "to the alcohol of sulphur." The first, however, to apply the name of alcohol to the subtle substance extracted from highly rectified spirits was Albucasis, or Casa, an Arabian chemist and physician, who lived in the eleventh century, and who is also credited with being the first to discover the existence of this destructive agent by the process of distillation. No doubt this intoxicating fluid, which we call alcohol, had been present at all times in the fermented juice of the grape, and in certain other fermented substances; but it was only by the process of distillation that it was found possible to separate and store it up in larger quantities.

The only constituent element that can produce alcohol is sugar. Every other substance must first be transformed into sugar before alcohol can be obtained. Even the several kinds of sugar must all be converted into grape sugar, which alone is capable of being directly converted into alcohol by the process of vinous fermentation. Thus apples, pears, peaches, currants, grapes, &c., containing as they do a considerable proportion of sugar, are often employed in the production of alcohol. And although rye, wheat, barley, &c., contain but little sugar, they consist of a large proportion of starch, which is capable of being converted into sugar by a peculiar ferment called *diastase*, developed in the germination of all seeds. The grain when thus changed is termed *malt*, from which alcohol can be obtained by fermentation. Three things are necessary for the production of alcohol—(a) a sugary liquid; (b) a suitable heat; (c) the presence of a vegetable ferment such as is contained in ordinary yeast. The sugar is the essential requisite; the heat and vegetable ferment are only auxiliaries or aids to the decomposition of the sugar. According to the principles of chemistry, sugar when dissolved and brought in contact with a ferment is split up into two new compounds, the one a poisonous gas, known as carbonic acid gas, and the other the fluid called

alcohol. Fermentation, therefore, in our sense, is nothing more than the dividing or separation of sugar, which is made up of three elements—carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen—into two other compounds, which contain these same elements, but in different proportions. In grape sugar we have six parts of carbon, twelve of hydrogen, and six of oxygen; or, as it is generally expressed:— $C_6 H_{12} O_6$ . These elements are everywhere around us in varying proportions; we have them in the very air we breathe; two parts of hydrogen to one of oxygen go to form the water we drink; and we have carbon in an impure form in charcoal, and in a pure form in the diamond. But, in the case of sugar, fermentation divides these elements, and forms from the one atom of sugar four new atoms, two of alcohol, and two of carbonic acid gas. Thus we have the carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen of the sugar split up in the following new form:—

Sugar.	Alcohol.	Car. Acid Gas.
One atom $C_6 H_{12} O_6$	= two atoms $C_2 H_6 O$	and two atoms $C O_2$

In the process of fermentation (Latin, *fervere*, to boil) the carbonic acid gas escapes in bubbles, and leaves behind the alcohol and other ingredients. The principal fermented liquors are ale and beer, which are chiefly made from barley. Wine is the fermented juice of the grape; cider the fermented juice of apples; perry that of pears; and palm wine that made from the different kinds of palms. From each of the various kinds of fermented liquors, ardent spirits, such as brandy, whiskey, rum, or gin, can be obtained by a further process called *distillation*.

In distillation the fermented liquor is boiled in a copper vessel, to the top of which there is attached a long narrow tube, called the worm, which is carried, in corkscrew fashion, through a vessel of cold water. The alcohol, being lighter than water, boils at a temperature  $40^\circ$  lower, and consequently passes off first, as a vapour mixed with steam. In passing, as it must do, through the worm, the vapour is condensed again by the cold water, with which the worm is surrounded, and runs off at the other end in a liquid form, as brandy, gin, rum, or whiskey, according to the fermented liquor from which it is made. By re-distilling the product thus

obtained, the percentage of alcohol can be further increased, and that of the water diminished but the affinity of alcohol for water is so great that it is impossible by this means to completely separate the two substances. Thus, ardent spirits, as we term them, are little more than alcohol and water; and the higher the percentage of alcohol, the more dangerous and destructive the intoxicating drink becomes. According to Brande and Dr. Bence Jones, supplemented by the later investigations of Dr. Draper of New York, rum, whiskey, gin, and brandy, contain from 53 to 57 per cent. of alcohol; port wine, about 22; sherry, 19; champagne, 12; cider, 5 to 9; and beer or stout, from 4 to 6 per cent. Palm wine, which is the wine spoken of in Sacred Scripture as *strong drink*, contains only 4 per cent. of alcohol. It is this fluid, alcohol, which burns with a blue lambent flame when a match is applied to ardent spirits, and it is this substance alone which gives to the various kinds of intoxicating liquors the only value they have in the eyes of their votaries. In speaking, then, of alcohol, we may take it to mean in a general way all fermented drinks which possess the power of intoxication.

Now since "the idea," as Dr. Cummins tells us, "that alcohol is nourishment, makes half the drunkards we have," it follows that our first duty is to show that *alcohol is neither nourishment nor food*, in any sense of the word. When we speak of "food," we mean any substance in solid, liquid, or gaseous form, which, when taken into the body, supplies some one of its necessary requirements. The body itself is made up of some seventeen different chemical elements, viz.:—Carbon, 13·5 per cent.; hydrogen, 9·5; nitrogen, 2·5; oxygen, 72·0; phosphorus, 1·15; calcium, 1·3; together with minute quantities of fluorine, sulphur, and iron. These elements form the various organic compounds which make up the body; and whatever contains any of these elements *in such a way that it may be assimilated by the body*, constitutes a food. There are four classes of food, of which the most important is—1, water; next comes, 2, heat-giving; 3, flesh-forming; and 4, bone-making foods. Bread is almost a perfect food. It contains 37 per cent. of water, 52½ of

heat-giving, 8 of flesh-forming, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  of bone-making substances. Milk, the most natural of all foods for children, contains 86 per cent. of water, 9 of heat-giving, 4 of flesh-forming, and 1 of bone-forming substances.

But with regard to alcohol, we are assured on the most reliable authority that it is no food. "There is nothing in alcohol," says Dr. Richardson, "that can make any vital structure of the body." "Alcohol," says Professor Miller, "is no food in any sense of the term." It is not a *flesh-former*, because it contains no nitrogen. It is not a *heat-giver*, experiment and experience have proved, as we shall see that it only reduces the animal temperature. It is not a *bone-maker*, as it contains none of the mineral salts which go to form the bones, teeth, or hair. And lastly, it is not a *water-food*, since alcohol contains no water.<sup>1</sup> It is perfectly clear, therefore, that alcohol cannot help in any way to build up the tissues of the body. "Alcohol," says Dr. Baer, of Berlin (*Treatise on Drink Craving*, 1881), "contains neither albumen, nor fat, nor any other substance either present in the animal organism or arising by chemical changes in the body, and replacing a part of the same." "We cannot believe," says Professor Lehman, "that alcohol belongs to the class of substances capable of contributing towards the maintenance of the vital functions;" and Professor Moleschott, of Erlangen, assures us that "alcohol does not effect any direct restitution, nor deserve the name of an alimentary principle;" while the following practical testimony, on the use of alcohol as a food, given by Dr. L. A. Klein, after the siege of Paris, puts the point beyond further dispute:—

"It was just the time when the wine-merchants are used to buy their stock for the year, when the war broke out, so we had plenty of wines of every description. It was distributed by the Government very liberally indeed. We drank because we had nothing to eat. We found most decidedly that alcohol was no substitute for bread and meat. We also found that it was not a substitute for coals. You know how cold the weather was during

<sup>1</sup> It may indeed, and, as I have said, as a rule, exists in water; but it exists in an independent and separate form in the water, and contains no water in itself.

the winter. We of the army had to sleep outside Paris on the frozen ground, and in the snow, and when we got up in the morning we were as stiff as planks. We had plenty of alcohol, but it did not make us warm. We thus found out by bitter experience that alcohol did not make us warm, did not replace food of any kind, and did not replace coals. Let me tell you, there is nothing that will make you feel the cold more, nothing which will make you feel the *dreadful sense of hunger* more, than alcohol."

But, though the conclusion is quite clear, that alcohol is no food, still there are some who believe that, if not a food, at least it gives heat to the body, and assists digestion. Let us now examine these points. It is true the body may feel warmer for a short time after partaking of alcoholic drink ; but the reason of this is, because the alcohol drives the heat already in the body out to the skin. In a short time the heat which is driven out to the exterior evaporates, and leaves the entire body as a necessary consequence much colder than it was before. Dr. Davis, of Chicago, tells us that from extensive experiments made by him in 1850, he found that when alcohol is taken into the system, "the temperature of the body begins to fall within half an hour, and continues to decrease from two to three hours. The extent and duration of reduction was in direct proportion to the amount of alcohol taken." Professor Binz tried experiments on the lower animals, with the result that he found there was a fall of between 4° and 5° after a fatal dose had been administered. "It is a fallacy," says Sir William Gull, "to say that a man ought to take a glass of brandy on a cold morning to keep himself warm. You had better give a man food." And Dr. Burton tells us that:—"It is quite a delusion to imagine that alcohol causes warmth; it lowers the temperature of the whole body." But we can point to other practical proofs of this important point. During the Russian campaign of 1812, so fatal to the interests of France, it was found that almost all the soldiers who used alcohol succumbed to the cold and fatigue, while only very few abstainers fell victims to these rigours. The Esquimaux, Greenlanders, Laplanders, and other inhabitants of the coldest countries in the world, testify that

alcohol would unfit them for enduring their severe climate. The soldiers in the Russian army, when on the march in cold weather, not only use no ardent spirits, but no man who has been lately drinking is allowed to accompany them, as his drunken debauch would render him quite unfit to withstand the cold. The same strict abstinence has been found by practical experience in the Arctic expeditions to be the best preventative against cold.

“But,” cry out the champions of alcohol, “if it is neither a food or heat-giver, at least it aids in the digestion of food.” Some people are never tired telling their neighbours that they find great benefit from a glass of beer or wine taken at dinner. I think it would be more correct for such people to honestly say, that they find great benefit from their dinner, for it is their dinner that strengthens them, and not the beer or wine. As a matter of fact, alcohol, in any form, actually retards the digestion of food; and it is unfortunately an every-day occurrence for drunkards to vomit half-digested or wholly undigested food, hours and even days after partaking of it. The peculiar case of Alexis St. Martin, who was wounded during the American war, has afforded professional men a splendid opportunity of studying this important point. The injury which the ball inflicted on him was such that a hole was made in the stomach, which remained open and was used “as a door by which to introduce substances into the stomach, and a window through which to look in and examine effects.” Dr. Beaumont, the army surgeon at the time, brought St. Martin to his own home, and kept him there for three years, during which time a series of most careful experiments were made which have proved of inestimable value ever since. Now, among the substances introduced into the stomach of St. Martin was alcohol, the effects of which Dr. Beaumont carefully watched and noted down. It was found that when this was given to the patient the stomach became covered with inflammatory and ulcerous patches; the secretions were vitiated, and the gastric juice diminished in quantity, and of an unnatural viscosity; and yet, notwithstanding this, he described himself as perfectly well, and

complained of nothing. Evidently, therefore, from the testimony of St. Martin, great harm may result from the introduction of alcohol into the system, although the person who indulges, *even in small quantities*, may be altogether unconscious of its injurious results.

An eminent Edinburgh physician, Dr. Figg, tells us that he has been frequently called in to prescribe for patients after their drunken debauch of Saturday night, and that "a mustard emetic has almost invariably brought up the substance of the dinner of the previous day, with little or no change save that produced by mastication." It is scarcely necessary to remark, that had these persons not been drinking, all traces of their dinner would have disappeared from the stomach in the course of a few hours. Here is one of the examples he produces to show that alcohol does not aid in the digestion of food:—"An intemperate, irreclaimable woman partook of a little barley broth for her mid-day meal, previous to joining a festive party in the house of a sailor's wife. Having an unlimited supply of spirit, she drank herself to sleep at 4 a.m., and was found dead at 6. On opening the body, the barley broth was found intact, the grains and vegetable un-reduced."

The following is another test by which the effects of alcohol on the digestion of food were proved. To each of two mastiffs, six months old, five ounces of cold roast mutton, cut into squares, were given, the meat being passed into the throat without contact with the teeth. An elastic catcher was then passed into the stomach of one of them, and an ounce and a-quarter of proof spirit injected. After some hours had elapsed both animals were killed. In the case where the meat only had been given, it had altogether disappeared. In the case where the meat and alcohol had both been given, the pieces of meat were found still existing in the stomach as angular and perfect as when they were swallowed. Dr. Richardson tells us that alcohol, "when taken into the system, does not aid in digestion. On the contrary, as I found by experiment, digestion is impeded by it. One of the most important portions of the digestive process, the action of pepsine upon the food, is destroyed by

the action of the spirit." And Drs. Todd and Bowman assure us that "*alcohol retards digestion* by coagulating the pepsine, and thus interfering with its action." While we have the following clear and emphatic declaration, made by six hundred of the most eminent physicians of Holland, which speaks for itself:—

"The moderate use of strong drinks is always unhealthy, even when the body is in a healthy condition. It does not do any good to the digestion, but even interferes with that process; for strong drinks can only temporarily increase the feeling of hunger, but not in favour of digestion, after which strong reaction must follow, and evils which are usually attributed to other causes, but often result from the habitual use with moderate drinkers."

Notwithstanding, however, the strength of this testimony there are still some who even go the length of holding that alcohol is an absolute necessity of life. Now, it has been positively proved that alcohol is not essential to either life or health. The periodic need for regular food ceases each time after being supplied; but in the case of alcohol, the craving is never experienced until the taste for it is first cultivated. It is only when this taste is cultivated, and the passion takes hold on a man, that it becomes at length the most insatiable of human passions. "Man sinks gradually by this fell passion (says Dr. Linnaeus of Sweden); first he favours it, then warms to it, then burns for it, then is consumed by it." Alcohol induces its own necessity, but it is by no means a necessity of life. On the contrary, it has been clearly proved that the general effects of alcohol on the animal world are inimical to life.

"When we remember [says Dr. Ridge] that alcoholic liquors are not known to have been used till centuries after the appearance of man on the globe; that all animate creation below man lives and thrives without them; and that there have been, and still are, millions of our fellow-creatures of both sexes and of all ages, who live and move and have their being without any such liquors, I think we are justified in saying that they are in no sense necessary to healthy life."

It is a fact that no living animal or plant can be supported on such fluids; on the contrary, they all become sickly, and perish under such influence; thus, for example, if you

put a few ounces of alcohol into a pail of water in which are living fish, you will find that the fish will die in a very short time. "My opinion," says Sir John Hall, who was at one time Inspector-General, "is that neither spirits, wine, nor malt liquor is necessary for health. The healthiest army I ever served with had not a single drop of any of them."

Having now seen quite clearly that alcohol is neither a food nor an aid to digestion, nor a necessary of life, the question may naturally be asked, *What then is alcohol?* Alcohol is nothing more nor less than a dangerous irritant and fatal poison. And just as other deadly poisons, such as arsenic, may in certain cases be used in small quantities as medicine, so also, if it has any use at all, the only legitimate use of alcohol is as a medicine. We learn from all standard books which treat on chemistry, that alcohol is regarded and classed as a poison. "It is a dangerous poison," says Dr. Carpenter. "It constitutes a powerful narcotic poison," says Professor Christison. It is described as a poison in "Materia Medica," and as "an irritant and fatal poison" by Pereira. The French, English, and American Dispensatories, the highest authorities we have on such matters, describe alcohol as "a powerful irritant poison, rapidly causing intoxication, and, in large quantities, death." "Alcohol," says Sir Andrew Clarke, "is poison; so is strychnine, so is opium; it ranks with all these agents." Sir Astley Cooper says, "I never suffer ardent spirits in my house, thinking them evil spirits, spirits and poison are synonymous terms—that is, they mean the same thing." "It would be difficult," we are assured by Dr. Gordon, "to find a more destructive poison than ardent spirits;" and Dr. N. Allen tells us that:—

"Alcohol is an artificial product obtained by fermentation, and is never found in a simple state. It is a poison both in its nature and effects; it is pronounced as such by the highest authorities, and proved to be such by the test of chemistry as well as physiology. *Alcohol unadulterated is a pure poison*, and though taken into the system in a diluted state, without at first apparently any injurious effects, it is still a poison, and does the work of a poisonous agent."

The first narcotic symptom produced on the system by alcohol is that of incipient paralysis. The flush which may be observed on the face, is caused by the paralysis of the delicately constructed sympathetic nerves. In course of time they become thoroughly and completely paralyzed, and then the bloom on the cheek develops into the inevitable blotch on the nose. When alcohol is taken into the system, the pulse throbs quicker for a time, the eye sparkles with flame, and for a short time a more than usual activity is manifest, after which succeeds collapse and prostration. It is thus that all poisons act; and the very symptoms that men consider a test of the good they derive from alcohol, are in reality the undoubted harbingers of grave and imminent danger.

But of all the evil effects of this deadly poison, there is one far more remarkable and deplorable than all the rest, and that is the direct assault alcohol makes on the brain and mental faculties. The moment it is taken into the system, it makes immediately for the blood, and hurries off at once to the brain. Here it attacks, first of all, the highest functions, for the higher the function the more delicate and susceptible is the brain matter involved, and the more sensitive to injury. Hence, the moral and spiritual functions, such as reverence for God, aspiration, self-denial, purity, and patience, become the first victims of this insidious foe; while the coarser and more animal functions, having thus for a time gained control of the victim, leave him, as he but too often proves himself to be, *a brute and no man*. It is no wonder, therefore, that we have exhibited to us, from time to time, such convincing examples of this truth, and that we see men, who in sobriety are kind and affectionate, guilty, under the influence of drink, of crimes the most brutal, appalling, and cold-blooded, which it is within the ingenuity of man to devise.

That alcohol makes for the brain, when taken into the system, has been proved on the strongest possible testimony. Dr. Kirk tells us that on one occasion he dissected a man who died in a state of intoxication. "In two cavities of the brain was found the usual quantity of limpid fluid. When

we smelled it, the odour of whiskey was distinctly perceptible, and when we applied the candle to a portion in a spoon, it actually burned blue—the lambent blue flame, characteristic of poison, playing on the surface of the spoon for some seconds.” We have similar experience related by Dr. Ogston, of Aberdeen, in the case of a woman who, it was believed, had drowned herself in a state of intoxication. “We discovered nearly four ounces of fluid in the lateral brain cavities, having all the physical properties of alcohol.” Dr. John Percy found that by distilling the blood taken from the system of one intoxicated, he could *reproduce a percentage of alcohol*; and, by submitting the brain to the same process, that the percentage was much higher; from which he concluded that “a kind of affinity exists between alcohol and the cerebral (or brain) matter.” The last experiment on this point I shall relate, is that of Dr. Figg, who held a *post-mortem* examination on the body of John Carter, a young athletic man, who drank a pint of rum at one effort, and subsequently died from its effects. “The mouth, stomach, cardiac cavities and lungs, presented no appreciable trace of the rum. Even on opening the cranium, we found nothing to warrant a supposition of its presence. On making, however, a section into the lateral brain cavities, the rum flowed out in considerable quantities, altered in colour, but with its characteristic odour.” From all which it follows clearly, that alcohol has a special affinity for the brain, and, as a necessary consequence, works its saddest and most deplorable results in this—the seat of reason. Whenever, therefore, you see men struck down in *delirium tremens* in the midst of their drunken debauch; when you see men who were once strong, quivering in every limb, writhing in agony on their bed of pain, with features contorted, and wild and staring eyes, screaming aloud at the fancied approach of the most loathsome crawling creatures; when you hear men, who were wont to be wise, gibbering and chattering like a parcel of demented maniacs; when you see those of the weaker sex casting aside all modesty and self-respect, and acting the part of the demoniacal and insane, you will in future be able to give a reason for such

conduct, and ascribe it to that deadly poison which has entered their brains, and stolen away the one great gift of God, which alone elevates them above the jackal and the ape.

JOHN NOLAN, C.C.

---

## Liturgical Questions.

---

### THE "BENEDICTIO IN ARTICULO MORTIS" INDULGENCE.

THE INVOCATION OF THE SACRED NAME DECLARED NECESSARY BY  
THE S. C. OF INDULGENCES.

Thanks to the promptness and zeal of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, the question recently discussed in these pages regarding one of the conditions for gaining the plenary indulgence attached to the *Benedictio in articulo mortis* has been authoritatively decided. His Grace, knowing that the opinion maintained by us was contrary to the general practice of priests, but recognising, at the same time, the strength of the arguments by which this opinion was supported, at once determined to bring the question to the highest tribunal, and to have it decided by an authority to which the most learned theologians must bow. And knowing, moreover, how prone persons are to interpret words in accordance with their own preconceived notions, his Grace, in his question to the Congregation of Indulgences, made the point at issue so clear, that whatever reply the Congregation might vouchsafe should necessarily admit of only one interpretation. That such, in fact, is the reply of the Congregation, a glance will suffice to show. Priests in missionary countries, and, indeed, elsewhere, owe a debt of gratitude to his Grace for procuring so speedy and so satisfactory a solution of a question so important. Hitherto, it is to be feared, the condition declared by this decision not merely to be in future essential, but to have been essential

at least since the issue of the decree of 1775, has not been generally insisted upon by priests. This omission was, no doubt, owing to the fact that the necessity of this condition was not apparent. Now, however, doubt has vanished; the condition has been again declared to be essential everywhere; it is, besides, easy of fulfilment; and bishops, we feel sure, will at once instruct their priests of the necessity of fulfilling it.

For our own part, we feel peculiar satisfaction in publishing this decree. Had it been contrary to the opinion we advocated, still, in view of the importance of having an authoritative statement on a question of such moment to dying Christians, we should have given it to the public with the greatest satisfaction. For, even in that case, we should have remembered that we had been instrumental in procuring it. But, as the decree bears out to its last conclusion the opinion we advocated, we may be pardoned if we feel specially gratified at being able to present it to our readers.

By way of introduction to the decree, we shall give a brief review of the discussion which rendered it necessary. Relying on the decree of 1775, and on the interpretation of that decree given by the theologians, we maintained throughout, that the invocation of the Sacred Name by a dying person in the possession of his faculties—either orally or mentally, according to his state—was an essential condition for gaining the indulgence of the *Benedictio in articulo mortis*. This position was attacked from all quarters. First, it was denied that any such decree as that referred to 'in the I. E. RECORD, as bearing the date of September 20, 1775, was to be found. This contention was easily disposed of. But, immediately it was urged that the decree of 1775 did not refer to the *Benedictio in articulo mortis*. It referred, it was said, to a plenary indulgence granted by Clement XIV. to Christians dying without the assistance of a priest, on condition that they should invoke the Sacred Name with their dying lips, or, at least, in their heart. This opinion, too, was shown to be inconsistent with the wording of the decree and with the context in which it appeared. But,

not even now, were the assailants of our position to be put off. One last resource remained. Having admitted the existence of the decree of 1775, and also that it referred to the *Benedictio in articulo mortis*, they still contended that it did not constitute the invocation of the Sacred Name, an essential condition in missionary countries such as Ireland. Against this contention we argued—(1) from the decree itself. For neither in the question asked of the Congregation of Indulgences by the Vicar-General of Vannes, nor in the reply of the Congregation, could any trace be found of the distinction to which our opponents referred. We argued (2) from the consent of theologians, and showed that all theologians are unanimous in laying down this condition as being essential, without even giving a hint that it is essential in some countries, and not in others. This latter argument was considerably strengthened by the fact, that among these theologians were some who wrote *ex professo* for missionary countries, and who should, consequently, have made the suggested distinction, had it been, in their opinion, allowable to make it.

The discussion had now arrived at a point when an authoritative decision was called for. For though the general and settled practice was contrary to our opinion, yet the arguments in favour of that practice were so weak in comparison with those on which our opinion was based, that even the advocates of the old practice were forced to admit that our opinion was, at least, probable; and consequently, that their practice had descended from a region of certainty into one of doubt. And as in questions regarding the conditions for gaining indulgences of two probable opinions *pars tutior est sequenda*, it followed that, pending some authoritative decision, all priests should insist on the condition in favour of which we had argued. This unsatisfactory condition of things has now been put an end to by the timely interference of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin; and it is, undoubtedly, a source of great satisfaction to us to find that the position we took up and maintained throughout the discussion is amply vindicated by the reply of the Congregation of Indulgences to the question formulated by his Grace.

The following is the full text of both question and reply:—

### DUBLINENSIS.

Gulielmus Archiepiscopus Dublinensis et Hiberniae Primas sequentis dubii declarationem enixe petit :

Nuperrime exarsit inter nostrates controversia de re quae, cum sacerdotum qui moribundis auxilium ferunt maxime intersit, haud levem excitat animorum perturbationem. Agitur de benedictione in articulo mortis cum Indulgentia Plenaria, concessa a S. M. Benedicto XIV, in Constitutione data die 5 mens. Aprilis anni 1747, quae incipit “*Pia Mater*”; et quaeritur utrum in locis Missionum ad lucrandam hujusmodi Indulgentiam requiratur tanquam conditio essentialis, ut infirmus, quamdiu suae mentis est compos, invocet nomen Jesu, ore si potuerit, sin minus corde.

Quidam autumant hujusmodi invocationem—oralem sive mentalem pro diverso moribundi statu—esse conditionem essentialem ad consequendam praefatam Indulgentiam; et huic aiunt suffragari sententiae responsionem datam a S. Cong. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita die 20 Septembris anni 1775. (apud Prinzivalli, n. 357 ad 7<sup>ma</sup>).

Qui vero negant laudatam invocationem esse in locis Missionum conditionem sine qua non ad consequendam praefatam Indulgentiam, notunt facultatem eam largiendi concessam fuisse Sacrorum Antistitibus in locis Missionum existentibus, seu quocunque tempore extituris, a S. M. Clemente XIV. die 5 Aprilis 1772. Secretarius S. Congregationis de Prop. Fide tunc temporis existens refert tenorem hujusmodi concessionis et ipsa concessionis verba prostant in pagella facultatis pro Episcopis in locis Missionum constitutis, a S. C. de Prop. Fide impresentiarum data.

Iamvero hisce Pontificis verbis ante oculos positis, fautores sententiae negantis advertunt; 1<sup>o</sup> Pontificem nihil exigere nisi ut “servetur formula praescripta a S. M. Benedicto XIV. in Constitutione data 9 Aprilis 1747, quae incipit *Pia Mater*.” At vero in hujusmodi formula nullibi invenitur praescripta invocatio Nominis Jesu. Docent 2<sup>o</sup> responsionem S. C. Indulgentiarum jus quidem edere pro illis orbis partibus ubi Episcopi accipiunt facultatem impertiendi hanc Benedictionem cum Indulgentia Plenaria per Brevia in quibus praescribitur invocatio Nominis

Jesu : existimant vero fautores praedicti laudatam responsionem nihil efficere pro locis Missionum ubi facultas impertiendi memoratam Benedictionem cum Indulgentia Plenaria exercetur non vi Brevium in quibus praescribitur invocatio Nominis Jesu--quae Brevia Episcopis in locis Missionum constitutis minime dantur—sed vi concessionis Clementis XIV. quae de tali invocatione omnino silet.

Ita quidem hinc atque illinc acriter disceptatur, et sacerdotes qui curam gerunt animarum ancipites haerent, cum de ratione agendi haecenus servata, tum de certa agendi norma in posterum servanda.

Hisce expositis—vel paulo fusius quo status quaestionis plenissime innotescat—dubium, cujus declaratio a S. Sedis oraculo enixe efflagitur, ita concipi potest :—

Ut Christifideles in locis Missionum degentes et in ultimo vitae discrimine constituti valeant accipere Benedictionem in articulo mortis et consequi Indulgentiam Plenariam vi ejusdem lucranda, ex concessione Benedicti XIV. in Constitutione *Pia Mater* d. d. 5 Aprilis 1745—requiritur tamquam conditio sine qua non ad lucranda praedictam Indulgentiam ut aegrotus in locis Missionum constitutus, quamdiu suae mentis est compos invocet Nomen Jesu—ore si potuerit, sin minus corde ?

S. Congregatio Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita, re mature perpensa praefato dubio respondendum censuit.

*Affirmative*, id est, invocatio saltem mentalis SSñi Nominis Jesu est conditio sine qua non pro universis Christi fidelibus, qui in mortis articulo constituti plenariam Indulgentiam assequi volunt vi hujus Benedictionis, juxta id quod alias decrevit haec S. Congregatio in una Vindana die 23 Septembris 1775.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria ejusdem S. C. die 22 Septembris 1892.

FR. A. CARD. SEPIACCI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

A. Archiep. Nicopolit., *Secretarius*.

It will be seen that in the explanation of the *status quaestionis*, his Grace has given due prominence to the arguments urged on both sides during the discussion of this question. And, certainly, those who held against us cannot accuse him of not having reproduced their arguments in the very strongest form they can assume. Indeed, as given by

his Grace, these arguments present a stronger plea for the traditional practice than they have ever been made to present before. Due prominence is given by him to the concession made by Clement XIV. to missionary countries, to the omission of the condition in question from the leaflet on which the Propaganda faculties are printed, and to the words in the Decree of 1775, referring to the presence of this condition in the Briefs granted to certain bishops. And having explained the question in such a manner as to preclude the possibility of its being misunderstood by the Congregation itself, or by anyone who should afterwards be inclined to cavil, and having divested the question of all irrelevant details, his Grace, confining himself to what alone concerns us, asks, "Is the invocation of the Sacred Name an essential condition for gaining *in missionary countries* the *plenary* Indulgence attached to the *Benedictio in articulo mortis* granted by Benedict XIV. in the Constitution *Pia mater*?"

To this clear question, the point of which can neither be evaded nor misunderstood, the Congregation of Indulgences has replied in the affirmative. But we desire to call attention not merely to the fact that the reply of the Congregation is in the affirmative, but also to the absolutely universal form of the reply, as well as to the reference made in the reply to the Decree of 1775.

The Congregation, as if wishing to emulate in its reply the desire of his Grace in framing the question, to prevent the possibility of any future dispute on this subject, does not content itself with merely replying *Affirmative*—though the precision with which the question was put rendered such a reply amply sufficient—but goes on to explain, with apparently unnecessary minuteness, that the condition in question is essential for *all* the faithful who wish to gain the indulgence attached to the *Benedictio in articulo moris*.

"*Affirmative* [writes the Congregation] id est, invocatio saltem mentalis SS<sup>m</sup>i Nominis Jesu est conditio sine qua non *pro universis Christi fidelibus* qui in mortis articulo constituti plenariam indulgentiam assequi volunt vi hujus Benedictionis."

And to show that the present Decree does not introduce

any new legislation, the Congregation declares that the same decision was already given in 1775 :—

“Juxta id quod alias decrevit haec S. Congregatio in una Vindana die 23 Septembris, 1775.”

We confess that no part of the present Decree gives us so much satisfaction as this in which the Congregation authoritatively declares that the Decree of 1775 made the invocation of the Sacred Name an essential condition *pro omnibus Christi fidelibus* even in missionary countries. For in advocating this opinion friend and foe alike were against us, and all we had to support us was the firm conviction that we were upholding, though against overwhelming odds, the true interpretation of the words of the Congregation.

D. O'LOAN.

#### STATIONS OF THE CROSS.

##### I.

“REV. DEAR SIR,—The reason alleged by Father O'Loan for not wearing a stole in reciting the Stations of the Cross, is certainly logical, ‘sed, pace tanti viri.’ I think it quite lawful to wear a purple stole, whenever the priest says ‘The Way of the Cross. Probably we shall not be far wrong in following the ‘Praxis Urbis’ in this extra-liturgical service; and the *Ephem. Liturg.*, Nov., 1891, page 635, speaking of the purple stole used in The Way of the Cross says: . . . ‘eiusmodi est consuetudo, quantum scimus, prope universalis, exemplum dantibus cunctis Ecclesiis Urbis.’

##### II.

“Is it lawful for the celebrant to recite the prayers after Mass, with the chalice in one hand and the card in the other?”

“This, to my way of thinking, is quite opposed to the spirit of the rubrics. Supposing it to be right for the server to hold the card, as the assistants do, when the priest sings the prayer at Benediction, would it not seem more correct for the celebrant to join his hands?”

“Of course, I do not contemplate the case of a short-sighted priest.

“Kindly let me know in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD your view on this matter.

“A SUBSCRIBER.”

1. Our esteemed correspondent is quite welcome to believe that it is lawful for a priest to wear a purple stole while publicly reciting the Stations of the Cross; but he will pardon us for maintaining against his subjective conviction, the authority of the *Ephemerides*, and the *Praxis Urbis*, that the practice is not only not sanctioned by the rubrics, but is contrary to the spirit of the rubrics. Our correspondent will not, we hope, feel offended if we discount his authority, and address ourselves solely to the authority of the *Ephemerides*, and of the *Praxis Urbis*.

In the last number of the I. E. RECORD we showed that the *Ephemerides*, though issued in Rome, and ably written, is not infallible in its decisions. For, as we pointed out, not only did it resolve a question in a sense totally at variance with the true sense, as well as with an express statement contained in the rubrics of the Missal; but it moreover, in a subsequent issue, gave the true solution of the question, thus flatly contradicting its former statement. More, therefore, than the mere authority of the *Ephemerides* is required to render lawful a practice which is shown to be against the spirit of the rubrics.

But the *Ephemerides*, it will be urged, is backed up by the universal practice of the city of Rome—by the *Praxis Urbis*, as our correspondent puts it. This seems a formidable argument, and apparently decides the question in favour of the lawfulness of the practice advocated by our correspondent. It does no such thing, however, as we shall demonstrate. In the first place, if the practice be against the rubrics, no custom, however inveterate it may have grown, or in how high soever a place it may exist, can ever render it lawful. It remains an abuse, and as such should be put an end to. Even the *Praxis Urbis* could not make it tolerable. Now this practice has been shown to be contrary, at least to the spirit, if not to the letter, of the rubrics.

But, granting that the custom is one that possesses all the qualities necessary to permit it to be legitimized, it is still a mere custom; and when by the lapse of time it becomes lawful, it is lawful only in that place, church, city,

or country in which it sprang up, and was practised until it was recognised. Hence, though it be conceded that the custom is lawful in Rome, it by no means follows that it is lawful everywhere.

Finally, the mere fact that a certain custom prevails in Rome, is not a sufficient proof that it is in strict conformity with the legislation of the Church. Of the truth of this statement, the Decree we publish this month from the Congregation of Indulgences, is a sufficient proof. The *universal* custom of the priests of the city of Rome—the universal practice of the fifty-six parish priests who minister to the spiritual wants of the faithful of Rome—if we are to credit the statement of a recent writer who seemed to know, is declared by this Decree to have been utterly wrong in a most important point.

We repeat, then, that our esteemed correspondent is quite welcome to the belief he professes ; but we counsel him not to rely too much on the authorities he alleges in its support.

2. It does seem a little awkward for the celebrant to hold the chalice while reciting the prayers after Mass. But it is not so easy to show that the practice has been either explicitly or implicitly condemned. We once heard it stated that a Decree condemning this practice had been issued by the Congregation of Rites, but have never been able to find any trace of it. It would certainly be more becoming to leave the chalice on the altar until the prayer has been recited ; and this custom, we believe, is very general on the continent. The priest can then hold the card in the usual manner in both hands ; or, if he does not require the card, or if it is held by the Mass-servers, he can keep his hands joined, as our correspondent suggests.

D. O'LOAN.

## Documents.

---

### I.

#### SPECIAL RULES OF TRANSFERENCE FOR THE FEAST OF ST. JOSEPH.

##### SUMMARY.

1. When the Feast of St. Joseph falls on Passion Sunday, it is to be transferred to the next day.

2. When it occurs in Holy Week, it is to be transferred to the Wednesday following Low Sunday.

##### S. RITUUM CONGREGATIO. URBIS ET ORBIS.

Ex quo Summus Pontifex Pius IX. beatum Ioseph purissimum Deiparae immaculatae Virginis sponsum, atque Christi Domini Salvatoris nostri putativum patrem, universae Catholicae Ecclesiae Patronum constituit, antiqua Christifidelium pietas erga ipsum inclytum Patriarcham mirifice aucta est. Haec porro pietas, nova veluti addita flamma, ferventius exarsit postquam Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII. per suas encyclicas litteras, sub die xv. Augusti anno MDCCCLXXXIX. datas, gloriosi eiusdem Patriarchae dignitatis praestantiam et validissimum apud Deum patrocinium celebravit, atque erga caelestem Patronum devotionem cohortationibus favoribusque inter fideles fovere subinde non destitit. Hinc factum est ut ad Apostolicam Sedem undique transmissae sint postulationes, quo amplioris in sacra liturgia cultus honores beato Ioseph tribuerentur.

Iamvero Sanctitas Sua, etsi de his supplicibus votis sibi delatis summo afficeretur gaudio, utpote quae populorum in dies succrescentem devotionem referrent; nihilominus eundem Sanctum Patriarcham potiori liturgico cultu, qui ordinem immutaret iamdiu in Ecclesia sapientissime praestitutum, ditare minime censuit.

Veruntamen quum saepe saepius illius Festum xiv. Kalendas Aprilis affixum, ob occursum Dominicae Passionis, vel Hebdomadae Maioris ea die recoli nequeat, ac proinde eius celebratio iuxta rubricas aliquando nimium protrahenda sit, ne id in detrimentum vertat singularis illius obsequii, quod suo caelesti Patrono universus Catholicus Orbis una simul exhibet; Sanctitas Sua, ex Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis consulto, statuit ut iis annis, quibus praefatum Festum occurrerit in Dominica Passionis, transferatur in Feriam secundam immediate sequentem, et quoties

inciderit in Maiorem Hebdomadam, reponatur in Feria quarta post Dominicam in Albis tamquam in sede propria: servato rubricarum praescripto quoad translationem festorum iisdem diebus occurrentium.

Hoc autem decretum promulgari atque in rubricis Breviarii ac Missalis Romani adiici praecepit. Die xv. Augusti MDCCCXCII.

C. Card. ALOISI-MASELLA, *S. R. C., Praefectus.*

L. ✠ S.

Pro. R. P. D. VINCENTIO NUSSI, *S. R. C., Secretario.*

IOANNES PONZI, *Substitutus.*

## II.

### THE BLESSING OF THE FONT IN PAROCHIAL CHURCHES ON HOLY SATURDAY AND THE VIGIL OF PENTECOST.

#### SPALATEN.

Rñus Dñus Philippus Franciscus Nakic Episcopus Spalaten Sacrae Rituum Congregationi humillime quae sequuntur exposuit: "In Diocesi Spalatensi antiqua viget consuetudo in Sabbato Sancta et in Vigilia Pentecostes fontem baptismalem benedicendi tantum in Cathedrali, Concathedrali, Collegiata et nonnullis praecipuis parochialibus Ecclesiis; pro usu vero fontium baptismalium reliquarum Ecclesiarum parochialium defertur aqua benedicta ex memoratis Ecclesiis. Eiusmodi consuetudo, minime consentanea ritualibus praescriptionibus, repetenda probabiliter est ex eo quod olim istae Ecclesiae parochiales fuerint succursales illarum, in quibus aqua baptismalis benedicitur: et ex eo quod in nonnullis parochiis ob defectum ministrorum, quia fideles in memoratis diebus ad Ecclesiam non accedunt, sollemnis benedictio difficulter perageretur" Idem Rñus Episcopus, hisce expositis, a Sacra Rituum Congregatione declarari petiit:

I. An ista consuetudo ulterius toleranda sit?

II. An benedictio fontis, in casu quo fideles non accedant ad Ecclesiam diebus statutis, privatim absolvenda sit?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem infrascripti Secretarii, exquisitoque voto alterius ex Apostolicarum Caeremoniarum Magistris, ita hisce dubiis rescribendum censuit, videlicet:

Ad I. *Negative*; exceptis, si adsint, specialibus ac determinatis iuribus circa Ecclesias matrices.

Ad II. *Affirmative.*

Atque ita rescripsit ac declaravit die 17 Iunii, 1892.

✠ CAL. Card. ALOISI-MASELLA, *Praefectus.*

VINCENTIUS NUSSI, *Secretarius.*

## III.

THE CUSTOM OF SAYING THE "CREDO" IN THE MASS OF  
THE INVENTIO S. STEPHANI.

## VOTIVE MASS OF THE SACRED HEART.

## METEN.

De mandato Rm̃i Dñi Episcopi Meten. hodiernus Redactor Calendarii Dioecesei Sacrae Rituum Congregationi insequentia Dubia pro opportuna resolutione humillime subiecit nimirum :

*Dubium I.* Invaluit usus Symbolum recitandi in Festo, ritus duplicis maioris, Inventionis S. Stephani, sive in Ecclesia Cathedrali, quae sub eiusdem Sancti invocatione dedicata est, sive in tota Dioecesi, in qua uti Patronus die 26 Decembris rite colitur.

Potestne hic usus servari ?

Et quatenus *Negative*, petitur ut, attenta consuetudine, in tota Dioecesi Symbolum recitari queat die 3 Augusti.

*Dubium II.* Utrum Missa votiva Sacratissimi Cordis Iesu, per Decretum diei 28 Iunii, 1889 concessa pro ea feria VI., quae prima in mense occurrit, habenda sit ut votiva pro re gravi, etiam si dicatur sine cantu (attenta praesertim dignitate festorum, in quibus haec Missa conceditur); an potius habenda sit ut votiva privata sine *Gloria* et sine *Credo*, cum omnibus Collectis a Rubrica praescriptis ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem infrascripti Secretarii, exquisitoque voto alterius ex Apostolicarum Caeremoniarum Magistris, ita propositis Dubiis rescribendum censuit, videlicet :

Ad I. *Pro gratia, facto verbo cum SSmo.* :

Ad II. *Detur recens Decretum in una Montis Politiani*, 20 Maii, 1890.<sup>1</sup> Atque ita rescripsit die 20 Maii, 1892. Facto postmodum Sanctissimo Domino nostro Leoni Papae XIII. per infrascriptum Secretarium relatione de primo Dubio, Sanctitas Sua resolutionem Sacrae ipsius Congregationis benigne approbare dignata est. Die 22 Iunii, anno eodem.

✠ CAL. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, *S. R. C.*, Praefectus.  
VINCENTIUS NUSSI, *Secretarius*.

<sup>1</sup> Hocce Decretum in primo ex Dubiis quaerit : " Missa votiva SS. Cordis Iesu. . . celebrari debet sine *Gloria*, sine *Credo*, et cum tribus Orationibus, an ritu quo celebrantur Missae votivae solemniter cum *Gloria* et *Credo* et unica Oratione ? " Responsum vero est : " Negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad secundam." *Redactio*.

## IV.

DECREES REGARDING VESTMENTS, PORTABLE ALTARS, RELICS,  
THE KEEPING OF THE HOLY OILS, &C.

## LAUDEN.

Rñus Dñus Ioannes Baptista Rota Episcopus Lauden. animadvertens in Pastoralis Visitatione, quod in pluribus Dioeceseos sibi commissae Ecclesiis sacra paramenta et suppellectilia adhibentur haud liturgiis legibus conformia, quae quidem ob res augustas haud facile est passim renovari : Sacrae Rituum Congregationi sequentia Dubia pro opportuna resolutione humillime subiecit, nimirum :

*Dubium* I. Utrum adhiberi possint sacra paramenta ex lana confecta, prohibendo tamen ne in posterum emanentur ?

*Dubium* II. Albae veteres ex gossypio acui pietas permitti possunt donec consummentur ?

*Dubium* III. In oratoriis ruralibus atque Ecclesiis, quae parvum habent censum, planetae sericae flavi coloris, ut antea, adhiberi ne queunt ?

*Dubium* IV. In hac Dioecesi extant multa altaria portatilia, vulgo “pietre sacre” quorum operculum ex metallo confectum est. Quaeritur utrum eiusmodi altaria consecrationem amiserint ?

*Dubium* V. Thecae vetustae cum Reliquiis, quae authentico documento carent, olim ad suppressa Monasteria spectantes, possuntne exponi in altari, uti fit ab immemorabili tempore ?

*Dubium* VI. Altaria Ecclesiarum olim ad monasticos ordines pertinentium, quae habentur passim consecrata, etsi careant sepulcro Reliquiarum (procul dubio sub tabulis marmoreis reconditarum, uti recognitum fuit in duabus Ecclesiis, quarum altaria rursus consecrata sunt), debentne rursus consecrari ?

*Dubium* VII. Causa sufficiens haberi protest ad permittendum Parochis Oleum Infirmorum apud se domi retinere, quia haec ab Ecclesia parochiali seiuncta est ; ita ut huius fores noctu per accitos famulos aperiendae essent ?

*Dubium* VIII. Fasne est Parochis stolam induere super rochetum aut superpellicum, sed mantelleta contextum, quoties sacramenta administrant ?

*Dubium* IX. Canonici Ecclesiae Cathedralis induti cappa magna et stola, possuntne sacram synaxim distribuere, vel patenam deferre, seu porrigere quoties Episcopus solemniter Sanctissimam Eucharistiam Fidelibus distribuit ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secre-

tarii, exquisitoque voto alterius ex Apostolicarum Caeremoniarum Magistris, re mature perpensa, ita propositis Dubiis rescribendum censuit, videlicet :

Ad I. *Negative*, iuxta Decretum in una *Senen. diei 18 Decembris, 1877, ad V :*

Ad II. *Pro gratia, donec consumantur :*

Ad III. *Negative*, iuxta Decretum in una *Mutinen. diei 22 Septembris 1837 ad VIII :*

Ad IV. et V. *Negative :*

Ad VI. Datur potestas, vigore facultatum Sacrae Rituum Congregationi a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leone Papa XIII. tributarum, consecrandi per breviorē formulam ea tantum altaria quae certo constet numquam consecrata fuisse.

Ad VII. *Standum Decreto* in una *Toletana diei 31 Augusti, 1872 ad V.*

Ad VIII et IX. *Negative.* Atque ita rescripsit, declaravit et indulsit. Die 23 Iunii, 1892.

✠ CAL. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, *S. R. C., Praefectus.*  
VINCENTIUS NUSSI, *Secretarius.*

## V.

### THE OFFICE FOR THE DEAD ON THE FERIA 11<sup>da</sup>.

#### NICOSIEN.

In Ecclesia olim Collegiata nunc Concathedrali Nicosiensi singulis feriis secundis per annum ab immemorabili tempore viget consuetudo a vespere Matutinum Defunctorum recitandi. Nunc vero dubium inter Capitulares exoritur, an teneantur id exequi quoties in Feriam secundam incidat festum solemnius ex, gr. Nativitatis, Epiphaniae Domini, vel duplex quodpiam primae vel secundae classis. Hinc Rñus Dñus Bernardus Cozzuoli hodiernus Episcopus Nicosien. sequens Dubium Sacrae Rituum Congregationi pro opportuna solutione humillime subiecit, nimirum : “An stante immemorabili consuetudine recitandi singulis feriis secundis totius anni Officium Defunctorum, debeat recitari ratione Rubricae, etiam quando in aliqua ex dictis feriis incidat festum de praecepto, vel primae aut secundae classis, vel Octava ex privilegiatis” ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, exquisito voto alterius ex Apostolicarum Caeremoniarum. Magistris, re mature perpensa, ita proposito Dubio censuit rescribendum, videlicet : “ Consuetudinem recitandi vespere Officium Defunctorum qualibet feria secunda per annum, occurrente licet festo de praecepto, vel duplici primae

aut secundae classis, vel infra Octavam privilegiatam servari posse dummodo submissa voce fiat, expleto Officio diei." Atque ita rescripsit die 22 Iulii, 1892.

✠ CAL. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, *Praefectus*.  
IOANN. PONZI, *Substitutus*.

## VI.

QUESTION REGARDING STATUES IN A CHURCH OF PERSONS  
NOT CANONISED.

## MEXICANA.

Hodiernus Caeremoniarum Magister Ecclesiae Collegiatae sub titulo B. M. V. de Guadalupe in civitate atque Archidioecesi Mexicana de mandato sui Rm̃i Ordinarii, Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi sequens Dubium pro opportuna solutione humillime subiecit, nimirum : In memorati templi, quae nunc absolvuntur, instaurationibus habetur renovatum altare maius, ubi B. M. V. de Guadalupe imago depicta collocanda erit, medium inter binas marmoreas statuas, scilicet Rm̃i Dñi Zumarraga primi Antistitis Mexicani et cuiusdam Indi Ioannis Didaci, cui Deipara Virgo fertur apparuisse. Quaeritur an praedictas virorum statuas etiamsi adorantium instar, ibi apponere liceat ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, re mature perpensa, ita proposito Dubio rescribendum censuit, videlicet : *Simulacra de quibus in casu, collocari poterunt in Ecclesia. dummodo non exponantur super altare.* Atque ita rescripsit die 15 Iulii, 1892.

✠ CAL. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, *Praefectus*.  
IOANN. PONZI, *Substitutus*.

## VII.

## DIANEN.

Rm̃us Dñus Vincentius Addessi Episcopus Dianen. sequens Dubium a Sacra Rituum Congregatione declarari humiliter expectivit nimirum : " A pluribus annis in Cathedrali Ecclesia Dianen. invecta est consuetudo, qua Canonici et Mansionarii Choro addicti in Missis Conventualibus, imo et in Pontificalibus, neque canunt, neque submissa voce recitant *Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus et Agnus* : sed haec omnia peragi sinunt ab uno laico, qui organum pulsat. Quaeritur an haec consuetudo sustineri possit, vel potius eliminanda velut abusus ? "

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio huic Dubio censuit rescribendum : *Standum esse in omnibus Caeremoniali Episcoporum.* Atque ita declaravit et rescripsit die 22 Iulii 1892.

✠ CAL. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, *Praefectus*.  
IOANN. PONZI, *Substitutus*.

## Notices of Books.

---

ST. PATRICK'S HYMN BOOK. No. 1, 32mo, Hymns only ;  
 No. 2, Crown 8vo, Hymns and Tunes (Tonic Sol-fa Vocal  
 Score) ; No. 3, Impl. 8vo, Organ Score. Edited by Rev.  
 E. Gaynor, C.M. Dublin : Browne & Nolan, Nassau-st.  
 ST. PATRICK'S HYMN CARDS. Edited by Rev. E. Gaynor, C.M.  
 Dublin : Browne & Nolan, Nassau-st.

WITH great confidence and with all the earnestness we can command, we venture to call the attention of priests, nuns, managers of schools, and others concerned with music in our churches and schools, to the above series of books. We feel so deeply the importance of the subject with which they deal ; we are so impressed with the idea that they meet a crying want, in a way never attempted before, that we fear our *mala-droit* pen may damage, instead of serving, the cause we have so much at heart, viz., Congregational and School hymn-singing. But, fortunately, the books speak for themselves. We wish we could impress our readers with the advantages of congregational singing. From a strictly religious point of view, its power for good is incalculable. It warms the heart, enlivens faith, and increases devotion and fervour. In fact, it is, as we know from St. Augustine, a most powerful incentive to pious and holy reflections. But, over and above its spiritual advantages, in common with all music, it has a distinctly refining influence on character and manners.

This question of congregational and school singing, is one which has been, so far, almost entirely overlooked in Ireland, speaking of the country as a whole. Why should not our parish priests and all others concerned with the spiritual welfare and refinement of our people, make more extensive use of such a powerful aid, when our Catholic brethren abroad, but more especially in Germany, use it with such beneficial results ? Even our brethren in England are far ahead of us in this matter. And as for the Protestant sects in England, congregational singing appears to be the mainstay of their whole religious service. They have carried it to a very high degree of perfection ; and we believe it may be said with perfect truth, that the small remnant of faith which these sects still retain is mainly owing to their hymns. Deprived of the help of the sacraments, and with private

prayer but little practised amongst them, congregational singing is to them practically the only means of giving expression to their faith and love of God.

Now, for the first time, we believe, we have introduced to us in this country, in a complete, perfect, and cheap form, the material for congregational singing in our churches. Till now our confraternities, and even our choirs, had to be content with books of words (and very often even these were absent) for the singing of hymns. The music had to be learned by ear, and we all know what a very imperfect and slovenly method of singing that results in.

But now we have in the *St. Patrick's Hymn Cards* the music and words of each hymn in the handiest possible form at a cost of less than a farthing. Then the words are published separately, at a very moderate cost, for those that wish the work in that form. The words, with music, in sol-fa notation, in beautifully clear type, on smooth rolled paper, and the organ score, can also be had separately.

In fact, everyone taking a part in congregational singing, viz., the members of the congregation, the conductor, and the organist, have here to their hand in the most convenient form the best collection of Catholic hymns, both as regards words and music, that has as yet been brought within their reach.

And first as to the words. *St. Patrick's Hymn Book* has already been reviewed in the I. E. RECORD, and received very great praise on the appearance of the first edition. This, the second edition, has been revised and very much improved. Sister Mary Alphonsus Dowling, Father Mathew Russell, S.J., Mr. Orby Shipley, and other well-known writers and compilers of hymns, figure prominently in the list of contributors.

Now as to the music. The editor states in his preface, very truly, that the hymn tune has an individuality all its own. It is as different, for instance, from a ballad or ordinary drawing-room song as an oratorio is from a comic opera. In that respect some previous collections of hymns left much to be desired. All sorts of adaptations of secular tunes and airs were drafted into the service quite irrespective of their suitability. All that was asked was, could the words be made to fit in with the air. There was no thought at all of getting an air to suit the character or sentiment of the words. In this respect *St. Patrick's Hymn Book* ranks very high indeed. With the exception of some few old airs, which, on account of their being widely known and for old association's

sake, have been retained, only well-known hymn-tune writers have been put under contribution.

The best proof of its orthodoxy in this matter is, that as a necessary condition to its getting the official *imprimatur*, and of being allowed to be used in the diocese of Dublin, by direction of his Grace the Archbishop—who, we understand, took a great personal interest in the matter—it was submitted for examination to the Dublin Diocesan Commission for Ecclesiastical Music, and came through that severe ordeal successfully.

The country, generally, and the ecclesiastical element in particular, owe a debt of gratitude to the editor, Father Gaynor, for the great service he has rendered to congregational and school hymn-singing in Ireland, by the publication of *St. Patrick's Hymn Book*.

Father Gaynor, knowing that it is only through the schools we can ever hope to spread the knowledge and love of music, either ecclesiastical or other, amongst our people, has inaugurated a new movement in Ireland. He has organized a choir competition amongst the various schools in Cork, which, besides affording pleasure and instruction to the people of Cork, has aroused in them the greatest possible interest in the cultivation of music in our schools. I am happy to say that his good example is about being followed in Dublin. Let us hope with equally happy results. Meantime, the duty of priests and managers of schools is clear. If they want singing in their churches and their schools, let them provide themselves with *St. Patrick's Hymn Book*. Any school teacher with a slight knowledge of music, will do the rest.

THE CREED EXPLAINED: OR, AN EXPOSITION OF CATHOLIC  
DOCTRINE, ACCORDING TO THE CREEDS OF FAITH AND  
THE CONSTITUTIONS AND DEFINITIONS OF THE CHURCH.

By the Rev. Arthur Devine, Passionist. London:  
R. Washbourne, 18, Paternoster-row, E.C.

THE first eight chapters of this book are occupied with an introductory treatise on Faith, which is very much on the lines of Dr. Murray's disputation on the same subject, in the beginning of his *Tractatus de Ecclesia Christi*. In the next two chapters, the author gives the texts, and a short history of the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed, and the profession of faith, or Creed of Pius IV. The rest of the book is taken up with a detailed exposition of the articles of the Apostles' Creed, and of the additions to it, contained in the Nicene Creed. We shall allow the author to explain the aim of his book. "It is intended," he

writes in his preface, "as a help to Catholic students and teachers; as a safe and secure guide to the laity, in matters of Catholic belief; and as a convenient handbook for priests on the mission, for the preparation of their sermons and instructions. And all non-Catholics may learn from it a correct knowledge of the Christian doctrine, as held and taught by the Church." We think Father Devine may fairly claim to have accomplished his purpose. But, while we say, with pleasure, that his book is such a help, guide, and handbook, as he intended it to be, we think it due to honest criticism to state what, in our opinion, are its faults.

Sometimes technical terms are used, without any explanation of their meaning; as, for instance, in the following definition (page 6): "That about which something is believed, may be called the *subject* of faith, in an objective sense." We are not told what is the meaning of "faith in an objective sense." The expression "salutary faith" is also used (page 11); although in explaining the divisions of faith, the author does not refer to this kind. The opinion that the world was created in six days of twenty-four hours each, is maintained on the ground that "the age of the world is an historical fact, and rests, therefore, more on authority than geology." But what authority have we more definite on the subject than the fossil remains of plants and animals, which evidence the slow building up of this world through the course of ages? Dr. Molloy, in his *Geology and Revelation*, writes: "We feel quite satisfied that the great Creator of the universe did not bring suddenly into existence the withered remains and broken fragments of animals which had never lived; that He did not stamp upon the massive rocks, buried in the profound recesses of the earth, the impress of a luxuriant vegetation which had never flourished; that He did not, in short, create, under millions of forms, the delusive appearances of things which had never been, and scatter them through this world of ours in wild profusion, well knowing that, after many centuries, they would come to light, to bewilder human reason and to lead it into error.

"This conclusion, of course, we are prepared to abandon, if it should be found to clash with any certain truth, or with any demonstrated fact. But, in the meantime, it seems to us as well grounded, and as fairly established as the conclusions we are accustomed to accept without hesitation in the matter of other sciences, and in the common business of life (page 339). He also says that it would be easy to show, from the writings of those

who are opposed to this view, that they have never thoroughly examined the facts on which it is founded (page 338).

Father Devine's book seems to us to be, at least in the introductory treatise on faith, too much a mere translation of technical theology. The style is simple enough throughout, but the sentences are not always elegantly constructed. With all these faults, his book remains a valuable exposition of Catholic doctrine. It will, in our opinion, be found very useful by priests, and by those whose duty it is to give advanced instruction on religious subjects. It is neatly bound and carefully printed. T. P. G.

TALES AND LEGENDS. Translated from the Spanish of Capella. By H. Wilson. New York : Benziger Brothers.

In this very pretty and neatly-bound volume we find a number of legends of the Middle Ages, which ought to prove very interesting to young persons. In several of these legends we find reference to old superstitions, which exist more or less in every country ; for example, in *A Tale of St. John's Eve*, we see what a great similarity there is between the superstitions of Spain and those of Ireland with regard to that night. This is only one instance ; several others could be shown. In the legend entitled *Stavoren*, a circumstance—that of a city submerged beneath the waves—recalls the lines of our great national poet :—

“ On Lough Neagh's banks as the fisherman strays,  
When the clear soft eve's declining ;  
He sees the round towers of other days,  
In the waves beneath him shining.”

Although these legends may be only regarded by some as interesting reading, still some of them contain wholesome morals, and in this manner we have sound principles taught in an attractive form ; indeed this is one of the ends of legends ; as the preface says : “ In times less sceptical and less critical than our own, stories and anecdotes of all sorts were freely used to illustrate moral truths, or as a kind of text whereto to append exhortations. . . . Such, doubtless, is the history of many legends. These, though we cannot give them the credence accorded by our ancestors, we may still welcome in our busy, material, and iron age as attractive reminiscences of simple and more romantic times.” In fine, this pretty little volume is all that could be desired as an attractive, and, at the same time—what happens but rarely—a useful story-book ; and we venture to predict for it great popularity, and a wide circulation amongst young people of both sexes.

W. B.

# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

---

DECEMBER, 1892.

---

## ON PAIN, CONSIDERED AS A MOTIVE.

MAN is generally defined “a rational animal.” Now, being in part animal and in part rational, he sometimes acts as an irrational creature; that is to say, by habit, instinct, passion, and unreasonable and unreasoning impulses, and sometimes like an intelligent being, with judgment, reflection, and forethought. When man is true to his higher nature, and under the dominion of reason, he will act only in obedience to some motive or another, be it what it may. That is to say, man, *as man*, can never exercise his free will in any way whatever without a determining cause.

Though these determining causes are most various and most numerous, the most general and widespread of all are those which arise from the fear of pain. The dread of pain and suffering may be the lowest and most unworthy motive with which a person can be inspired. This we will not deny. All we are contending is, that it is the commonest and the most universal. Whereas some motives appeal only to high and noble natures, this appeals to all, and will influence even those who are too degraded and animal to be touched by any other.

It begins to assert its power at the earliest age. A mother instructs her little children, and instils into their tender minds principles of obedience and reverence, by threats of pain, as the penalty of any violation of her commands. To be put in a corner; to be deprived of some favourite dish; to be sent off to bed while the sun is still

high in the heavens, and without the customary caress ; or, in cases of more serious faults, to be whipped with the birch-rod, constitute motives strengthening and bracing up the will to act in accordance with what is right and just. Even at the most tender age, suffering and disgrace are employed to deter the would-be offender from the commission of evil.

Years pass. The child grows up to be a boy. His will strengthens, his passions develop, and he is full of animal spirits, which need control. He is sent off to school. Here he has certain work to do, and not always congenial or agreeable work. He is expected to rise early, and to sit still, for many hours a-day, on a hard bench in the study hall. He must apply his mind to his books ; and construe, and parse, and translate Latin and Greek, French and German. He must puzzle over geometry and algebra and chemistry ; and commit to memory history, literature, geography, and much else, which entails labour and trouble. In a word, he has many a hard duty to perform, many a difficult task to fulfil, which is not to his taste. What supplies him with the requisite motive ? Well, there may be many considerations, but one of these, and the *only* one we are now concerned with, is punishment. He will be detained in the study during playtime ; he will be forced to remain at his desk while his companions are cricketing, or bathing, or skating ; or else, if the fault be a serious one, he may even be ferruled or flogged. Thus the cane, and the birch-rod, and the ferula are held out as incentives to virtuous conduct. The fear of punishment, and the dread of suffering, will supply a boy with a motive, and generally a very effective motive, to restrain his inclination, and to brace himself up to do his allotted task, even when tedious, monotonous, and uninteresting. In this way he is taught to control his lower propensities by the exercise of reason, and to hold the mastery over his passions, and to be guided in all his actions by principle rather than by inclination.

And, just as the child passes from the nursery to the college ; so, a few years later, the youth passes from the college into the wide world. The schoolmaster is no longer

there with his stern voice and menacing rod. True. But the threat of punishment still hangs over him. In place of the schoolmaster, he finds the State, the machinery of the law ; in a word, the Executive.

Certain social duties are to be attended to ; property and life must be safeguarded, and order maintained within the realm. To secure all this, the Government has recourse to fines, incarceration, transportation, and to executions by rope or guillotine. Men hear of plank-beds, and bread-and-water diet, and of so many lashes with the cat ; and when higher and nobler motives fail, the thought of these things supplies them with strong arguments for leading decent, honest, and sober lives.

How powerful and really efficacious such motives are, no one can doubt, who seriously reflects. What a panic there was a few years ago in London, when a disorganization seemed probable among the police. Citizens were heard asking one another in alarm, " If the police fail us ; if they cease to patrol the streets, what will become of the city ? What will become of the miles upon miles of shops and stores filled with untold treasures and riches ? " It never occurred to anyone that the mere sense of honour, of justice, of virtue among the roughs would act as a sufficient restraint ; or that an exhortation to keep God's Commandments would save their valuables from the hands of the multitude, if once let loose upon them, without rein or bridle. Yet, what is that, but to confess that men, who will listen to no other argument, are controlled and restrained by fear of pain ?

Indeed, it is nature's method, as well as man's. Violate a law of nature, and nature will punish the offender. A little child is taught to balance itself, and to walk upright, by the pain it suffers in its repeated falls ; so, also, it will resist the attractions of the bright dancing flames, and learn, in course of time, to keep a respectful distance from the fire—but not until after it has once or twice burnt its fingers. So, again, excess in eating is punished by inconvenience and interior aches, and the experience of such after effects causes the greedy gourmand to put a bridle on his appetite.

Though instances might be multiplied indefinitely,

enough has been said to show that the dread of punishment exists among men, as a very real and practical motive ; and that the menace of temporal pain does actually exercise a marked and most appreciable influence over their lives and conduct, restraining, controlling, directing them at every turn.

Now, what we wish to ask is this :—How comes it that this dread of pain, which is inherent in our very nature ; which accompanies us through life ; which checks us as children ; which influences us as youths, and which restrains us, even as fully-grown men, should suddenly fail of its effect, and lose all its power so soon as it is transferred to what is spiritual and supernatural ? Why, in a word, do the threats of the parent, the schoolmaster, and the civil government, in turn, inspire a respect and a fear which the threats of God Himself are often unable to excite ? Why do so many, who shrink from the puny sufferings that man can inflict, feel no fear of the inextinguishable fires of hell ?

This is contrary to reason, and the very acmé of folly. If we fear disgrace before men ; if we shrink from imprisonment in a dark, comfortless cell, far from friends and companions ; if we shudder at the thought of a violent death upon the scaffold, why do we not grow pale and sicken with dread, when by grievous sin we have rendered ourselves liable to a punishment, compared with which the very fiercest of earthly agonies must appear tolerable ; nay, even sweet and delightful ! If the remembrance of the infamous gallows-tree, and of the hangman's thongs, strapping the murderer's limbs together ; the affixing of the dreaded cord about his neck ; the drawing of the bolt, and then, the awful drop, followed by eternal silence—if that remembrance is generally sufficient to stem the fiercest torrent of anger, and to subdue and force back the most violent desire of revenge, how is it that the infinitely greater agony of damnation is so little able to deter men from mortal sin, even under much less provocation ?

Pause for a moment, to consult sane reason. Reason clearly lays down the following propositions :—First, of two pains, the milder should be preferred ; secondly, where two

pains are of equal intensity the briefer should always be chosen, rather than the more prolonged; thirdly, an uncertain and merely probable punishment, which may, perhaps, never be inflicted, is to be risked, rather than one which is certain, inevitable, and unerring.

These, I take it, are self-evident propositions. Let us now apply them to the punishment of sin; in other words, to the pains of the damned. In all three cases we shall find that hell is to be feared immeasurably more than any possible earthly calamity.

1. *A less suffering is to be preferred to a greater*; consequently, not merely the ordinary trials of life, but the worst disgrace, the fiercest torment, the deepest grief, the most unbearable loss, should be preferred to sin, which makes us guilty of hell fire. For what are all earth's torments compared with hell? Just nothing at all. What is the accumulation of every possible earthly misfortune when contrasted with the lake of unquenchable fire? A thing of no account. To be bound hand and foot by infernal chains; to be cast into the exterior darkness; to be salted with fire; to witness nothing but tortures; to hear nothing but weeping and gnashing of teeth; to be perpetually gnawed by the worm that dieth not; to cry for ever like the rich man, *crucior in hac flamma*, and to receive no consolation or rest; to be deprived of every good, and to be oppressed with every evil, such is a feeble statement of the agonies of hell. And if this be hell, surely to remember it ought to inspire us with vastly greater fear than any other consideration whatsoever. For since no torment nor disgrace we can experience in this life can at all approach in intensity the torment and disgrace of damnation, we should be prepared to endure anything and everything rather than incur the risk of losing our souls by mortal sin.

This would be absolutely true, even if hell were but temporal, and destined to last but a few centuries; but we know that when once in hell, then "time shall be no more." This brings us to the second law, viz.—*Where the intensity of two states of suffering is equal, the shorter term of suffering is to be preferred to the longer one.*

Now compare the duration of hell's torments with those of this life. What do I say, "compare!" A hopeless task! We cannot institute such a comparison. No comparison is so much as possible. How are we to compare that which ends with that which never ends? How compare time with eternity! To suffer for a thousand, or a hundred thousand, or even a million years; ah! of that we may possibly form some faint notion; but even a million years is not eternity. It is no fraction of eternity. If deducted from eternity, that limitless duration would not be in any way lessened. A million certainly represents a gigantic number, Even with the best will in the world, we can in no way grasp its full significance, nor adequately realize its contents. Merely to count a million would occupy a considerable time. If we were to begin counting, one, two, three, four, five, &c., as quickly as possible, and continue all day and all night without interruption, three entire days and nights would pass before we could reach a million. Yet after as many millions of centuries have passed as there are leaves on the trees, eternity will still be beginning. Let a single atom represent a million million centuries of duration, and then reflect that after as many million million of centuries have passed away as there are particles of matter in earth, sun, and moon, and all the stars, eternity will still be only just beginning—in fact, *always* beginning; never half way through, never a third, or a hundredth, or a millionth part of its way through, but ever beginning, ever young. No man can understand what eternity is. No one with his puny mind can look into eternal futurity, endless and infinite! Man boasts of doing many things in these days. He will measure the depths of ocean, the diameter of the earth, its orbit round the sun, the distance of even the fixed stars. One thing, however, he cannot do; one thing exceeds all his power and genius: and that is, to measure eternity, to realize the duration of hell; since that would be to measure the measureless, to fathom the unfathomable. There is, indeed, but one thing more awful than the pain of hell, and that is its duration. If man is capable of being frightened into obedience by anything, surely one would have thought it would be by the

dogma of hell. All other terrors sink into insignificance when compared with it, and dwindle away into nothing. And yet there are multitudes more afraid of a policeman's baton ! Thousands stand in greater fear of the constable than of all the terrors of the bottomless pit. The first does actually exercise some little restraint upon them ; the second exercises none. If men, like the brute beast, had no sense, and were unable to balance pain with pain ; if they possessed no means of comparing the temporal with the eternal, we might better understand their lives of sin, and watch with less surprise, the thousands ripening for hell, till at last they drop off, one by one, to feed the quenchless fires. But that *reasonable* men, so keenly sensitive to temporal pains, should be so indifferent to eternal pains, is veritably a mystery.

Let us now contrast the human and divine punishments from the point of view of their inevitableness. Sufferings in this world are not absolutely certain of overtaking us. A criminal may not be discovered by the minions of the law ; a prisoner may escape from his confinement ; disease or fever may rob even the scaffold of its victim, and set the cruellest murderer free from the hands of human justice. Pain and punishment on this side the grave are ever accompanied by some degree of uncertainty. But there is no uncertainty in the case of the eternal punishment reserved for the unrepentant sinner. He cannot escape from the hands of God. Nothing can liberate him from the dungeons of hell. He may be as clever and as cunning, as bold and as daring as possible, but all his cunning and cleverness is but childish folly in the eyes of God, and can avail him nothing. The damned sinner cannot even destroy his existence as, in this world, he may destroy his physical life. No escape lies open to him. When God condemns, there is none to deliver.

In this world we hear of men, not merely fearing ignominy and shame, but fearing them to such a degree that they will even take their own lives, in order to escape. The example of the informer Pigott, who rather than face an infuriated public, blew out his brains, is but one out of

countless thousands of similar instances. There is no such means of escaping the penalty of unrepented sin. So soon as a man consents to mortal sin, hell is as certainly his portion, so long as the sin remains upon him, as that there is a God in heaven. He must face the disgrace, the shame, the pains and torments without rest, without sympathy, without hope, and without interruption for ever and ever and ever.

Who is there bearing this in mind, can so far forget himself as to violate a command of God. As St. Augustine so truly observes, "One who commits mortal sin must have lost either his faith or his reason; he must be an infidel or a lunatic; *i. e.*, either he has no faith, and does not believe in the existence of hell; or else, if he believes and still sins, he must be out of his mind." Thus, in the sinner, folly reaches its lowest depths, and can go no further—it has sounded the basest string of stupidity.

If we compare the punishment of sin with other evils, either—(1) in intensity, or (2) in duration, or (3) in the certainty of its infliction, we find that it exceeds them all in an immeasurable degree. And this is important to remember; for, as one nail drives out another, so will a greater fear drive out a lesser. We have instances of this even in the daily occurrences of life. A traveller in the dense African forests trembles if he suddenly finds himself face to face with a ferocious beast; yea, would naturally fly from it with all speed; but if a yet greater danger menace him, he will turn round, put on a bold front, and face the lesser evil. As the greatest of England's poets says:—"I would shun a bear, but if my flight lay towards the raging sea, I would meet the bear i' the mouth."

So, too, many a task imposed by God may seem hard and difficult to weak nature; but when it resolves itself into a question of choosing between humble submission to the labours and trials of this life, or passing an eternity in the region of the damned—then no room is left for hesitation or debate. As the author of the *Imitation of Christ* so pertinently says:—"To many this seems a hard saying: 'deny thyself, take up thy cross and follow Jesus;' but much harder will

it be to hear those last words, 'Depart from Me ye cursed into everlasting fire.' " (Book ii.)

Men sin, in order to escape a monetary pain, and expose themselves to eternal pain. Some find it too much to be asked to abstain on Fridays ; to fast in Lent ; to deny themselves a sensual delight ; or to leave their amusing novel, or their stroll in the park in order to hear a Mass of obligation ; and for the sake of the trifling satisfaction and pleasure that such sins afford, they scruple not to wreck their whole future, to offend God, and thereby to place themselves in imminent danger of damnation.

So lightly are the judgments of God esteemed, that men in their fatal blindness seem to think it hardly worth their while to stir hand or foot to escape them. Consider the awful prevalence of drunkenness, impurity, cursing, swearing, anger, vindictiveness, and neglect of Mass on Sundays. Yet, who would deliberately reduce himself to the bestial state of drunkenness, who fully realized the hell of the drunkard. Who, for sake of a momentary unclean pleasure, or for sake of indulging anger, revenge, or ill-feeling, would calmly submit to the penalty of endless torments?

But, alas ! men do not, and will not, reflect. Of the *present* moment they think, not of the *future*. It is the interest of the passing hour that engrosses them, that engages their thoughts and occupies their minds ; what they shall eat, and what they shall drink, and how they shall clothe themselves, and what sort of hat or bonnet will suit them best ; and how they may best divert and amuse themselves, and kill the fleeting hour : such are the lines along which their thoughts, like shadows, flitter to and fro. Or else they are wholly given up to the interests of their business or profession, or to seeking how to make a fortune, to better their social condition, to increase their resources, and to enlarge their income. Matters, in a word, which have to do with their temporary life, and not with their eternal ; with this world rather than with the next.

If men commit sin and defile their souls with hideous crimes, it is not because God leaves them without sufficient motives to resist temptation, but simply because they refuse

to have recourse to such motives. God has provided them with the strongest and most powerful incentives ; but they are thrown away upon them, and their influence is utterly lost because men will not ponder over them nor keep them before their minds. While the infallible Spirit of God declares that they who think of their last end shall never sin, so, on the other hand, He assures us that “with desolation is the whole world laid desolate, because there is no man who considereth in his heart.”

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

## CARDINAL MAURY.

II.—1792-1817.

MAURY'S first care after leaving France was to repair to Coblenz, the head-quarters of the emigration. On his arrival he was met by six hundred nobles, drawn up in two lines, who greeted him with shouts of applause. The king's brothers, now considered as the rival chiefs of the royalist party, showed him extraordinary attention.<sup>1</sup> But Maury soon recognised that he had no position at the exiled court. Pius VI., who had long admired the intrepid defender of the Church's spiritual and temporal rights, and had already created him a cardinal, though only *in petto*, begged him to take up his abode in Rome. His journey thither from Coblenz was one long triumph. His reception in the Eternal City was even more gratifying. The Pope pressed him to his heart, and pointed to his writing-table, where a portrait of “his dear Maury” occupied the place of honour. At the palace of the king's aunts, who were then residing in Rome, he met with a most cordial welcome ; and there, too, he found his portrait enshrined. Cardinals and princes vied with each other for the honour of entertaining him. Consalvi,

<sup>1</sup> The Count of Artois, however, rudely remarked ; “Oh ! M. l'Abbé, how fat you have got.” “And I, sir, find that you have grown taller,” answered Maury.

though as yet only auditor of the Rota, became his close friend. And it is interesting to note that once a-week he went out to Frascati to visit the Cardinal Duke of York, who naturally felt the greatest admiration for one who had so ably upheld the cause of legitimate princes.

Before long, however, Maury found himself in an awkward predicament. The royalists were urging Pius VI. to direct his spiritual thunders against the bishops and clergy who had come to terms with the revolution. Before complying with their request, the Pontiff ordered Maury to draw up a report on the question. The document, which may be read in part in Monsignor Ricard's volumes, is remarkable for its thorough grasp of the whole matter, its moderation, and, at the same time, its firm condemnation of the delinquents. He counselled the Pope to admonish them, and then if these warnings were disregarded, to resort to extreme measures. This line of conduct was followed exactly by Pius, and, as a mark of approval, the writer was created Archbishop of Nicæa (*in partibus infidelium*) in April, 1792. Soon afterwards he was appointed to represent the Holy See at the Diet of Frankfort, in which Francis II. was elected emperor. Here again he was received with extraordinary marks of favour. The Emperor expressed his special thanks to the Pope for sending so distinguished an envoy; the Empress assured Maury how gratified she was at seeing the eloquent royalist whom she had so long desired to meet. But the crowning honour must be related in his own words:—

“When I entered the banqueting chamber, the imperial minister told me to stand by the table, and to take the place which would be assigned to me. It was a table with eight covers, placed in the middle of the saloon, and surrounded by eight other tables, each with twenty covers, for the Elector of Cologne, the archdukes, &c. &c. Around the imperial table in the centre, I saw the Emperor, the Empress, the King of Prussia, the Crown Prince, the Duke of Brunswick, the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, and the Elector of Mayence. The King of Prussia motioned to me to take the place on his left hand, between himself and the Duke of Brunswick. The Emperor spoke a few words to me; but it was with the Empress, the Duke, and the King that I really conversed.

“Next day the table had a hundred covers arranged like a

horse shoe. I was told to take my place in the centre, on a line with the Emperor, the King of Prussia, and their families. Prince Augustus of England (the Duke of Cumberland) and the Prince of Nassau were between me and the King of Prussia. To understand the special honour with which I was treated, it is well to observe that four hundred distinguished personages were present, among them the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the Margrave of Baden, the Prince of Nassau-Wirburg, the Prince of Thurn and Taxis, &c."

How proud the old shoemaker's son must have felt as he found himself seated as an honoured guest at the tables of kings! "He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth the needy out of the dunghill, that He may set him with princes, even with the princes of his people."

Notwithstanding these brilliant receptions, it is agreed by Maury's biographers that he was unsuited for diplomatic services. Indeed, not many fiery orators are fitted to shine in a career in which silence and self-control are the most necessary requisites. However, Pius expressed himself as perfectly satisfied with his envoy's conduct of affairs, and continued to consult him in matters relating to the state of France. After the death of Louis XVI., the Count of Provence, acting as Regent for the unhappy young Dauphin, begged the Pope to confer a cardinal's hat upon Maury. Pius, as we have seen, had already done so *in petto*; he now hastened to publish the nomination, and at the same time to promote the new cardinal to the archbishopric of Montefiascone. This intelligence was received with the liveliest satisfaction by the royalists throughout Europe. Both the late king's brothers wrote to the Pope to thank him, and to Maury to congratulate him, and to assure him of their unbounded confidence in him. It was in reply to a letter from Frederick William II. on this occasion that the Holy See first recognised the royal title of the King of Prussia. While the sovereigns of Europe were vying with each other in their congratulations, the newly-made Cardinal learnt to his deep sorrow that two of his brothers had fallen victims to the Terror, and that all the members of his family had been proscribed.

Maury's titular church in Rome was the Trinità dei Monte, so familiar to English visitors, at the top of the steps leading

up to the Pincian Gardens. His cathedral city was situated near Viterbo, and was celebrated only for the beauty and strength of its position, and for the excellence of its wines.<sup>1</sup> The diocese was small, even for an Italian diocese; but the multitude of abuses which had crept in afforded ample scope for the energies of the new archbishop. His palace soon became the home of a numerous French colony, and was visited by many distinguished persons on their way to Rome, among others by the Duke of Berri, and Charles Emanuel IV., King of Sardinia. Meantime the armies of the French Republic overran the north of Italy, and extended their conquests as far as Rome (February 12th, 1798). Special orders were given to seize the person of the proscribed cardinal. Maury fled from Montefiascone to Sienna, thence to Florence, and finally reached Venice.

The death of Pius VI. (August 29, 1799) filled up the measure of the Church's troubles. No election could take place in Rome. The cardinals were scattered, and were wandering about in danger of their lives. But the successes of the Russians and Austrians in Northern Italy brought hope to the Church. Under the protection of Francis II., the members of the Sacred College assembled at Venice, in the monastery of St. George (December 1, 1799). The story of this conclave, one of the longest and most memorable in the annals of the Papacy, has often been narrated. Monsignor Ricard does not undertake to tell it again; but he throws much light on its secret history by now publishing, for the first time, the letters despatched, week by week, by Maury to Louis XVIII. Maury, besides being the only French cardinal present, had received a special charge to watch over the King's interests. He was, therefore, doubly bound to keep his master accurately informed as to what went on. From what we already know of his character, we are not surprised to find him a thoroughgoing partisan, deeply imbued with all the prejudices of the side which he had chosen, and unable to see his adversaries in any other light than as fools or knaves. His letters are filled with

<sup>1</sup> *Mons flusconis*, the Mount of the Flagon.

caustic sketches of his brother cardinals, and with elaborate accounts of the subtle intrigues of the various parties. He soon found that he was no match for the wily Italians in an encounter in which knock-down blows and torrents of eloquence were entirely out of place. But it will be best to give a few extracts from these letters :—

“ A conclave is a most instructive course of lessons in diplomacy and in knowledge of human nature. There the passions are incredibly ingenious and active. Yet God carries on His work in the midst of the conflict, and it is always His will that prevails.

“ Your Majesty is too familiar with human nature to be scandalized at my frankness. God makes use of the energy of human passions to work out His own designs.

“ Poor human nature does not appear at its best in even the most venerable assemblies. For instance, Gerdil and Zelada, the two most decrepit members of the Sacred College, both 83 years old, make no secret of their hankering after the Papacy.

“ One cardinal observed that he had often heard it said that at the election of a Pope, the cardinals lost their heads under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost !

“ I must ask your Majesty's pardon for wearying you with all the minute details of Italian diplomacy, which accustoms one to secrecy and forbearance in conducting affairs ; which shows the feeble how to acquire arms ; and which, above all, teaches one to mistrust. Here a man is looked upon as a fool, if he does not detect deceit. I console myself for my enforced captivity, by profiting by the lessons which I am receiving in so good a school. Here great marks of respect are the mask for profound contempt ; the most restrained suspicion is veiled under the form of friendship, of frankness, and of confidence. Ganganelli defined a conclave as *un luogo di rispetti di dispetti e di sospetti* ; and he said, timidly enough, what is true. These Italians laugh in their sleeves at the stupidity of the foreigners with whom they have to deal. They must surely be persuaded that they have the monopoly of intelligence when they compare themselves with men like Lorenzana, Herzan, and Martiniana. They acknowledged to me that they have gained many a triumph over the French in former conclaves.”

The total number of cardinals present was thirty-five. The two-thirds majority required was, therefore, twenty-four. Three favourites were singled out by the early scrutinies. Mattei, the choice of the Austrian party, was Archbishop of Ferrara, and a strenuous opponent of the French. Valenti,

who had been Nuncio in Spain, and was now Bishop of Albano, was supported by the Spaniards, and was also eyed with approval by the Austrians. The Church party were in favour of Bellisomi, Bishop of Cesena, a man of remarkable piety and learning. Valenti's adherents, seeing that their candidate's chances were hopeless, threw in their lot with the Austrians. This coalition raised the number of Mattei's votes to thirteen; but this still left him seven less than Bellisomi, and eleven short of the requisite majority. Herzan, the representative of the Empire, begged for delay, in order to consult his Government. Although the influence of the various Catholic Courts is always resented in a conclave, and, indeed, denied as a matter of right; yet, with a view to smoothing the way for the new Pontiff, it is customary not to oppose the wishes of these powers. On this particular occasion the reasons for conciliating Austria were recognised by all. Without her protection, no conclave could have been held. Day after day went wearily by, Herzan intriguing in vain to break up the solid majority opposed to his nominee. At length, at the end of February, the two parties recognised that they must come to terms with each other. Some days were spent in negotiations. It was agreed that both candidates should be set aside; that some one of the majority should be chosen by the minority; and that the cardinal so chosen should be unanimously elected as Pope. To everyone's surprise, the choice fell upon Chiamonti, Bishop of Imola, a friend and relative of Pius VI., in memory of whom the new Pontiff took the name of Pius VII.

At the close of the conclave, Maury wrote to his royal master :—

“ I am intoxicated with joy amidst the general hubbub. The new Pope has always been my friend since my arrival in Italy. This morning, in private, and afterwards in public, he gave me a most affectionate and touching reception, and he assured me that he would take unceasing interest in my future, as well as in that of my brother and my nephew, both of whom are ecclesiastics. I owe this kindness to the good offices of Cardinals Albani and Braschi, without any request on my part. But what I rank above all favours, is the unanimous testimony of the Sacred

College to my uprightness, my constancy, and the goodness of my heart. It is consoling to receive such a tribute at the end of an assembly like this, and to issue from it without any discontent with one's self, or ill-feeling towards others. We fought a good fight, but we did not fall out. One party has furnished the Pope, and the other has chosen him, or, in familiar language, has fixed upon the particular sauce in which it preferred to be eaten."

High as Maury had stood in the favour of Pius VI., this election distinctly improved his position. The new Pontiff readily acknowledged his good services during the long conclave, and took every opportunity of showing him marks of affection. His nephew, though only twenty-one years old, was nominated to a canonry of St. Peter's. Arrangements were set on foot to secure his brother's election to the Archbishopric of Montefiascone, in the event of his own promotion to Formio, one of the richest benefices in the Papal territory. Louis, too, highly gratified at his devotion to the Bourbon cause, appointed him his representative at the Pontifical Court, and entrusted the most delicate negotiations to his care.

There was, however, at this time, one famous champion of the old order of things, who was, by no means, an admirer of Maury. Joseph de Maistre, an exile from Savoy, and living in extreme want, was at Venice when the Cardinal arrived. The two men met:—

"At my first visit [says de Maistre] he spoke with great interest of my embarrassing condition, and in the tone of one who had it in his power to remedy it. I vainly expressed my incredulity as to the happiness which he promised me. 'We will arrange all that,' he said. Some days afterwards I met him at the house of Baroness de Juliana. He drew me aside to a recess. I thought that he wished to tell me about some plan for delivering me from my misery. Instead of this he took out of his pockets three apples, which had just been given him, and bestowed them upon me as a present for my children. After having seen my wife and family, he praised them so highly that I felt quite overpowered. 'I never admire by halves,' he said, when speaking to me about myself."

M. de Maistre also gives an account of a long conversation, in which the Cardinal expressed the most crude notions on all kinds of subjects—on the French Academy and the

Academy of Sciences, on learning languages, on the English and the French peoples, on libraries and books, and so forth. No wonder that the master of five languages, and a man of most exact mind, was disgusted at such wild talk.<sup>1</sup>

Knowing that the distracted condition of the Church in France must soon engage the Pontiff's attention, Louis XVIII. notified to his agent at Rome that he should insist on the recognition of all the royal privileges in ecclesiastical appointments. The King's despatch, like most of his letters, is an admirable State-paper; but it shows how little he perceived the difference between a king firmly seated on his throne, with one hundred thousand men at his back, and a poor exile dependent on the favour of foreign princes; how little he realized the tremendous events which had taken place in France since his cowardly flight in 1789. Maury's replies are couched in the same spirit: there is the same assumption that Louis alone is the person to arrange what the Pope was to do. But in the middle of July the Cardinal had some very significant news to communicate. Bonaparte, now First Consul, had at once turned his attention to the field of his early triumphs. By a masterly manœuvre he had come upon the rear of the Austrians, and, after a long and doubtful struggle, had defeated them at Marengo (June 14, 1800). The whole of Italy now lay at his mercy. The incident which followed must be told in Maury's own words:—

“Here, Sire, is a very serious matter concerning which it is important that your Majesty should be exactly informed so as to be able to judge for yourself. As soon as the Consul Bonaparte had arrived at Vercelli, on the 25th of last month (June), Cardinal Martiniana, bishop of that city, paid him a visit, and was most

<sup>1</sup> The episode of the apples is, no doubt, a fact, but is, for all that, a very ancient story:—

Non quo more piris vesci Calaber jubet hospes,  
Tu me fecisti locupletem. “Vescere sodes.”  
“Jam satis est.” “At tu quantum vis tolle.” “Benigne.”  
“Non invisa feres pueris munuscula parvis.”  
“Tam teneor dono, quam si dimittar onustus.”  
“Ut libet; hæc porcis hodie comedenda relinques.”  
Prodigus et stultus donat, quæ spernit et odit.

(Horace, *Epistles*, I. vii. 14-20.)

The whole interview reminds one of Montalembert's visit to O'Connell;

courteously received. . . . Next day the general returned the call at the head of his staff. He begged the Cardinal to go to Rome and tell the Pope that he wished to make his Holiness a present of thirty million Catholics ; that he wished for religion in France ; that the intruded bishops and priests were a set of brigands whom he was determined to get rid of, &c. ; that the exercise of the Pope's spiritual jurisdiction should once more freely take its course in France ; that the Pope alone should institute the bishops on the nomination of the person exercising sovereign authority in France ; and, finally, that he (Bonaparte) wished to re-establish the Pontiff in the possession of his States . . ."

Maury calls Martiniana "*un homme sans tête*," and he tries to reassure Louis by the guarded answers of the Pope to Bonaparte's overtures ; yet he cannot help admitting that it may turn out to be "*a terrible affair*," especially as the new Pontiff "*is very dissatisfied with the cabinet of Vienna*." The King at once perceived that a reconciliation between the Revolution and the Holy See was at hand, and that thus his last hope of a restoration was gone. His letter to the Cardinal reproaches him for his want of tact, and goes so far as to call the Pope a mere puppet in Bonaparte's hands. Meantime Monsignor Spina, Archbishop of Corinth, had been deputed by Pius VII. to go to Vercelli, to open negotiations with the First Consul. As soon as this news reached Maury he immediately sought out Spina, and endeavoured to win him over to the side of the Bourbons. One cannot read without smiling the self-satisfied tone with which the famous orator describes his own cleverness, when all the time he was being utterly duped by the wily Italian :—

"I found Monsignor Spina [*writes Maury to the King*] mild, honest, well-inclined, with a wise and moderate disposition, but entirely ignorant of theology, and even of Canon Law. He is firmly persuaded that the Catholic religion can only be re-established in France together with the monarchy, and he is full of zeal and admiration for your Majesty. He asked me what books I would advise him to read. I surprised him greatly by pointing out to him the celebrated edict of 1695, and the ecclesiastical laws of Héricourt. . . . Monsignor Spina listened to all the developments of my views in the conferences which we had together. I noticed, and I made him notice, that he made no objections to what I said, and that he gave me none of his confidence. He replied that there was nothing to answer, and that there was absolutely nothing that he was keeping back from me."

Not long afterwards Spina set out for Vercelli. Montefiasconi lay upon his road. He passed it by without even calling on the Cardinal Archbishop.

This is not the place to tell the story of the Concordat of 1801. Every precaution was taken to keep Maury in the dark as to what was going on between Rome and Paris. All through the winter of 1800 and the spring of 1801 he strove in vain to penetrate the secret. In April, a formal request was made by the French Government, that the Cardinal should be kept away from Rome, and even from the Papal States. Three months later the Concordat was signed. Louis and his envoy protested vehemently against, and stirred up the exiled bishops to refuse the Pope's request for their resignation.

Maury's letters, at this time, are full of expressions of devotion to the royalist cause, and to the person of the King: they breathe, too, a spirit of exaggerated Gallicanism. The situation was, indeed, a humiliating one for the French bishops. A century earlier they had, at the bidding of the State, declared themselves independent of Rome, while now the rights of Rome were being enforced against them by the State. The rapid success of the Concordat soon proved that all efforts to undo it were vain. The King began to hint that Maury had mismanaged the affair; while the Cardinal, in spite of his renewed protestations of fidelity, showed signs of losing faith and hope in the cause of the exiled monarch. Their letters became rarer, and the tone more strained. In one of them, Maury remarked that he was afraid that he should have to write, as a member of the College of Cardinals, a formal letter of congratulation to the First Consul. To this the King returned a sarcastic reply. On May 18, 1804, the French Senate invited Bonaparte to assume the title of Emperor. This event roused Louis XVIII. to address a vigorous letter to the Pope to protest against this monstrous usurpation. It was, in the first instance, sent to Maury, with a touching note in cypher, begging for his opinion. "On this great occasion," wrote Louis, "the King summons to his aid the heart, the head, and the pen of Cardinal Maury; and he is counting with

impatience the days which must elapse before he can receive this important answer." Many days passed away, and yet no answer came. At last, in September, there came a number of the *Moniteur*, in which the royal exile read, with grief and astonishment, that his trusty and well-beloved envoy had gone over entirely to the usurper !

Much opprobrium has been heaped upon Maury for this betrayal. No defence of his conduct will be attempted here. I would only point out that the easy explanation, that he was simply a time-server, will not hold. The man who had refused enormous sums of money simply to hold his tongue ; who had braved death, over and over again, in defence of the royalist cause ; who had gone into exile rather than betray it ; who had stood by the fallen dynasty for more than twelve years—this man cannot be called a time-server. It would, no doubt, have been far nobler to have remained true to his royal master ; to have settled down to his hum-drum duties as bishop, in his little mountain diocese ; to have resumed his literary labours, and to have given us a vivid picture of the stormy scenes in which he had played so prominent a part. But a quiet life had no attraction for Maury. He must be on the move, and in the centre of activity. The revolution was now over. Order was being restored. There was no hope of a restoration. The Pope himself had recognised the new ruler. Maury had done his best. He might now fairly say :—

“ Sat patriæ Priamoque datum. Si Pergama dextra  
Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent.”

Napoleon, always anxious to pose as the successor of the old *régime*, gave a cordial welcome to the famous royalist orator of the *Constituante*. The two met at Genoa, in the summer of 1805. “ After five minutes’ conversation,” writes Maury, “ I was dazzled, and felt myself entirely his.” It was not, however, until June, 1806, that he journeyed to Paris. Here he was received with acclamation. After his fourteen years’ absence, his face was still familiar to the populace. Whenever he walked abroad he was surrounded by enthusiastic crowds shouting : “ *Vive l’abbé Maury !*” It

was a source of special gratification to him to find himself once more among the Forty Immortals.<sup>1</sup>

But troubles soon began again. Pius VII. refused to adopt the Continental system enforced by Napoleon. Everyone, he said, should have access to Rome, the capital of the Christian world. Maury wrote a long State-paper to induce the Pope to alter his determination.<sup>2</sup> Then there followed the forcible removal of Pius VII. from Rome, and his deportation to Savona. The College of Cardinals had now to choose between the Pope and the Emperor. A goodly number proved faithless to their oaths of fidelity, and among them, it must be recorded with shame, was the trusted Maury. In the difficult question of the divorce, he also took the side of the Emperor.<sup>3</sup> But he had not yet sunk to the lowest depth. When the various dioceses fell vacant, Pius VII., as a protest against his imprisonment, refused to institute the bishops nominated by Napoleon. It was Maury who suggested to the Emperor a means of dispensing with the Papal institution. By a decree of the Council of Trent (Sess. xxiv., cap. 16, *De Ref.*) the chapters of vacant sees are bound to elect a person to exercise jurisdiction until the new bishop shall take possession. What was simpler than to take care that the person so chosen should be the one who was nominated to the see? This device, so plainly opposed to the spirit of the Canon Law, was adopted in Orleans, Saint Flour, d'Asti, Liège, and elsewhere. Soon afterwards the Archiepiscopal see of Paris became vacant. The Emperor nominated his uncle, Cardinal Fesch. Fesch was duly elected Vicar-

<sup>1</sup> This body, reorganized by Napoleon, was now styled the Institute. It did not resume its old name until 1816.

<sup>2</sup> This paper will be found in *Correspondance Diplomatique*, &c., tome second, page 332, *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> He was a member of the Ecclesiastical Commission, which decided the competency of the Diocesan Court to try the case. See "Napoleon's Divorce," by the present writer, *I. E. RECORD*, July, 1892, page 603. Since writing this article I find that Father Desjardin, S.J. (*Etudes Religieuses*, June, 1889), took much the same view as I did. My critics, who do not seem to know how to tackle a difficult problem of history and Canon Law, quoted against me the authority of Father Duhr. Well, I now bring as a set off, the authority of another magazine writer, who agrees with me.

Capitular, but refused to take over the administration, because he had not been instituted by the Pope. Napoleon threatened violence if he persisted. "*Potius mori*," said the Cardinal. "Oh, you would rather have *Maury*," answered the Emperor; "well, you shall have him." And Maury, after some hesitation, consented. When he wrote to Pius VII. to announce his nomination, and to beg for the customary institution, he received a scathing reply, perhaps the most bitter that ever proceeded from the pen of the gentle Pontiff.

"What! [wrote Pius<sup>1</sup>] is it thus that, after having so boldly and so eloquently pleaded the Church's cause in the stormiest days of the Revolution, you desert that same Church, now that you are loaded with her dignities and favours, and are so closely bound up with her by your vows! You are not ashamed to take sides against us in the struggle which we are maintaining only for the Church's dignity! Is it thus that you set so little store by our authority as to dare to pronounce a sentence of dethronement against us to whom you owe obedience and fidelity? But what afflicts us still more is, to see that after having begged from one chapter the administration of an archbishopric, you have, by your own authority and without consulting us, taken upon yourself the government of another church—far from imitating the noble example of Cardinal Joseph Fesch, who so wisely deemed it his duty to refuse all spiritual administration of that church. . . . But, again, who has released you from the ties which bind you to the Church of Montefiascone? Who has granted you the dispensation to be elected by a chapter, and to take over the administration of another diocese? Give up at once the administration. Not only do we command you to do so, but we beg and implore you, moved by that personal love which we feel for you, not to force us, against our will and with great regret, to resort to the measures prescribed by the holy canons."

It should be noted that Maury never assumed the title of Archbishop of Paris. His style in his pastorals was "Archbishop-bishop of Montefiascone and Corneto, Archbishop-designate (*nommé*) of Paris, Capitular-administrator of this metropolis during the vacancy of the see." During the short period (three years and a-half) of his administration he endeavoured to walk in the footsteps of his two venerated predecessors, De Beaumont and De Juigné, whom he had known so well in his former days. He became,

<sup>1</sup> November 5, 1810.

indeed, a model bishop. His private life was irreproachable. He resumed his early habits of study. By his sermons and pastorals he stirred up the people of his diocese to a sense of their religious duties. He drew up an elaborate plan of higher studies for the clergy, to be carried on in a national seminary at Paris.<sup>2</sup> It must, however, be acknowledged that in all his relations with the imperial government he was most abject. His conduct in the National Council, his pastorals on Napoleon's victories and disasters and on the birth of the King of Rome, his Catechism on the civil duties of his flock, are all utterly unworthy of any prelate.

But the end was drawing nigh. In the last days of January, 1814, he issued a pastoral which was nothing less than "a call to arms" against the invaders. The next few weeks witnessed the heroic but vain struggles of Napoleon to cope with the overwhelming forces of his enemies. Paris surrendered to the allies on March 30th. Twelve days later the Emperor was forced to abdicate at Fontainebleau. Meantime the Count of Artois had entered France as "Lieutenant-General" to take possession in his brother's name. One of his first acts was to order Maury to quit the kingdom immediately. The unhappy cardinal started for Italy intending to return to Montefiascone, but was met on his way by the news of a brief suspending him from all jurisdiction and administration. He passed through his diocese by night, and reached Rome on June 19th. Here he found that he was forbidden the entry to the Quirinal and Papal chapel. He demanded to be tried, but he was told that the Holy See had more important business just then. It was, indeed, the anxious wish of the Pope to avoid any public condemnation. But many influential persons insisted that Pius should make a striking example of the faithless cardinal. The trial accordingly began, only to be broken off by the astounding intelligence of Napoleon's escape from Elba. The Pope himself now had to take to flight. Maury was seized by the provisional (ecclesiastical) government,

<sup>1</sup> This paper will be found in *Correspondance Diplomatique*, &c., ii., 424, sqq. Would that we had such a seminary here in England!

and hurried away to the castle of S. Angelo. No preparations had been made to receive him. He was placed in the cell formerly occupied by Cagliostro, where there was not even a bed for him to lie upon. For more than three months he languished there. He had long been suffering from stone, and now a sort of leprosy covered his body. At length his old friend Consalvi returning from, the Congress of Vienna, went to visit him. Horrified at the captive's condition, he ordered him to be removed at once to the convent of St. Silvestro. The same powerful protector obtained the withdrawal of all accusations against him, and induced him voluntarily to place his resignation in the hands of the Pope. An ample revenue was at once assigned to him. But Consalvi did not rest here. He was not content until he brought about the erring cardinal's personal reconciliation with Pius. The Pope was much affected at the decrepit condition of him whom he had formerly known as so robust, while on his side Maury showed how sincere was his repentance for his many failings. His position as cardinal was restored to him, and he was at once nominated to the important Congregation of Bishops and Regulars.

Louis XVIII., now permanently restored to the throne of his fathers, was far from imitating the Pope's generosity. Regicides like Fouché, apostates like Talleyrand, became his ministers and intimate councillors; but there was no pardon for his former trusted envoy. To forgive one's enemies demands more than common charity; but what shall we say of the forgiveness of faithless friends? "If my enemy had reviled me, I would verily have borne with it; and if he that hated me had spoken great things against me, I would, perhaps, have hidden myself from him. But it was thou, my companion, my guide, and my own familiar friend." Louis had nothing of the heroic about him. He refused all reconciliation; he struck out the Cardinal's name from the list of academicians, and even went so far as to persecute him in death and to refuse him a last resting-place.

Maury did not long live to enjoy his restoration to the Pope's favour. The hardships of his prison life had

destroyed his constitution. Early in May, 1817, his strength had so failed that the last sacraments were administered to him. He rallied a little, and wrote a long letter to the brother whom he so tenderly loved. No one thought that the end was near. On the evening of May 10th he asked to be left alone so as to repose at his ease. During the night his attendants entered the room. They found him lying quite dead with his rosary still in his grasp. He had passed away, alone, and without a struggle. Louis XVIII., in spite of Consalvi's intercession, refused to allow him to be buried in his titular church, the Trinità dei Monti. At last, by order of the Pope, the remains were laid before the high altar of the Chiesa Nuova, by the side of Baronius and Tarugi.

Here let us take leave of him as he lies in peace between the two Oratorians in St. Philip's Church; and as we do so let us not think of the stately epitaph placed over his tomb by his grateful nephew, but rather of the noble words spoken of him by the one whom he had most deeply wronged: "He committed many faults, but who has not done the like? I myself have committed many grave ones." And so, drawing a veil over his failings, let us think of him as the dutiful son and devoted brother, the toiling student, the eloquent preacher, the zealous pastor, the dauntless defender of Church and King in the darkest days of the Revolution.

T. B. SCANNELL.

---

## THE SPIRIT OF MODERN SCIENCE.

**T**HE spirit of modern science is openly hostile to metaphysics. The latter, in the proper acceptation of the term, is the science of being or of the real essences of things. But the real essences of things are declared by most of those who have attained celebrity in the field of physical science to be unknown and unknowable. This attitude towards the metaphysical problem is Agnostic. The only faculties of cognition recognised by this school are faculties

of sense. These are limited in their range to phenomena of experience. Admittedly the inward essences that constitute objects lie altogether beyond the boundaries of sense perception. Sensism, therefore, leads logically to the repudiation of metaphysics. This Agnostic position is defined most clearly by Locke in his *Essay on the Human Understanding*. In the second section of the opening chapter of the Second Book he writes :—

“ Let us then suppose the mind to be, as we say, white paper, void of all characters, without any ideas ; how comes it to be furnished ? Whence comes it by that vast store which the busy and boundless fancy of man has painted on it with an almost endless variety ? Whence has it all the materials of reason and knowledge ? To this I answer, in one word, from experience ; in that all our knowledge is founded, and from that it ultimately derives itself. Our observation, employed either about external sensible objects, or about the internal operations of our minds perceived and reflected on by ourselves, is that which supplies our understandings with all the materials of thinking. These two are the fountains of knowledge from whence all the ideas we have, or can naturally have, do spring.”

Here it is stated in clear terms that all our knowledge is the result of experience, which is of two kinds, external and internal, the former being acquired by the external, and the latter by the internal senses. All our knowledge, therefore, according to Locke, begins in experience, and ends in experience. The scholastics affirmed that our knowledge originates in experience, but they denied that it is confined within such narrow limits. They taught that the intellect, which they regarded as a specifically different faculty from sense, attains a knowledge of the real essences of things by abstraction, and that, reflecting and reasoning on the basis of its primitive ideas thus acquired, it expands its horizon so as to bring into view the empire of necessary truth, and form some conception, however imperfect, of God and of the divine perfections. These come not at all within the sphere of experience. That the principal attributes of God and the simplicity of the human soul may become naturally known to man, according to Locke, is of no relevancy to the present issue, because the inconsistency between Locke's funda-

mental position and his views on these subjects is notorious. But that his conviction regarding the general metaphysical question of the real essences of things was characteristically Agnostic, can be abundantly established by quotations from his essay. In the fifteenth section of the third chapter of the Third Book, the author explains the difference between real and nominal essence as follows ;—

“ First, essence may be taken for the being of anything whereby it is what it is. And thus the real internal (*but generally in substances unknown*) constitution of things, whereon their discoverable qualities depend, may be called their ‘essence.’ This is the proper original signification of the word, as is evident from the formation of it; *essentia*, in its primary notation, signifying properly ‘being.’ And in this sense it is still used when we speak of the essence of particular things, without giving them any name.

“ Secondly, the learning and disputes of the schools having been much busied about *genus* and *species*, the word ‘essence’ has almost lost its primary signification;<sup>1</sup> and, instead of the real constitution of things, has been almost wholly applied to the artificial constitution of *genus* and *species*. It is true there is ordinarily supposed a real constitution of the sorts of things: *and it is past doubt there must be some real constitution, on which any collection of simple ideas coexisting must depend.* . . . These two sort of essences, I suppose, may not unfitly be termed, the one the ‘real,’ the other the ‘nominal,’ essence.”

In this passage the author declares that real essences exist in sensible objects, but that they are unknowable. The word “generally,” which occurs in the parenthesis in the opening sentence of this quotation must not be understood to suggest any important limitation of the author’s theory. The exceptional cases in which the real essences of things are acknowledged to be known by us, are those abstract combinations effected by the mind, called by Locke<sup>2</sup> mixed modes, in which the real and nominal essence is the same. I have quoted the above passage chiefly because

<sup>1</sup> Locke could not have fallen into this misrepresentation of scholastic usage, if he properly understood the distinction, so frequently referred to in the mediæval and ancient philosophy, between *notio prima* and *notio secunda*—*substantia prima* and *substantia secunda*. The scholastic disputes turned mainly not on *genus* and *species*—the *universale in mente*—but on the *universale in re*. This confusion is constantly found in Locke.

<sup>2</sup> Book iii., chap. v., Sect. 14.

it states so explicitly that a real inward constitution or essence exists in things, although we cannot penetrate to it through the veil of Isis—of sensible phenomena. That in natural objects, without exception, the real essence was believed by Locke to be unknowable, is evident from the following passage :—

“ Nor, indeed, can we rank and sort things, and consequently (which is the end of sorting) denominate them, by their real essences. because we know them not. Our faculties carry us no farther towards the knowledge of substances than a collection of those sensible ideas which we observe in them ; which, however, made with the greatest diligence and exactness we are capable of, yet is more remote from the true internal constitution, from which those qualities flow than, as I said, a countryman’s idea is from the inward contrivance of that famous clock at Strasburg, whereof he only sees the outward figure and motions.”

Agnosticism being defined as the system that recognises behind sensible phenomena the existence of a reality the nature of which is unknown and unknowable, Locke’s fundamental position may, as is evident from the passages quoted, be described in modern phraseology as Agnostic. Moreover, on the question whether we can know real substances, which, as is clear from the last quotation, he identifies with real essences, he is, evidently, also an Agnostic. This he explicitly states in giving the primary acceptation of the term substance, which he says is “ *referred to real essences that cannot be known*.<sup>1</sup> Locke, therefore, left untouched, so far as his explicit teaching went, the existence of real essence or substance. Berkeley, who followed, denied the existence outside the mind of material substance. Hume maintained that Locke’s empiricism leads also to the negation of spiritual substance. Here, then, we have a philosophy of pure *phenomenalism*. It has also been termed Nihilism, because the reality of substance is wholly denied. The only categories of reality that remained for Hume were sensations, and their relations of coexistence, succession, similarity, and dissimilarity. Agnosticism, therefore, in so far as it proclaims the *existence* of the unknown and

<sup>1</sup> Book iii., chap. ix., sect. 12.

unknowable, is more closely allied to the philosophy of Locke than of Hume. That men of science oscillate between both, is evident from the following statement of Professor Huxley, who has frequently declared his adhesion to Agnosticism:—

“For any demonstration which can be given to the contrary, the collection of perceptions which make up our consciousness may be only phantasmagoriae generated by the Ego, unfolding its successive scenes on the background of the abyss of nothingness.”

It should be noted that Agnosticism, as generally defined, is manifestly inconsistent. Being based on the assumption that the reality of things in themselves wholly transcends the range of our power of cognition, it should not affirm, even, the existence of such reality with Locke. Neither should it deny that reality with Hume, because such denial is only possible in the unwarrantable hypothesis that our knowledge is the measure of existence. Consistent Agnosticism must regard the problem of the reality of substance as insoluble. The appalling consequences of these principles are apparent. Science is deprived of objective validity. For all science deals with the universal; but the objective counterpart of the universal is essence. The latter, in so far as it is known, being merely an abstract idea, it follows that all science is reduced to a knowledge of our mental states, or to Empirical Psychology. Religion, which involves the recognition of a personal God, and of certain definite relations in which we stand to Him, is essentially blind superstition. For whether God exists or not, and whether, if He does exist, He concerns Himself about human affairs, or is not rather an Epicurean deity whose entire consciousness is absorbed in the plenitude of his own bliss, man should act according to his reason, and take no heed of matters that his reason declares to be unknown and unknowable. Morality and ethics, in so far as they are based on the essences of things, and on man's supposed relations to his Creator, must share the same fate as these metaphysical and theological fossils. Social science must discover different foundations from those on which it was made to rest in the ancient, and still more

in the mediæval philosophy. Even Art in modern times has acquired new aims and a new direction. Form, rhythm, symmetry, and harmony, were the characteristics of the beautiful, as described by Plato, Aristotle, and St. Thomas. But each of these expressions implies unity in variety, and the theory of the beautiful, which they signify, suggests close affinity with ancient and mediæval Realism. Nominalism and Individualism demand the individual, the characteristic in art. Even the *deformed*, the ugly, as previously defined, provided it is expressive, now occupies its rightful place within "the general frontier of beauty."

The negation of metaphysics or ontology implied in this system of philosophy, is proclaimed to mark the highest point of the evolution of the human mind. Such being the historical claim of Positivists and Agnostics, what can be more relevant than to submit it to the test of history? We may, therefore, with anticipation of important results inquire what has been the attitude in every age of the greatest schools of philosophy, and of the greatest minds towards the metaphysical problem. Have they gone forth from the Egyptian darkness and bondage of metaphysics to the home of light and liberty announced by Positivism and Agnosticism, or has it been the other way? Has the frequent appearance of both these systems in past times marked a stage of progress or of retrogression, of evolution or of revolution? This inquiry will be seen to be the more pertinent when we remember that it is one of the chief boasts of the age, that the critical and historical method has been substituted for the barren procedure of definition, deduction, and demonstration, which constituted the chief *organon* of the discovery of truth in the middle age.

We must first, however, endeavour to determine a genuine test of intellectual progress. Now it is clear that the only legitimate method of accomplishing this is to fix on the characteristic faculty which differentiates man from the brutes; to contrast the development of this faculty in civilised races with its rudimentary conditions in savage tribes; and, finally, to compare its highest manifestations in the most cultured nations with its transitional efforts in less favoured peoples.

That man essentially differs from the lower animals by the power of abstraction, philosophers of every school acknowledge. Three grades of abstraction may be distinguished: the mind may prescind merely from the individual notes of sensible objects; or, it may further leave out of view their sensible qualities; or, it may finally abstract from their extension, and consider only their essences. The first aspect under which the object presents itself constitutes the subject-matter of the physical sciences; the second, of the mathematical sciences; and the third, of metaphysics. Whatever difference of opinion may exist concerning the value of this abstract procedure, no one who understands the question will deny that the intellectual gradation, in the case of the individual mind, has been accurately set forth. Now, while there are no races, however low in the scale of civilization, that are incapable of many physical generalizations, the mathematical notions of uncivilised peoples are very rude, and only the most advanced nations in their most advanced stages have attempted to formulate a genuine metaphysical system. The last point alone needs elucidation.

The history of philosophy is made by the leading authorities to begin with Thales. Previous oriental systems, because of their wholly unscientific character, are referred to mythology or the history of theology. Thales was the first member of the so-called Ionic school. The characteristic feature of the speculations of the Ionic philosophers was, that the ultimate principal to which they reduced all things in nature was physical, and therefore contained within the first grade of abstraction. In the history of Greek philosophy we next meet with the Pythagoreans, who regarded number as the essential constituent of things. Here we see the general philosophical consciousness passing from the first, or physical, to the second, or mathematical, grade of abstraction. Then came the Eleatics, the first philosophers whose speculations were conducted on strictly metaphysical lines. Pure unchangeable being was declared by them to be the sole reality. Truth resides in the intellect alone. The senses are deceptive. The world of phenomena, in which we seem to detect multiplicity and change, is unreal.

Here we see that progress is from the positive, or purely physical, through the mathematical, to the metaphysical interpretation of the universe. Comte's famous *Law of the Three States* misinterprets history. The human intellect in its development tends to abandon the positive for the metaphysical state. Aristotle, in the first book of the *Metaphysics* passes in review the Ionic, Pythagorean, and Eleatic schools of philosophy, in the order in which they have been here considered, and he states that the historical sequence corresponds with intellectual progress. Hence, whether we analyse the development of mind in the individual, or examine the intellectual life of peoples who occupy different positions in the scale of civilisation, or interpret the law of progress, as illustrated in the origin and development of the early schools of philosophy, we see that metaphysics is proved to be the most intellectual of the sciences.

The three systems to which reference has been made were all one-sided. Sensible matter was the sole reality for the Ionians, number for the Pythagoreans, the one primal essence for the Eleatics. The very pursuit of science, inasmuch as it necessarily involves abstraction, is not unattended with danger. Abstraction may come to be regarded as negation, so that what does not come within the particular field of view may be declared non-existent. The genesis of Eleaticism, in so far as this system implies a denial of the reality of the world of sense, is not unlike the genesis of the materialism of the modern physiologist who denies the existence of spirit. Each is prone to regard the sphere on which his attention is concentrated, as alone real. A partial view of truth, which purports to be absolute and complete, must inevitably provoke opposition and reaction. Heraclitus taught the doctrine of perpetual flux or change. The Sophists built upon this principle a positive philosophy, subversive of science, morals, and religion. In its general character of positive philosophy it was not an advance, but a return to the primitive and comparatively rude teaching of the Ionic school. It marked an intellectual decline, just as it synchronized with the political and moral decadence of Athens consequent on the Peloponnesian War.

The Sophists were soon confronted by Socrates, who in his life and teaching presented the most striking contrast to the Athenian Positivists and Agnostics. The aims of the latter were mercenary; Socrates accepted no reward for his teaching. They declared that truth was unattainable. Socrates' life-long mission was employed in her pursuit. The former taught the *relativity of human knowledge*; the latter maintained that morality, at least, is independent of individual interests and circumstances. To discover by the method of induction and definition the unchanging, universal character of virtue, was the chief aim of Socrates, and it was in direct antagonism to the ethical teaching of the Sophists. The philosophy of Plato was vastly more comprehensive than the philosophy of his master. He had learned from Socrates to seek for necessary, immutable, universal truth. His world of Ideas—the colourless, intangible, immutable essences of things—was the very opposite of the world of endless change conjured up by Heraclitus and the Sophists. But, in his zeal to preserve and defend universal and immutable truth revealed to man by the spiritual powers of his soul, he went nigh reducing the world of sense like the Eleatics to mere subjective appearances. We thus see that while Plato was conscious of the necessity of reconciling the partial, one-sided views that had previously prevailed—the Positivist view, that the only truth for man is the truth of sensible appearances, and the ultra-metaphysical view, which would confine truth and reality to the invisible essences that reveal themselves to man's intellect—he failed to bring them into complete harmony.

It remained for Aristotle to effect the great synthesis of antiquity, as it remained for St. Thomas to re-establish and perfect the same synthesis in mediæval times. In the individual object Aristotle proved the existence of a two-fold reality, one simple and indivisible, the other extended. He likewise demonstrated that the human soul is possessed of two specifically distinct cognitive faculties—sense which reveals to man the material qualities of bodies; and intellect, which by the power of abstraction, attains a knowledge of the existence of essence as well as of its

properties. Necessary truths which depend on the essences of things thus come within our intellectual reach. They are not merely *necessary beliefs*, as the Positivists and Agnostics maintain, generated and developed either by association or by evolution and heredity, but objective truths based on the real essences of things. The closest relation between matter and form is established. The dependence of intellect on sense, of knowledge on experience, of volition on cognition, is explained and proved in clear language. And thus a harmonious synthesis of all the partial views of truth that had prevailed before the peripatetic philosophy took shape in the mind of Aristotle was effected. The metaphysical tendency which Socrates initiated, and which Plato carried to excess, Aristotle accurately interpreted and developed into a system resting on a solid basis of demonstration. What was the intellectual character of the metaphysical period closed by the death of Aristotle? Was it a period of decline? Professor Bosanquet writes:—

“In the hundred and fifty years that ended with the death of Aristotle, there had lived and worked in the city of Athens, containing a population about equal to that of Glasgow, three of the greatest philosophers, four of the greatest poets, and more than one of the greatest formative artists, that the world has ever seen.”<sup>1</sup>

He apparently forgets to speak of the Athenian orators and historians.

But the freedom of Greece was lost in the battle of Chaeronea. Aeschines triumphed over Demosthenes, Philip of Macedon conquered Greece, the Muses and the Graces took flight from Athens, and Positivism, Hedonism, and Scepticism supplanted Metaphysics. Later on, Athens became subject to Rome. As might be expected, the characteristically metaphysical systems of Athens found comparatively little favour with so practical a race. The Macedonian conquests in the East led to the colonization of some of the conquered States by Greeks. The new city of Alexandria, under the dynasty of the Ptolemies became a new Athens. Platonists and Peripatetics, Sceptics and

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Æsthetic*, chap. v.

Dogmatists, Stoics and Epicureans, Jews and Vedantists, contributed to the maelstrom of human thought that whirled in that great city before the introduction of Christianity. As might be expected, the mystical tendency of the Oriental mind sought philosophical repose for the most part in the Ideal system of Plato. But although the philosophy of Alexandria was chiefly Platonic, it can only be described, with perfect accuracy, as syncretistic. How shall we define syncretism? The term generally signifies an aggregation of philosophical tenets from various systems, made eclectically, or without internal scientific correlation. The effulgence of divine light which the Christian revelation poured in upon the human mind almost completely absorbed the Christian consciousness during the early centuries of our era. Philosophy was studied, if at all, only for apologetic purposes; and the philosophy which was popular with Christians in the West as well as in the East was syncretistic. The old synthesis had been abandoned, but in the fulness of time it was to be restored, and expanded, and perfected by the Aristotle of the Middle Ages.

We should certainly need the wings of the Spirit to comprehend the Apocalypse of reason which unfolded itself to the mind of St. Thomas. We have already explained the Aristotelian synthesis on which the Angelic Doctor reared his edifice of truth. Intellect and sense, invisible essence as well as the visible phenomena of matter, there find recognition and proof. But this is merely the foundation: we have still to bring to a common focus the speculative order and the practical order, the sphere of science and the sphere of art, the morality of the individual and the ethics of the family, the ethics of the family and the ethics of the State, the rights of the State and the rights of the Church. The mind is impatient of dualism. Unity is the law of the moral gravitation of the soul towards God. Wisdom or philosophy must be *monism*! What was the Monism of St. Thomas? His ontology embraces three fundamental propositions. They define and establish the nature of substantial truth, of substantial goodness, and of substantial beauty; and all three are shown to be objectively and in

themselves one and the same. Thus an identical force of reason is shown to underlie the world of speculative science, the world of ethics, and the world of art. Then in the moral philosophy of St. Thomas, the rights of the individual are asserted as well as the rights of the social organism. Genuine *Individualism* and *Socialism* are brought into perfect harmony. The rights of the State are as emphatically indicated as the rights of the Church. His glance is as clear and unwavering as the gaze of "the Eagle of Meaux," while his vindication of the rights of the Church cannot fail to satisfy the most strict Ultramontane. And, harmonizing theory with practice, he became the welcome adviser of Pope and King, and like Plato in his Sicilian expeditions, but with a vaster and sublimer sphere for the exercise of his powers, he endeavoured to bring institutions into accord with principles. Nor was his life in any respect incongruous with his philosophy. For, though he was eminently speculative, he was also so practical that he had fulfilled his arduous mission, when he died at the early age of forty-seven. Surely no other person has ever established such a claim to sway the empire of human thought.

Cartesianism supplanted Thomism; Dualism conquered Monism. Descartes regarded extension as the essence of matter, thought as the essence of mind. How can there possibly be effected a union between substances so essentially opposed? The despair of finding any other solution of this problem is said to have driven Descartes himself to the verge of Pantheism. Geulincx sought an extrinsic principle of union in God; so did Malebranche, the Ontologist. Spinoza, whose oriental blood and early associations imparted a Pantheistic bias to his mind, reduced extension and thought to attributes of the only substance, viz., God. But this violently irrational theory could not long maintain a hold of the speculative mind. The disintegration of thought which resulted from the rejection of scholasticism now becomes most conspicuous. The union between Church and State had been dissolved in many countries; the principles on which the speculative, practical,

and artistic orders are brought into union had been abandoned, the unity of speculative philosophy itself had been sundered. Henceforward speculation marches along two widely divergent paths. Every attempt made since the time of Descartes to bring mind and matter into correlation had signally failed. This failure was recognised to have arisen from reality having been assigned to both. The new impulse, therefore, was twofold. The existence of the material element was emphasized by one school whose leanings were clearly materialistic; the existence of mind by the other, the tendency of which was idealistic. National character determined the direction of speculation in each country. The English mind, practical as in the days of Roger Bacon, but with a horror of gross Materialism and Atheism embraced Sensism. The French, ever allured by extremes, carried out the principles of Sensism to their legitimate conclusions in every department of speculation and of practice. The Germans, responding to the nobler inspiration of Leibnitz, embraced Idealism. And our own countryman, Bishop Berkeley, like his illustrious predecessor in the domain of philosophy, Scotus Erigena, trusted his intellect rather than his senses, and evaded the materialistic slough of despond. Locke begot Hume, and Hume indirectly begot Kant, and Reid, and the rest. Thus did philosophy become a Job's world.

“Ubi nullus ordo sed sempiternus horror inhabitat.”

Surely if Cosmic order be the objectivity of reason, the discord of contemporary philosophy must be regarded as the objectivity of unreason. If the *mirabilis ordo* of the world be affirmed a proof of intelligence, how can we reconcile ourselves to the confusion that now prevails in the domain of intelligence itself? To effect a new synthesis, modern writers aim at a *mediation of opposites*. The rejection of the very principle of contradiction is considered trivial, while the adoption of the old metaphysics is alleged to be intellectually impossible.

Having thus surveyed the attitude of the greatest minds to the metaphysical problem, nothing can be more natural than to select for comparison a typical representative of the modern school. If Positivism does not

predecease Professor Tyndall, he is destined to occupy a place in its hagiology analogous to that of the sweet St. Francis of Assisi in the Roman calendar. Having broken away from his old theological moorings, and developed an insane hostility to his native country, he has familiarized the public mind with the entire gamut of the language of abuse in his tirades against religion and "the old hoary-headed rhetorician of Hawarden." After each ebullition he hies away to the summit of the Matterhorn to study the series of molecular complications which emanated "in a fiery cloud," and culminated in the acrid mental phenomenon of Tyndallism. His recent retreat to sublime Alpine heights, after an explosion even exceptional in its intensity, reminds one vividly of another scientist who had broken away from the old moorings, and who in a famous scene of a famous drama is represented as being led away by Mephistopheles on Walpurgis night to the midst of the Hartz mountains to find there some momentary repose and distraction from the harassing thoughts and tempestuous emotions that held his soul in thrall. The vain, sullen, canker-hearted unbeliever may well feel in harmony with the warring of the elements in those elevated regions. Did any inquisitive traveller, we wonder, accost Professor Tyndall in some such words as

"Who's the stiff and pompous man,  
He walks with haughty paces?  
He snuffles all he snuffle can:  
'He scents the Jesuits' traces.'"<sup>1</sup>

Could Goethe have had the Irish professor before his mind when he wrote these lines? Was the budding scientist of Leighlin Bridge ever mentioned in the correspondence that passed between Weimar and the sage of Chelsea's home? Some might incline to discover an intrinsic argument in the word "snuffle," or its German equivalent, which distinctly suggests the nasal noise of the Simian ancestor from whom the Professor proudly and ostentatiously claims descent. We fear this airy speculation must dissolve beneath the chronological test. We may safely conclude that Carlyle had far advanced in senile decay, and his hatred of shams been converted into the merest

<sup>1</sup> Goethe's *Faust*, Scene XXII., translated by E. Craigmyle.

cant—and Goethe, therefore, long dead—before he reconciled himself to the companionship of the author of *The Scientific Use of the Imagination*. The narrowness of the spirit of modern science may be inferred from the charge of ignorance which this distinguished champion of truth levels against the Irish clergy, because, however extensive and profound may be their professional knowledge, they know less than he does about the illuminants of lighthouses. Why, on this principle, St. Mark, when entering the harbour of Alexandria, should have turned aside from his sublime mission to inspect the machinery of the lighthouse on the Island of Pharos. All the brilliant lights of mediæval Oxford, on whom Mr. Gladstone dwelt with so much pride and pleasure in his recent lecture on universities, were so many Agnostics or know-nothings, because they did not discuss the laws of concave reflection. But this Herculean light-bringer, in his double *role* of national renegade and Julian the Apostate *redivivus*, has overshot the mark. A great politico-religious party, notorious for its consistency, has marked out Professor Huxley for State honours, presumably because he has been a bulwark of the Establishment in England. Professor Tyndall has been ignored. Irreligion may be pardoned; but State recognition of one who has been oblivious of all the amenities and courtesies of social life, would jar too much on the public mind. But although in his indiscreet zeal the Professor may forget the rules of prudence, just as he tries to trample on the claims of country, and outrages the laws of decorum, still he is a recognised representative of the modern spirit. To adopt the expressive, though barbarous language of Blackstone, we may well ask, Could such *jetsam* and *ligan* float on the surface of a secular stream, the buoyancy of which was not determined by arrogance, sciolism, and sonorous nonsense? What functional correlation and harmony may we not look forward to in the social organism when it will be articulated by such squeaking members. Verily, to parody a saying of Professor Huxley's, we have our feet on the first rung of a ladder which is the reverse of Jacob's, and leads to the antipodes of a social heaven.

## THE PAINS AND CONSOLATIONS OF PURGATORY.

IT is a holy and a wholesome thought to develop and keep well in evidence the deterrent side of Purgatory, in order that we should conceive a great horror of sin and of its punishments, and a desire to help the holy souls who are for a time detained as prisoners and debtors of the King. But there is also a consoling side to Purgatory. This is beautifully drawn out and harmonized with the severity of the pains of Purgatory by Father Faber, in his admirable dissertation on Purgatory, which is published as an appendix to his *All For Jesus*. The teaching of the Church on the existence and nature of Purgatory is as follows:—1st. The name, the signification of which implies the idea of a state of purgation or purification; 2nd. The Council of Trent,<sup>1</sup> speaks of the “debt of temporal punishment to be discharged in this world or in the next in Purgatory.” Therefore the purgation of Purgatory must, as it is a punishment, be somewhat painful.

The Catechism of the Council of Trent, although its statements are not to be received as of Catholic faith, is nevertheless a very high authority as expressing the mind of the Church. It states that there is a Purgatorial fire, in which the souls of the pious are tormented (*cruciatae expiantur*) for a certain time, in order that an entrance may be open to them in their eternal home, into which nothing defiled enters. Here fire, a real fire, according to Bellarmine, is introduced as the agent of purification. It is not stated whether the fire is material or not. With St. Thomas Aquinas, theologians in general hold that the fire of Purgatory is the same as the fire of hell. But the fire of Purgatory, besides being only temporary, has attached to it the cleansing purifying efficacy of the Precious Blood; and so may, in a sense, be styled a sacrament of fire. “He himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire.” (1 Cor. iii. 15.)

It is a well-known maxim that “the law of prayer is the law of faith.” And in the Roman breviary, in the Office of

<sup>1</sup> Session vi., Canon xxx.

Our Lady of Mount Carmel, the Blessed Virgin is spoken of as comforting her clients whilst they are detained in the fire of Purgatory. In the Office for St. Gertrude, November 17, we are informed that the saint was accustomed to help daily by her prayers the souls of the just, *piacularibus flammis addictas*. Then, again, in the Offertory of the Mass for the Dead, we have the Church praying that the Lord Jesus would deliver the souls of all the faithful departed, "from the pains of hell, from the deep pit, and from the lion's mouth." With regard to this last phrase, it would seem to imply that, at least, some souls in Purgatory may be punished by the evil spirits. For God does not employ the good angels to torment the saints, as St. Augustine has observed. And so they cannot be the *torarii*, or *tongmen* of the parable. (Matthew xviii. 34.) This view is sustained by the revelations of St. Bridget. St. Alphonsus, in his dissertation on Purgatory, quotes St. Thomas<sup>1</sup> as holding that the devils will be present for the torment of these holy souls, but will not torment them.

"Perhaps [writes Father Coleridge, in his *Prisoners of the King*] the truth may be, that there are very many and very great differences between various classes of souls in Purgatory; as, indeed, there are great and wide differences between various souls in heaven and in hell. In the case of those who have been saved by a late penitence, assisted by the sacraments of the Church, after a long period of sin, during which they have been, more or less led captive by the devil at will, as the apostle speaks, it need not be thought impossible that the devils should be allowed to be visible to them during their detention in Purgatory . . . Inasmuch as Purgatory is the place of God's justice, a justice which is most particular and accurate and discriminating in allotting to every offence the punishment which it deserves, it does not seem unnatural that, as everything which has been used as an instrument or an occasion of sin is here made an occasion or instrument of punishment, the devils also may be made in some special manner such instruments to those who have been their willing dupes and slaves during life."<sup>2</sup>

With regard to the duration of the pains of Purgatory, it is certain, as Suarez teaches:—(a) That the punishments of Purgatory are temporal, and not eternal; (b) that they

<sup>1</sup> In 4 dist. 21, qu. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. v., page 50.

will not last after the day of judgment ; (c) that the duration of punishment is not equal in all souls in Purgatory. This, he says, is taught by all the scholastics with St. Augustine ; and, indeed, it is the evident belief of the Church. Alexander VII. condemned the following proposition :— “ An annual legacy left for a soul does not continue longer than ten years.” Estius<sup>1</sup> quotes St. Augustine, who was of opinion that some souls shall not receive the full remission of all their sins before the day of judgment. The Angelical Doctor, as Father Coleridge, in his *Prisoners of the King*,<sup>2</sup> reminds us, teaches, “ that the severity of the pains of Purgatory answers to the quantity of the faults which are to be there expiated, but that the length of time during which these pains last answers to the greater or less degree of what he calls the *radication* of the fault in the subject ; that is, the degree to which the soul has been attached to an unlawful object, and to which that love has been engrained in the soul.”<sup>3</sup> Cardinal Bellarmine says that “ it is certain that the pains of Purgatory will, for some souls, last more than ten, twenty—nay, I daresay, a hundred and a thousand years.” And this opinion is supported by the practice of the Church, which allows anniversaries for the dead to continue without fixing any term for them.

Another punishment of the holy souls, according to Suarez, is a special sorrow or remorse. “ I think,” he says, “ that their sorrow, considered as a punishment laid upon them for their purgation, is rather on account of the grades of blessedness which they have lost for ever, or which they have not gained through sloth and venial sins, than on account of the simple deferring of that blessedness which they are, after a time, to gain.” And this brings us to the greatest of the pains of Purgatory—the pain of loss ; that is, the deprivation of the beatific vision of God. St. Alphonsus assures us, on the authority of the greatest theologians, that “ the fire, the darkness, the weariness, the uncertainty of the time of their deliverance, are, indeed, great pains ; but

<sup>1</sup> Lib. 4, d. 21, sec. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Page 91.

<sup>3</sup> St. Thomas in sent. 4, dist. 21, qu. 1, art. 3.

they are all nothing in comparison of the privation of the sight of God ; they would be content to suffer all other pains doubled a thousand and a thousand times, provided that they were permitted to see their God." This point is also very vividly illustrated by St. Catherine of Genoa in the sixth chapter of her treatise on Purgatory.

#### THE CONSOLATIONS OF PURGATORY.

It is now time to treat of the consolations of Purgatory, a subject that has such a special attraction, not for Catholics only, but also for so many earnest cultured non-Catholics, such as the late Poet Laureate, who, before "crossing the bar" himself, makes his hero, whose course is run, thus address his surviving comrade, Sir Bedivere :—

"I have lived my life, and that which I have done  
May He within Himself make pure ; but thou,  
If thou shouldst never see my face again,  
Pray for my soul. More things are wrought by prayer  
Than this world dreams of."<sup>1</sup>

1. There is consolation, a significant meaning, in the use of the mild word Purgatory. It would appear as if it were expressly intended by the Church to convey to us that the condition of the imprisoned souls is not altogether penal, and that it has its bright and consoling side.

Perhaps this was one of the motives which induced the Fathers of Florence and Trent not to define anything concerning a purgatorial fire. For it must be in many points different from any other fire. It must be tempered and sweetened by many consolations. "Purgatory," says St. Mechtildis, "is so vast, that it begins at the gates of hell, and terminates at the entrance of paradise."

Moreover, St. Alphonsus and many other theologians, say that there is a certain place or condition in Purgatory, called the prison of honour, where souls are not tormented by any pain of fire, but merely by the privation of the sight of God.

2. The holy souls are certain of their salvation. So teach SS. Thomas, Cyprian, Augustine, Alphonsus, Suarez,

<sup>1</sup> *Morte D'Arthur.*

Bellarmino, and the great body of Catholic divines. Soto even says that this is Catholic doctrine. And Pope Leo X. condemned this 38th proposition of Luther: "Souls in Purgatory are not sure of their salvation; at any rate, not all."

3. Being certain of their salvation, they must, according to Suarez, be certain of future glory. This hope must bring them much joy; as St. Paul says, "rejoicing in hope." (Rom. xii. 12.) This appears to be the keynote of the inspired language of the Church in her tender and impressive Office for the Dead: "Dominus regit me, et nihil mihi deerit: in loco pascuæ ibi me collocavit: Dominus illuminatio mea, et salus mea, quem timebo," &c.

4. "It is true," writes St. Alphonsus, "that these holy prisoners suffer great pains; but they endure all with great patience, resignation and peace. They rest in the sleep of peace: '*Dormiunt in somno pacis*,' as we read in the Canon of the Mass; and they love God with all their strength, with continual acts, or rather with a continual act of love, which, as St. Thomas says, is most intense."

St. Catherine of Genoa has attained a rank among the theologians of the Church as the great doctress of Purgatory. Benedict XIV. tells us, in his work on the *Beatification and Canonization of Saints*, that the writings of St. Catherine were examined and approved by the theologians of Paris, and again by the Sacred Congregation, in the cause of her canonization. In the censura of her Treatise on Purgatory, presented to the cardinal *ponente* of her cause, her doctrine is declared to be "incontaminate, most salutary, and altogether seraphic."<sup>1</sup>

Now, St. Catherine tells us that

"The suffering souls are so closely united, so transformed into the will of God, that in all things they are satisfied with His most holy decree; and were a soul presented before God, with ever so little to purge away, it would suffer grievous hurt and torment worse than ten purgatories. I do not believe it would

<sup>1</sup> "In iis quæ de Purgatorio determinata non sunt ab Ecclesia standum est iis quæ sunt magis conformia dictis et revelationibus sanctorum." (St. Thomas, in 4 sent. dist. 21 quæst. 1. a 1: quoted by Bellarmine, lib. ii., c. vii. de Purg.)

be possible to find any joy comparable to that of a soul in Purgatory except the joy of the blessed in Paradise—a joy which goes on increasing day by day as God more and more flows in upon the soul, which He does abundantly in proportion as every hindrance to His entrance is consumed away. . . . It is true that the overflowing love of God bestows upon the souls in Purgatory a happiness beyond expression great; but, then, this happiness does not in the least diminish the pain—rather the pain is constituted by this love finding itself impeded; the more perfect the love of which God makes the soul capable, the greater the pain. In this manner the souls in Purgatory at the same time experience the greatest happiness and the most excessive pain; and one does not prevent the other.”

At the same time, the perfect resignation of the holy souls, and their certainty of being one day admitted to share in all the happiness and glory of heaven, must help very much to mitigate their sufferings.

5. Another of the consolations of Purgatory is the freedom from the possibility of sin, or impatience, or disturbance of any kind.

“I think [writes Suarez] it is of faith, and on this supposition evident, that souls in Purgatory are not vexed by pain, so as to feel any unreasonable anxiety or impatience. This is proved, first, by the principle from which it is established, that they cannot sin. Next, it is proved from the Book of Proverbs (xii. 21): ‘Whatsoever shall befall the just man, it shall not make him sad;’ that is, will not vex him or dishearten him. Now, if the Wise Man spoke thus about a just soul in this life, when it is guarded by the grace of God and His protection, what ought we to say about the souls in Purgatory who are confirmed in grace and in all good?”

6. Cardinal Manning, in his appendix to the English version of St. Catherine’s Treatise on Purgatory, holds with the saint, that, in addition to the discharge of the debt of punishment due to sin, the holy souls may be purified from what St. Thomas calls the *corruptio naturalis boni*—that weakness in the direction of virtue, those bad dispositions, those unheavenly tastes, which the soul contracts through sin, and which remain after the guilt of sin is remitted.

“Certainly [writes the Cardinal] such could be got rid of, as Suarez suggests, in a moment; but there seems a moral fitness that it should not be so, that, as they have been gained by slow

degrees and a repetition of acts, they should be got rid of by a like process. We know that such is God's way of dealing with souls in this life; why should he think it is different in Purgatory?"

This is also the opinion of Bellarmine,<sup>1</sup> "an authority on such a subject by no means inferior to Suarez":—

"God performs this last act of love without the co-operation of man; for there are so many secret imperfections within the soul that the sight of them would drive it to despair. These are, however, all destroyed during the process I have described; and when they are consumed, God shows them to the soul, that it may understand that it was He who kindled that fire of love which consumes every imperfection there is to be consumed."<sup>1</sup>

The saint also compares the action of the divine fire on souls to that of the fire of this world on gold. God holds the holy souls in the furnace until every defect has been burnt away, and He has brought them, each in his own degree, to a certain standard of perfection. Sometimes our bodies are warped and stunted, and thereby prevented from attaining to their natural proper stature, strength, and perfection. May not the same thing happen to the soul. It may be necessary to have it brought to its proper standard of perfection by the supernatural efficacy of the "refining fire." This does not imply the recovery of lost opportunities of grace and merit. "Thus purified, they rest in God without any alloy of self; their very being is God; they become impassible, because there is nothing left to be consumed." This agrees with what the prophet Malachy says: "The Lord of Hosts is like a refining fire. He purifies the sons of Levi, and He shall refine them as gold and as silver."

7. The holy souls must also derive great benefit and consolation from the communion of saints, including, with the Councils of Florence and Trent, the suffrages of the faithful, and "most especially the acceptable sacrifice of the altar."

(a) With regard to the saints in heaven, St. Alphonsus, in his *Treatise on Purgatory*, states that the teaching of St. Thomas, that the saints in heaven can by their suffrages assist the souls in Purgatory, "is far more probable than the

<sup>1</sup> *De Pur.* lib. 1, c. xv. 25.

<sup>2</sup> St. Catherine, chap. xi.

opinion of Dominicus Soto." The Church militant, in the recommendation of a departed soul, prays the angels and saints to assist her: "Come to her assistance, ye saints of God; meet her, ye angels of God." And in the Litany of the Saints, the Church beseeches God, "that they for whom we have proposed to offer our prayers, whether this world still retains them in the flesh, or the next world hath already received them divested of their bodies, may by the clemency of Thy goodness, *and the intercession of all Thy saints*, obtain pardon for all their sins."

(b) All spiritual writers agree with St. Bernardine of Siena, that Mary, the Mother of Mercy, has a certain dominion and special power in Purgatory, and that in this respect the words of the Wise Man (Eccelus. xxv.) apply to her: "I have walked on the waves of the sea." Mary, he says, walks on the transitory waves of the sea of Purgatory, because she visits her clients there, and relieves their torments. In the Revelations of St. Bridget, to whom we are told in the Breviary, *arcana multa fuerunt divinitus revelata*, the Blessed Virgin is introduced as assuring the saint that, "as a poor sick person, bedridden, suffering, and abandoned, is relieved by words of encouragement and consolation, so are the souls in Purgatory consoled and relieved by only hearing my name." And in the Office of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, it is stated that it is piously believed that the Blessed Virgin comforts the members of this confraternity in Purgatory with true maternal love, that by her intercession she *soothes* them whilst they are being purged with the fire of Purgatory—"dum igne purgatorii expiantur, *solari* ac in cœlestem patriam obtentu suo quantocius pie creditur efferre."

(c) Suarez, and Catholic writers in general, seem to make no doubt of the truth that the holy angels frequently visit and console the suffering souls. "We may well believe that the holy angels make revelations to the souls in Purgatory about their relatives or friends still living on this earth. They will do this for the consolation of the holy souls, or that they may know what to ask for us in particular cases, or that they may know of our prayers for them." This opinion,

according to Suarez, is "pious and probable." See also, St. Augustine, *De Cura pro Mortuis*, cap. xv. The angels are invoked by Holy Church that they may come to succour the souls at their departure from life, and present them after death before the Most High, in these words:—"Let Blessed Michael, the Archangel of God, prince of the armies of heaven, receive this soul. Let the holy angels of God, come forth to meet *him*, and conduct *him* to the city of the heavenly Jerusalem." And the soul being departed, the angels are called on to conduct it "to Abraham's bosom." St. Thomas also teaches<sup>1</sup> that the good angels conduct the holy souls to Purgatory. Suarez says that this escorting of the souls is to comfort them, and also to show them honour as the children of God and spouses of Christ. In the Mass for the dead, the Church calls on St. Michael, the standard-bearer, to bring them into the holy light; and when the corpse is being carried to the grave, she prays that the angels may meet the soul, "and conduct it into paradise." In the office of St. Michael we read: "Michael, the Archangel, came with a multitude of angels, to whom God delivered the souls of the saints, that he might conduct them into the paradise of exultation." Father Coleridge, in his *Prisoners of the King*, mentions that St. Peter Damian gives a curious reason for the setting apart of the Monday of each week as a day of special devotion both to the angels and to the holy souls. (A plenary indulgence may be gained every Monday, by all who, having fulfilled certain conditions, hear Mass in aid of the souls in Purgatory.) The saint says that on Sundays the holy souls rest from their sufferings, and that as these begin again on Monday, the Holy Mass is offered in honour of the angels, to procure their powerful assistance to them, as also to others who are to die. Father Coleridge remarks that "the opinion about the cessation of suffering on Sunday, may be uncertain; but the saint's words show that the power of the angels is constantly exerted for the holy souls." As they comforted and consoled our Lord in His bitter agony in the garden, it should not appear strange that the angels

<sup>1</sup> In sent. 4, dist. 11, qu. 1, art. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. xxxviii.

and their Queen would, by their visits, bring intervals of consolation and rest to the spouses of Jesus in prison, where there can be no refreshing slumber.

8. The greatest consolation for the poor souls in Purgatory, and the most efficacious means for their release, is brought to them by the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar. In the Post-Communion prayers of the Mass for the dead, the Church begs of God, "that the soul of Thy servant, which this day hath departed this life, being purified and freed from sin by this sacrifice, may obtain both forgiveness and eternal rest." And again, "that the souls of our brethren, friends, and benefactors, for whom we have offered this sacrifice to Thy Majesty, being by virtue of these mysteries purified from all sin, may, through Thy mercy, receive the blessing of perpetual light."

As priests receive power at their ordination to offer the sacrifice for the living and the dead, some great theologians hold that the application of the satisfaction which is derived from this sacrifice benefits the holy dead by a law of justice, *ex opere operato*; that the temporal punishment due to sin is directly remitted by the Holy Sacrifice, and that this is the tradition of the Apostles. St. Thomas<sup>1</sup> says that it alleviates pain in Purgatory. Suarez holds that it is more probable that any remission is always made by a shortening of the time of punishment. But the generality of spiritual writers agree with St. Thomas, and maintain that the Holy Sacrifice not only shortens the time of punishment for the holy souls, but also soothes and mitigates their pains, as the refreshing dew and the balmy breeze diminish the fierce summer heats. St. Jerome is even quoted<sup>2</sup> as holding the opinion that the soul for which the priest says Mass suffers no pain while the Holy Sacrifice lasts. The learned Father Rawes, who has made the doctrine of Purgatory a special study, states that, "it is believed that a soul does not suffer while Mass is being said for it, though all the while it is getting nearer to its deliverance; not by what it does or suffers, but simply by the power of that tremendous sacrifice."

<sup>1</sup> *Opus de Sacr Altaris*, cap. xxv.

<sup>2</sup> *Apud. Bern, de Busto, Serm. 3 de Missa.*

We cannot conclude this essay better than by citing the burning words of the great Cardinal, who in his *Dream of Gerontius* so beautifully and so accurately voices the awe-inspiring, yet most consoling Catholic belief concerning the condition of the holy souls in Purgatory:—

“ ANGEL.

. . . Praise to His Name !

The eager spirit has darted from my hold,  
And, with the intemperate energy of love  
Flies to the dear feet of Emmanuel ;  
But, ere it reach them, the keen sanctity,  
Which with its effluence, like a glory, clothes  
And circles round the Crucified, has seized,  
And scorched, and shrivelled it ; and now it lies  
Passive and still before the awful Throne ;  
O happy, suffering soul ! for it is safe ;  
Consumed, yet quickened, by the glance of God.

SOUL.

Take me away, and in the lowest deep  
There let me be.

. . . . .

ANGEL.

Softly and gently, dearly ransomed soul,  
In my most loving arms I now enfold thee ;  
And, o’er the penal waters, as they roll,  
I poise thee, and I lower thee, and hold thee,  
And carefully I dip thee in the lake ;  
And thou, without a sob or a resistance,  
Dost through the flood thy rapid passage take,  
Sinking deep, deeper, in the dim distance.  
Angels, to whom the willing task is given,  
Shall tend, and nurse, and lull thee, as thou liest ;  
And masses on the earth, and prayers in heaven,  
Shall aid thee at the Throne of the Most Highest.”

There was published by Duffy & Sons, in the year 1872, a *Short Catechism on Purgatory*, taken from the *Summa* of St. Thomas, from the *Commentaries* of Suarez, and portions of the *Revelations of St. Bridget*. The little work was translated from the French by a Father of the Society of Jesus. It carries the valuable *Nil obstat* of Edmundus O’Reilly, S.J., and the *Imprimatur* of Cardinal Cullen.

We are informed that no proposition\* will be found in

the *Catechism* which does not possess one of the following characteristics, viz.:—"Propositions of the Catholic faith (*i.e.*, those which have been defined by the Church); propositions of theological faith (*i.e.*, those which are susceptible of being defined); propositions of certainty (whether they be fully acknowledged as such, or of an approximate certainty), deducible from the common consent of theologians":—

"Q. Does the soul go soon after its departure from the body into the place suited to it?

A. Yes; this is a Catholic truth, defined in these words by Pope Benedict XII.

Q. Is the existence of Purgatory a doctrine of Faith?

A. Yes; it has been so defined by the Council of Florence and the Council of Trent. Also, that it is a place of suffering for the souls detained there.

Q. Where is Purgatory?

A. In the interior of the earth. [The common opinion of theologians.]

Q. How many kinds of suffering are there in Purgatory?

A. Two kinds; the pain of loss, which is the grief that souls experience from the privation of the Beatific Vision; and the pain of sense, which is a positive pain, inflicted from without, and analogous to what we feel in our bodily senses. The first part of this doctrine is of faith; the second is certain, for it is the common opinion of theologians.

Q. Which is the greatest of the pains of sense in Purgatory?

A. According to the general opinion of theologians, it is the pain of fire.

Q. How is it possible that a material fire should act upon and torment souls?

A. It can do so in various ways, marvellous, indeed, but certain; '*miris, sed veris modis.*' [St. Augustine.]

Q. Does God *ordinarily* make use of the devils as instruments whereby to punish the souls in Purgatory?

A. No. [Common opinion of theologians.]

Q. Do all the souls in Purgatory suffer an equal intensity of pain?

A. No; the degree of pain is proportioned to the different dispositions of each soul. [Truth of Faith.]

Q. Do the souls in Purgatory suffer voluntarily?

A. Inasmuch as these souls are not free to disengage themselves, they do not suffer voluntarily; but they do suffer voluntarily, inasmuch as they willingly accept these pains in view of the eternal recompense for which these sufferings prepare them. [General opinion of theologians.]

Q. Upon what conditions can the living efficaciously succour the departed by their suffrages?

A. Upon two conditions ; they must be in the state of grace, and they must also have the intention to apply to the departed whatever they may gain by their own satisfaction.

Q. May not the suffrage of the person in the state of mortal sin sometimes efficaciously profit the departed ?

A. Yes ; provided that, as in the Sacrifice of the Mass, the offering or work possesses an intrinsic value of its own, which makes it independent of the virtue of him who performs it.

Q. When a suffrage of independent value, such as the Divine Office, or Holy Sacrifice, is offered to God by a person in the state of grace, is not the benefit to the souls in Purgatory thereby much increased ?

A. Yes ; inasmuch as to its own intrinsic value is superadded the merit of him who offers it to God. [Certain truth.]

Q. Do the prayers and ordinary good works offered to God by a sinner for the souls in Purgatory avail to those souls ?

A. Yes ; if the departed himself gave orders for them before his death, they are of use to his soul : and even should they be spontaneously offered by a sinner, God may be pleased to accept them for the relief of the souls in Purgatory ; for He sometimes hears even sinners ; but this is to be attributed to His mercy, and not to His justice ; the effect of such prayers and works is not infallible. [Opinion held by St. Thomas and other grave theologians.]

I would most respectfully suggest that, in our new Catechism, Purgatory should be described, not as a state of punishment simply, but as a state of penal purgation ; that the fire should be described, in the language of the Scripture and the Church, as refining and expiatory—not *devouring*, but *dolorifera* ; and that the consolations<sup>1</sup> of Purgatory should be illustrated by some suitable narration.

N. MURPHY, P.P.

<sup>1</sup> The following is from St. Liguori's *Love of Christ* on Purgatory as a prison of honour:—"Anzi dice il Cardinal Bellarmino, che nel purgatorio v'è un certo carcere detto carcere onorato, ove alcune anime non patiscono alcuna pena di senso, ma solamente la privazione della vista di Dio ; di ciò ne riferiscono più esempj S. Gregorio, il ven. Beda, S. Vincenzo Ferrerio, e S. Brigida."

## “ IN CONCEPTIONE BEATE MARIE :”

A FORGOTTEN OFFICE FOR THE 8TH OF DECEMBER.

ON one of the fairest spots in Northern Europe's fairest city, facing the old town-hall, whose glorious façade, then peopled with a host of richly-coloured and gilded heroes, glistened in the evening sunlight like some jewelled casket of burnished gold, and overshadowed by the massive grey bell-tower, whose melodious voice has not ceased during six centuries to chant the requiem of Time's flying hours, there stood, less than a hundred years ago, an ancient sanctuary dedicated to St. Donatianus, which for two centuries previous to its destruction by the French Revolutionists, in 1799, had been the Cathedral Church of Bruges.

Anterior to 1559, when Bruges was raised to the rank of an episcopal city, St. Donat's had been simply a collegiate church ; but as the chief ecclesiastical establishment in the capital of Flanders, it held a position of no mean importance. Moreover, two indissoluble bonds united the old church to the hearts of the Flemish people—that of patriotism and of religion.

Founded towards the commencement of the ninth century by their first sovereign, Bauduin Bras de Fer, as a shrine for the body of St. Donat, whose relics Ebod, his twenty-third successor in the see of Rheims, had bestowed on the Marquis of Flanders, as Bauduin styled himself, as early as 812, they justly regarded this time-honoured structure as one of the very first monuments of Flemish nationality. Besides, the brutal murder of their martyr-count, Charles the Good, on March 2nd, 1127, rendered its very stones sacred in their devout estimation.

The chapter of St. Donatianus, it would seem, was a corporation of considerable influence, for we find that no less than forty bishops and five cardinals were at various times selected from among its members ; and certain it is, that the canons enjoyed the privilege of a special rite of their own ; at all events, so far as concerned their breviary, even at

the period when their church was submitted to the episcopal jurisdiction of Tournay.

So far as the writer has been able to ascertain, Bruges possesses, at the present day, but one complete copy of this ancient service-book, a printed edition, in two 8vo volumes, now in the public library of the town. The entire work is printed in the Gothic characters of the period, and the numerous contractions and abbreviations of the mediæval copiest are retained in the text. The rubrics, &c., are printed in the usual red ink, and the whole breviary is adorned with various, more or less elaborate, ornamental capitals; while each volume, by way of a frontispiece, contains a rude wood-cut representation of St. Donatian, holding his traditional candlestick, above which is printed the title—"Breviariũ ad usum insignis ecclesie sancti Donatiani Brugeñ. Dyocesis Tornaceñ;" and, below, the following quaint hymn—"Ad sanctũ Donatianũ renewsẽm epñ Carmen."

O hoiñ pastor sup̃me sedis aluñus :  
 Noxia qui stygii sup̃primis arma jovis :  
 Fac rogo lachesis trũcarit stamina vite,  
 Ultima celesti meta fruatur ope.

Neither the publisher's name nor the date of publication appear on the title-page, but 1520 is stamped in gold, on the backs of the leather covers of each part; and although the present binding is probably not that in which the work first appeared, the general character of the printing, &c., would indicate 1520 as the approximate date.

The arrangement of the offices, broadly speaking, is much the same as that of the modern Roman use. The most salient differences are the addition of a responsory at Vespers, after the Little Chapter, and, in the festal office, at Matins, after the ninth lesson, in the same way as in the Sarum and Dominican rites, and the total omission of all hymns at the night hours. This omission is, however, to a certain extent, counterbalanced by the large number of proper hymns which are appointed to be sung at Complin. If it be further added, that the Preces are usually somewhat

longer than those of Rome, the general arrangement of the breviary will be sufficiently described for our present purpose.

In the manual before us, there is no lack of proper festal offices, and several of them are remarkable alike for their richness and beauty. A description of one of these, especially interesting at this season of the year, when the feast of Our Lady's Immaculate Conception is so close at hand, we propose to lay before the readers of the I. E. RECORD in the following pages; namely, the service for the 8th of December, “*In Conceptione Beate Marie.*”

A large proportion of the antiphons, responsories, versicles, and so forth, contained in this office, are, with some slight variation in the reading, given by Mone in his *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters* (vol. ii., page 8), in the form of a set of monastic hours, which, he tells us, he discovered in a twelfth-century MS., in a monastery at Karlsruhe. If, then, the remaining portion, viz. the hymns, the collects, the lessons, the invitatory, one or two antiphons, which we will specify later on, the responsory at first Vespers, and the short responsories at Tierce, Sext, and None, are equally ancient, this office must be one of the first ever composed in honour of Our Lady's Conception.

It is worthy of remark, that as all the antiphons, &c., of the Bruges Office do not appear in that of Karlsruhe, so also the latter contains several which are not to be found in the Bruges service-book; and it would be interesting to know to which of the two churches the similar portions of these offices owe their origin, or if Bruges and Karlsruhe alike culled them from some extraneous and common source.

It may be well to state here, before proceeding further with the task in hand, that, in all quotations from the Bruges breviary, the writer, while endeavouring to expand to the best of his ability the numerous abbreviations, has, nevertheless, as far as possible, strictly adhered to the quaint mediæval orthography of the original text.

#### FIRST VESPERS.

The psalms at this office are the ordinary vesper psalms of Our Lady, and each one, as with us, was said under its

own antiphon. These antiphons are proper to the feast, as, indeed, are all of them throughout the entire Office. They are written in rhyming verse ; the first four being composed of four lines each, made up of two rhyming couplets, and the last of six lines, all of which are in rhyme. Several of them are very beautiful, and all breathe a spirit of fervent piety and mystic devotion.

The poet begins by calling on the Church to hymn her new-born gladness. “ Rejoice,” he cries, “ O Mother Church ; rejoice, reiterate thy new-born mirth ; at length light breaketh o’er the earth, the thorny bramble buds a rose ” :—

Gaude Mater Ecclesia  
Nova frequentans gaudia  
Lux micat de caligine  
Rosa de spine germine.

“ Behold ! ” he continues, “ the guiding ocean star which gave this world, once bathed in night, a sun which ever shineth bright ; implore her aid, her praise proclaim ” :—

Hæc est illa stella maris  
Perquam fulsit lux solaris,  
Cujus festum celebremus  
Et juvamen imploremus.<sup>1</sup>

In the third and fourth antiphons he breaks into prayer : —“ O Mary, garden of delights, enclosed and walled, and hedged around ; thou port of refuge ’mid the storm for Adam’s toil-worn, shipwrecked race ; appease, for us, His righteous ire, who, to redeem men’s souls from fire, took flesh of thee, became thy son : He thy Creator and thy God. Incline, O Lady, to our prayer, with gracious ear receive our cry, stretch out thy kind hand from on high, to lead us in the way of peace ” :—

O Maria clausus ortus  
Naufragantis mundi portus  
Placa nobis qui te fecit  
Matrem sibi quam elegit.  
Adetesto nunc supplicibus  
Nostris faveto precibus  
Manum benignam porrige  
Vitamque nostram dirige

<sup>1</sup> Mone has “ *celebramus* ” and “ *imploramus* ” for “ *celebremus* ” and “ *imploremus* .”

The last antiphon is quaintly beautiful. We venture to offer the following paraphrase, in which we have endeavoured to give the sense and follow the rhythm of the original:—

O Queen enthroned in God's own light,  
O glorious beacon, shining bright,  
Our only hope, 'mid sin's foul blight,  
Save Christ, the fountain of all right.  
Thine is the will, and thine the might,  
To save man from his sorry plight;  
List to the canticles of night,  
And grant us rest in realms of light.

The Little Chapter is taken from the Cantic of Canticles, ii. 10-12: "*Surge propera amica mea,*" &c.

Then follows a responsory, similar in form to those still said after the lessons at Matins. And here the doctrine of Our Lady's Immaculate Conception is implicitly set forth. In place of the *Gloria Patri*, there is a special and very curious doxology. This would seem to be most unusual.<sup>1</sup>

R. Cordis ac vocis júbilo  
Pangamus laudes Domino  
Cujus *Matris Conceptio*  
*Mundum perfudit gaudio.*

V. Suscipe devote preconia  
Christe caterve  
Cujus.  
Doxa patri fit honor a genito cum pneumate  
sancto  
Mundum.

The above responsory does not appear in Mone's Office.

The hymn, which is composed of eight strophes, is written in the ordinary iambic metre so frequently employed in Catholic liturgical hymnody.

Here, as in the canticle still sung at the Vesper Office of the feast we are considering, and several lines of which recall in a very marked manner the hymn now before us, we are told of the exultant joy and confidence born of Our Lady's Conception—Mary is the beginning of all our gladness, and, after God, our only rock of hope. As a star shining forth from a storm-clad sky, as a rosebud amid

<sup>1</sup> The Sarum Breviary presents several instances of such doxologies. Notably that which is contained in the second responsory for St. Stephen's day, and that to be found in the third responsory for the feast of St. John the Evangelist.

thorns and brambles, thus sprang up the tiny blossom destined, one day, to bring forth heavenly fruit. Her conception hath filled the angels with mirth, and hath made the whole world glad.

## HYMNUS.

Ante mundi principium  
Deus Creator omnium  
Previdit ut per filium  
Nobis daret consilium.

Ad Joachim ut legitur  
Per angelum promittitur  
Proles qua salus redditur  
Unde dies hec agitur.

Cujus diei gaudia  
Ut salutis primordia  
Fidelium ecclesia  
Celebret cum leticia.

Transacta prolem serie  
Anna concepit hodie  
Initium leticie  
Et spes post Deum venie,

Ut sidus inter nebula  
Et ut in spinis rosula  
Apparuit hec virgula  
Fructum prebens per secula.

Hec virginis conceptio  
Est laus et exultatio  
Angelorum collegio  
Mundumque implet gaudio.

Hec igitur solemniter  
Colamus et fideliter  
Hanc amemus veraciter  
Ut nos conservet jugiter.

Gloria tibi Domine  
Qui natus es de Virgine  
Cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu.  
In sempiternae secula.

Amen.

The same ring of joyous mirth pervades also the six verses which make up the antiphon to the *Magnificat*.

Ave decus virgineum  
Ave jubar ethereum  
Nobis presens solemnitas  
Assit perpes jocunditas  
Tua namque conceptio  
Summis est gratulatio.

Alleluja.

The Collect presents Our Lady in the character of the Church's primitive conception of her; namely, that she is the second Eve. A point of view from which, as Cardinal Newman has so clearly shown, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is an immediate inference.

COLLECTA.

“Deus ineffabilis misericordie qui prime piacula mulieris per virginem expianda sanxisti: da nobis quesumus conceptionis ejus digne solemniam venerari que unigenitum tuum virgo concepit et virgo peperit Dominum nostrum.”

COMPLINE.

The Church of St. Donatian, in common with most others, seems to have introduced comparatively little variety into the service of Compline, nor does the office for December 8th form any exception to the general rule. Here we have a proper antiphon to the “Nunc dimittis,” the well-known Canticle, “Ave regina colorum,” almost word for word in its present form, and a special versicle introduced at the “Preces:” “V. Valde eam nos oportet venerari que tam sancta et intacta est Virgo, Alleluja.” There is, furthermore, a proper collect, the same which is also directed to be said at None, and a proper hymn—proper, that is to say, to the Blessed Virgin, but not to the particular feast we are now considering. As, however, it is very curious, and, we believe, but little known, we give it *in extenso*:—

Fit porta Christi pervia  
Referta plena gratia  
Transitque Rex: et permanet  
Clausa ut fuit perfecta.

Genus superni luminis  
Processit aula virginis:  
Sponsus redemptor conditor  
Sue gigas ecclesie.

Honor Matris et gaudium  
Immensa spes credentium  
Per atre mortis pocula  
Resolvit noxa crimina.

Gloria tibi Domine &c.

## MATINS.

With the exception of the omission of the hymn, and the addition of a ninth responsory, followed by a sequence, the arrangement of this office is identical with that of the modern Roman Matins. The psalms are the same which we still sing on feasts of our Lady ; but the antiphons are proper, and they are all written in rhyming verse, in much the same style as those at Vespers.

That Mary is the second Eve, who undid the evil which the first Eve entailed on the human race—this is, as it were, the dominant note which runs through the antiphons of the first nocturn.

The antiphons to the second and third nocturns are rich in Scriptural allusions, and most beautiful. Thus for example :

Abrahe fit promissio  
 Quod illius successio  
 Velut arena cresceret  
 Stellisque equalis fieret.  
 Hoc promissum est impletum,  
 Caste per Marie fetum,  
 Que gignendo granum sevit,  
 De quo seges tanta crevit.  
 Vineam quondam sterilis  
 Deo cultore fertilis  
 Vitem fecundam pullulat  
 Fundentem cunctis pocula.  
 Ista vitis est Maria  
 Iudee progenie  
 Ad conceptum nutu Dei  
 Que processit hodie.  
 Hec est botrum paritura  
 Virgo plena gratia  
 Qui crucis pressus in prelo  
 Convivantes debriat.  
 Gratulare et letare  
 Urbs opima Nazareth  
 Hodierne fecundaris  
 Ubertate gratie  
 Casus mortis, Salus orbis,  
 Spes datur et venie.

When all is pure gold, it is difficult to single out any particular portion which by reason of its superior lustre

outshines all the rest; nevertheless, the responsoria are certainly not the least beautiful portion of this most beautiful office; and here, also, the same richness of Scriptural allusion and mystical interpretation, the same fantastic imagery, the same quaint beauty, again presents itself.

We regret that the space at our disposal in the I. E. RECORD will not permit of their being given in full.

No. IX. is very characteristic of the age in which it was written. There is, indeed, an inexpressible charm about the quaint cachet of these naïve verses, which, in the fresh beauty of their simplicity, so unlike the poetry of this age of fastidious corruption and corrupt refinement, breathe out, as it were, the sweet perfume of a holier, a manlier, and a truer time—the delicate scent of choice flowers long since faded and dead.

The following translation, though only approximate, may, perchance, serve to give the general reader some idea of the original:—

- R.* O Mary, Queen of men and angels,  
Thou the prophets' eastern gateway,  
Ever firmly barred and shut,  
Once a monarch crossed thy threshold,  
Very God yet man was He;  
Through the closéd door He entereth,  
Through the closéd door comes forth,  
From thy flesh man's form He taketh,  
Which before He did not own;  
And, as a bridegroom from his chamber,  
Thus arrayed goes out to war.
- V.* O Sacred Virgin!  
Thee doth the might of Heaven o'ershade  
For God decrees to be thy Son.
- R.* And through the closéd door He entereth,  
And through the closéd door comes forth.
- V.* Now to the Triune Deity, be  
Praise and honour, power and might.
- R.* For through the closéd door Christ entereth,  
And through the closéd door comes forth.  
From thy veins thy blood He taketh,  
To redeem man's fallen race.  
And as a giant from his stronghold  
Thus equipped goes forth to conquer,  
Sin and Satan, Death and Hell.

The sequence which follows this last Responsory, and which, it would seem, forms an integral part of the poem, is of equal beauty ; and, from a doctrinal point of view, it is, perhaps, the most interesting portion of the entire office, for it contains, in concise terms, a particularly clear definition of the Immaculate Conception.

O Mary, Queen of Earth and Heaven,  
 Star of Ocean, shining bright,  
 List, sweet Mother, to our crying,  
 To the prayers and vows and mourning  
 Which to thy great throne ascend  
 On the day of thy conception,  
 When thy Lord and thy Creator,  
 With thee took up His abode ;  
 Through whom, one day, having taken  
 Human form and human flesh,  
 He would raise man's fallen nature,  
 From the death of Adam's sin.  
 Then commend us, gentle Lady,  
 To the mercy of thy Son,  
 Who, as a bridegroom from his chamber,  
 From thy holy breast went forth.

Another prose is likewise given, as an alternative to the above. It would not, however, seem to have been specially written for the feast of Our Lady's Conception, nor does it appear in the Karlsruhe office of this festival. Mone, however, gives it in his collection, and attributes it to the fifteenth century. It was sung, he tells us, on the Feast of the Purification, and he discovered it at Karlsruhe. This same prose, it may be interesting to note, is also to be found in the Sarum Breviary ; and here, it is likewise appointed to be sung on the feast of the Purification, viz., at second Vespers, between the responsory and the hymn, while the Dominicans still sing it on the same feast, but at first Vespers instead of at second.

The Bruges, Karlsruhe, Dominican, and Sarum versions of this little sequence, all differ from one another, but not materially. We have noted the various readings below.

Inviolata integra et casta ei Maria,  
 Que est effecta fulgida celi porta.  
 O Mater alma Christi Charissima  
 Suscipe pia laudis precamina,

Nostra ut pura pectora sint et corpora,  
Que nunc fligitant devota corda et ora.  
Tu da<sup>1</sup> per precata dulcisona,  
Nobis concedas veniam per secula,  
O benigna, O Regina, O Maria,  
Que sola inviolata permansisti.

LAUDS.

It was the custom of the Canons of St. Donat's to herald the office of Lauds with a special versicle and response before the “*Deus in adjutorium ;*” and “*Ora pro nobis sancta Dei genetrix. Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi*” was the familiar formula with which they ushered in the morning service on the feast of Our Lady's Conception.

The arrangement of the office, with this exception, is identical with that of the modern Roman use.

Two of the psalm antiphons—the first and fourth—are very striking ; and here again the same train of thought obviously occurs—which we have already so often met with in various portions of this office—that Mary is the second Eve.

Thus, we have, in No. 1, “*Mary's Conception blotteth out the stain, and looseneth the bond of Eve's sin ;*” and in the 4th, “*Oh how copious is the benediction showered on thee, O Virgin, for by it the curse which Eve handed down is blotted out.*” But do not these words mean something more ? Is not the last phrase, at all events—

O quam larga te perfudit,  
Virgo, benedictio,  
Qua deletur, quam induxit  
Evæ, maledictio—

a further profession of faith, on the part of the author, in the Immaculate Conception of our most Blessed Lady ?

As to the other psalm antiphons (2, 3, and 5), they are simply three devout invocations to Our Lady, full of fervent piety, and displaying a simple childlike faith in the power of

<sup>1</sup> Mone : “*Tua*” for “*tu da*.” Sarum passage reads thus :—

“*Tu da per precata dulcisona,  
Nobis perpetua frui vita.*”

her prayers; and this especially will be noted in the concluding phrase of the last antiphon: "Puissant art thou, O Virgin, as their sovereign, to open the gates of Heaven."

Although these three antiphons are certainly not without beauty, nevertheless they contain nothing particularly distinctive of the feast they are intended to celebrate; and this same observation applies also to the antiphon at the Benedictus.

The hymn is taken from the Common Office of the Blessed Virgin, and is the same which the Roman Breviary still ordains to be sung at Lauds on her festivals; though, of course, Bruges follows the original reading of St. Venantius Fortunatus.

The Little Chapter is taken from Ecclesiasticus xxiv. 11-13: "In omnibus requiem quesivi," &c.; and the collect, after making allusion to the legend which recounts the angelic prediction of Our Lady's Conception, implores that the Church may be fortified by her prayers.

#### COLLECT.

"Deus qui Beate Virginis Marie conceptionem angelico vaticinio parentibus ipsius predixisti: concede huic familie tue ejus presidiis muniri, cujus conceptionis sacra solemnia congrua frequentatione veneratur. Per," &c.

#### THE DAY HOURS, SECOND VESPERS, AND SECOND COMPLINE.

As the proper portions of these hours contain little which refers immediately to the mystery of Our Lady's Conception, it will be convenient, for the sake of clearness and brevity, and in order to avoid repetition, to treat of them under one heading.

The following rubric will sufficiently indicate the manner of saying Prime:—"Ad Primam, Hymnus, Iam lucis, etc. Gloria tibi, Domine, etc. R. Christi Fili qui natus es, etc. cum Alleluia. Inter preces. Valde eam nos oportet venerari, etc. Collecta Protege Domine."

As to Tierce, Sext, and None, they each contain a special chapter, responsory and collect, as well as a proper hymn—that is to say, proper to Our Lady, but not to the feast in

question. This hymn is no other than St. Bernard's “*Ave Maris Stella.*” It was divided into three parts, the first, second, and last verses being sung at Tierce; the third, fourth, and last at Sext; the fifth, sixth, and last at None.

The collect at Sext is important, for it contains a passage which once more indicates for us, and that in no ambiguous language, that this office was not intended merely to celebrate the Conception of Our Lady, but her Immaculate Conception.

With the following exceptions, Vespers and Complin are identical with the corresponding services on the vigil of the feast. All the Vesper Psalms were said under one antiphon, the first of Lauds, and there is a proper chapter and responsory as well as special antiphons for the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis.” Not one of these are to be found in Mone's Karlsruhe Office, but the Responsorium, with the exception of the last line of the *V.* appears in the Sarum Breviary at second Vespers on the Feast of the Assumption.

So beautiful are the thoughts contained in this exquisite little mystic poem, that we cannot withstand the temptation of turning it into English verse; and with this last effusion we will bid our readers farewell.

O chaste virginity, most dear to the hearts of the angels,

Fair garden hedged around, whose turf is all starred with white lilies,

Whose glories all nations are singing, so sweet is the scent of thy flowers,

Thou whom the Lord deemed worthy to bring forth a heavenly blossom.

To that fair blossom restore us, O Virgin of dazzling beauty,

E'en to Christ, whom the whole world adoreth, hymning His sweetness and splendour.

While to Thee, O Trinity Blesséd, be honour, and glory, and power,

Who hath planted a garden so lovely, for the exiled children of Adam,

One God, to whom all creation fitly offereth homage.

F. E. GILLIAT SMITH.

## REMINISCENCES OF ALL HALLOWS' COLLEGE.

THE sons of All Hallows, scattered over the face of the globe, have welcomed, ere this, Father Curry's graceful tribute to the great Missionary College, in the October number (1892) of the I. E. RECORD. It is peculiarly timely in the present eventful crisis of that institution. After fifty years of useful, not to say glorious, existence; after having sent at least 1,000 Irish missionary priests to every quarter of the globe, it pauses, as it were, to renew its youth, and reorganize its strength. Under new auspices, but in the old spirit, it will set forth again, rejoicing "as a giant to run the way," whose "going out is from the end of heaven, and his circuit to the end thereof."

This appears to me to be the proper time to fulfil a promise, often made to All Hallows' men during my missionary wanderings, of recording some memoranda of their old home at Drumcondra. Father Curry's article comes to shame me into its accomplishment. I am urged on, too, by the remonstrances of a noble son of All Hallows, in whose house I write. Our daily conversation—more like articulate musing—is ever of the "old spot." He revisits it very often; but always, he says, with that sadness that mingles with every sweetest memory. I confess to a like feeling as I write; and writing, recall that truly hallowed ground, whose vision teems with phantoms of the past. How can I review those days with cold scrutiny, or note events with judicial calm :—

"When to the sessions of sweet silent thought,  
I summon up remembrance of things past,  
I sigh the lack of many a thing I sought.

Then can I drown an eye unused to flow  
For precious friends hid in death's dateless night  
And moan the expense of many a vanished sight."<sup>1</sup>

Most of the students of my time are now men, grown grey in the service to which All Hallows had so nobly

<sup>1</sup> Shakespeare, *Sonnet* xxx.

trained and dedicated them. They are children yet in the tender love they bear their *mater*, and in the stirring memories they delight to retain and retail of the dearest spot in the dearest land they own on earth. In their every gathering—even when two alone may chance to meet—the hallowed name is the first and the last on their lips. At the word *All Hallows*, the young light—the light, alas! of old—sparkles once more in their care and toil-worn eyes. Their hearts' pulses quicken visibly. The whole frame seems braced anew to the energy that erst won renown in many a hard-fought match in field or alley, where hand or foot sent home the flying ball.

And then come collated memories, experiences, criticisms, of dread deans and dominies once feared, but now held in loving remembrance. Each bit of the grounds is trodden again. "Does Jack Farrell's thatched and white-washed lodge, of one room and no upstairs, still stand guard by the old entrance gate?" "Does that ragged old bay-bush (amazing how many remember it!) still stand by the hall-door of the mansion house?" These and the like are the subjects of conference whenever the "old boys" meet. New and important changes they regard as unwelcome novelties, that ill suit the ancient scene, and sadly interfere with the sweet dream of memory. The new junior house, for instance, flaunting it over the grave of the old class halls, and ambulatory (once the Beresford stables), is a vulgar intruder on the sacred ground. "It was not there in my time," is the sublime censure that waives it out of consideration and existence. It has no history, no beauty, for "us." College history was made in "our time," before this thing appeared to mar its symmetry, and break its sacred links. "We" *think* of the old halls with their chopped and battered desks, and their lurid gleam of tallow dips on cold winter evenings, whenever we think of All Hallows. The new house is "no matter" to us. "We" are all Berkeley's, as regards modern innovations on that scene, however solid and stately they may be.

But I am anticipating reminiscences, and writing also on reckless impulse. I know it, but I can't help it. I am all

purpose and no plan in this memoir. The necessity of mingling constantly the sign personal with this record of events, wherein so many made a more prominent figure, oppresses me. I had thought of setting up a false barrier of separation between myself and my theme by presenting myself, genteelly, as "the writer." But I may not do so. This present act of writing is purely a material, almost unconscious, act towards my purpose. But the act of remembering—in which the "I" must ever be present—is, at this moment so vivid, so all-absorbing, that to substitute the word "writer" for "I" would take all reality from my reminiscence, and all tone and tenderness from their record.

I am not here writing history nor the material for history. Whoso seeks that, as regards All Hallows, must satisfy himself, for the present, with Dr. M'Devitt's *Life of Fr. Hand*. He may then, and probably shall, ask for more. I hope he may get it.

All Hallows had a very marked outward character, and inner life of its own. I wish to reach that character and that life, and to unfold them to view. Order of thought, order of time, or order of any kind is not the way to effect this object. It is more in the breach than in the observance of common forms, more in eccentric than in restrained movements, that the character is caught, either of individual or institution. I believe there is only one now living, Rev. Dr. Fortune, my old time class-mate—besides myself—who knew All Hallows both as a student and professor in that college. His experience, in both capacities, was much longer than mine, but did not otherwise present better vantage ground for inspection. Indeed the interval of six years spent in Rome, between the period of my student-life and professorship, marked a break in the history and conduct of the college, as well as a contrast in my own inward and outward experiences. These afforded me special aids to observation and comparison, and to insight into the true spirit of All Hallows.

I went there in the early days (1853), which not many of its students now living remember. This was before the

College underwent any experiment of being bullied into line with other institutions vastly different in material, *personnel*, foundation, and tradition. These were the days when All Hallows was great, chiefly in being unlike and even opposite in character to everything but itself. That character was, however, admirable from every point of view. It was spiritual, scholastic, enthusiastic, patriotic. It was fitted, as by the wisest contrivance, for the ends and objects of the Institution. A grand freedom of spirit that scorned the machine-press system of the regulation seminary pervaded the whole body, superiors and students. They were Crusaders, knights errant of religion of their own choice and in their own right. An exalted sense of their great mission and its requirements possessed their souls. It seemed to invest them with the bearing and the daring of the soldier. Yet this habit of mind and of deportment was not found inconsistent with the clerical spirit. Sturdy manliness was considered a sound quality on which to base and build vocations to a career that would demand a liberal supply of mettle and muscle. It was not exactly the rule, nor the express teaching of the superior, that evoked and developed this hardy spirit. It was the consciousness of a perilous destiny freely adopted, the ever-present prospect of the breaking of bonds beloved and bonds detested. It was the spirit of enterprise and adventure, exalted by religious motive and demanding as its proper ally the right of rational freedom.

Moreover, at this period (1853) All Hallows was in its mad youth, so to speak. The College was just eleven years old. The memory and the mood of '48 were alive and burning in those young breasts. The College was an essentially Irish College instinct with patriotism. Voluntary exiles themselves, by election, they loathed the idea of the compulsory exile of their fellow-countrymen. "Was not the sea made for the free?" Were not their thoughts already flown far away to lands of real or fancied freedom? They were already emancipated in soul, though their bodies were doomed to dwell yet awhile in the limbo of national enslavement. What cared they for a banner or a bond

already renounced in heart, and soon to be repudiated in fact? Times will change, blood will grow cold, hopes wither, and even desires decay! How many of those men yet retain and cherish that old spirit of bygone days? How many could chant, with old tune passion and verse:—

“ Seasons may roll,  
But the true soul  
Burns the same where'er it goes !”

I believe now, in these far-away days, that this fervour of nationalism—apparently but a passing display of the fire of youth, had a most important effect on the success of the work of the College abroad, as well as on the political destinies of Ireland at home. This is why I dwell on it. Had these young men been (as they would have been under certain other control) trained almost equally to the service of British foreign politics as to that of the foreign religious missions, the College would have ceased to exist long ago, or ceased to have become the glory and the aid it has been, and is, to Irish faith and to Irish national regeneration.

Whether the superiors of the College were inspired with like feelings (which, I believe, was the case with most of them), or whether they foresaw the advantages this national spirit would confer towards carrying out the work of the missions among Irish exiles, certain it is that they did not discourage, if they did not actively foster it. They did not deem it of obligation, at all events, to strive to convert this band of Irish youth, destined to far other ends, unto agents of the British Empire. It must not be thought that this patriotic fervour was confined to the students intended for missions in the American Republic. As far as my memory serves me, some of those destined for English, Scotch, and colonial service were the most advanced nationalists of all. Dr. Moriarty was then President of the College. A different line of Irish Church policy had begun to be adopted, and later on obtained irresistible force. The exigencies of this polity may at a later period have warped Dr. Moriarty's judgment, perverted his feelings, or overpowered his will. An unhappy utterance of his, in after

times, may have been an unconsidered flight of fancy, or a rush of rhetoric, rather than a dictate of the heart; an admonition rather than a malison in intent. Certain it is that in the All Hallows' days I speak of, he gave no evidence of disapproval of the national spirit he knew to exist in the College. In one case only did he interfere where its manifestation was interpreted, or really became insubordination to a superior who could not be expected to sympathize with it. Dr. Moriarty himself always took part in those reunions wherein national feeling was most strongly manifested, but with a gravity and courtliness of demeanour that was all his own.<sup>1</sup>

As for the rest of the superiors of that day, they left us no room to doubt of their national proclivities. These were not concealed, even in the class halls, especially in the English and elocution classes, where readings and recitations from the literature of *The Nation* formed a portion of our exercises.

But it was in the refectory, during a "gaudeamus," that the full tide of feeling broke forth masterful and unchecked. How the old rafters did ring to the universal roar "We're Paddies Evermore"! This song was always on the programme, and might be considered the adopted anthem of the College. There was some musical talent among the students—particularly, I thought, among the Limerick lads, who could always be counted on for some good voices, and were rarely without one or two instrumentalists. But the professors of that day were, in proportion, far in advance of the students as vocalists, both in numbers and quality. I seem to hear yet the deep rich tones of Dr. O'Brien (late Dean of Limerick) trotting forth his favourite bravura:—

"When bards in their records of nations disclaim thee,  
Then, Erin Mavourneen, I'll love thee no more!"

The "no more" was awful in its depths, its defiance of all that fate might do, and its haughty challenge of all the possibilities. Poor dear Father M. Barry, "the professor of

<sup>1</sup> Sir C. G. Duffy, in his *Young Ireland*, makes special mention of Dr. Moriarty as a frequenter of *The Nation* Office in its early days, and a strong sympathizer with the movement advocated by that paper.

fun," elocutionist, author, playwright, ballad-maker, and general cnlivener, used sing his own compositions. If not poetical, they were eminently popular. But he was grand, too, on occasions; sweet of voice, but disdainfully incorrect in every other musical requirement. He declaimed rather than sang Davis's "Irish Brigade." At his "Vive la!" one had but to shut the eyes, and Father Barry was transformed at once into Dillon or Clare leading "the household troops" to victory. I do not remember to have heard Dr. Moriarty sing, but his speaking voice was singularly musical and sonorous. The best musician in the house, or rather the only one, from a technical and scientific point of view, was Father James O'Brien, now parish priest of Tobin's town, Meath. He was the organist of the College in those days; a good pianist, too, and possessed of a clear and mellow tenor voice not often heard out of the profession. He also affected the *Melodies*, and rendered them well. Father Mullally (let this vouch for the trustworthiness of my memoir, for he is still there to read me) had neither voice nor ear, but no other one brought down the refectory more surely than he when he carolled forth his "Gallant Tipperary" without tune or time, yet not without certain jaunty heartiness of expression. This he always looked upon as his duty to do, and we were nowise inclined he should neglect it. He afterwards became the supervisor and moderator of the singing class in the College with Mr. Lynch, the organist, as active partner, and he allowed of no distinction between the bird that could not, and the bird that would not, sing. His professorship of music was a decided success.

I might wander thus from picture to picture, illustrative of what might be called the social temper of the college. But features even more interesting and important—the scholastic and spiritual methods of the institution—claim consideration ere this paper grows too lengthy.

It must be remembered, in discussing the character of All Hallows, as a seat of theological learning, that the demands of the foreign missions were exceedingly urgent, and that the speediest possible equipment of its students for the

work before them was a matter that admitted no choice. Therefore a short course of practicable and thoroughly manageable theology was what was needed in their case, and what was eminently the best for the end in view. With a staff of professors composed of such men as I have named—to whom may be added Rev. Dr. Bennett, a master metaphysician and dogmatist; Father Harrington, one of the clearest and most correct moralists it has ever been my lot to meet; and, later on, Dr. Conroy, Dr. James M'Devitt, Dr. James O'Brien, &c., it cannot be supposed that the chairs of the College were other than ably filled. Their object was, and it takes such men to accomplish it, to map the course in clear and correct lines, as the mariner marks his chart in direct bearing with the end and object of his voyage, without veering about in needless explorations, or putting in at outlying ports of call.

Our text-book for philosophy and theology in those earlier days was Bouvier, the whole Bouvier, and nothing but Bouvier. Later, it was Perrone and Gury for the seniors, and some of the moderns for philosophy. But about this later time a more ambitious (was it really a more useful?) system was introduced. The students began to be aggravated, until they got used to him, by an anonymous author called "Notes." "Notes" was not popular for a long time, and was never considered thoroughly responsible or anything like original. A good text-book is a good compass for the professor, and a good bower-anchor for the student. One can always get good soundings in it. There is also something in *feeling* your knowledge under your thumb. All honour to old Bouvier after all. He furnished many a successful missionary with all the theological knowledge he needed. With a good head and a glib tongue behind him, Bouvier proved a very safe fountain of instruction, and an effective weapon of controversy to many a noted son of All Hallows. One student of philosophy in my time discarded plain old Bouvier for a stranger called Ubaghs. He himself went by the name of Ubaghs. He also, poor boy, went out of his mind.

In Rome, where I began my philosophy over again, I

heard nought of Bouvier, and began to hold him in low esteem. But I was mistaken. I was ungrateful. I see it now. Bouvier was the students' "guide, philosopher, and friend" in "our time;" and whatever belonged to "our time" was best.

In 1853, and for some years after, students entered All Hallows' College for rhetoric and classics. Afterwards this branch was transferred to the preparatory school established by the College at Stillorgan. Finally it was given up altogether, and the course commenced in the College with philosophy, provincial schools and colleges, particularly Mount Melleray, preparing the candidates. But the important department of English literature, composition, and elocution, always held a foremost place in the educational training of the students. The proposed maxim of the apostle, "*Fides ex auditu*," was ever before the minds of superiors engaged in preparing men to make known the faith to others. It is not too much to say that in no college in the British Isles was more attention paid by more qualified teachers to this all-important work of the ministry. Dr. Moriarty, himself an accomplished English scholar and speaker, was most deeply impressed with the necessity of a good mastery of English on the part of the future missionaries. This language was the instrument by which, chiefly, their work could be effected. Theological lore, as distinguished from theological sufficiency, was itself of less importance to the outgoing young apostle than an easy and pleasing style and manner of address. When the Holy Spirit gave the Apostles the gift of tongues, He, no doubt, imparted also both the accent and propriety that were its due accompaniments. But this is not done from on high in our day. It is now the work of human teachers; but it is, in its effects, not the less "wonderful in our eyes." Naked truth sometimes shocks many; truth in rags and tatters of diction repels almost all in our dainty days. Dr. Moriarty, to accomplish his object, introduced that most amiable, useful, and exemplary professor, Mr. H. Bedford, M.A., into the College. He was ably seconded, later on, by Father Potter, another Englishman, and author of a

standard work on pulpit oratory; but Father M. Barry and Dr. O'Brien had more extensive celebrity than either as noted preachers and lecturers throughout Ireland and England. They had the true Celtic gift of oratory, sustained by admirable qualities of voice, presence, action, and accent, all cultivated to the highest point. Dr. O'Brien, indeed, often marred his own excellence by a too pompous demeanour, and a too artificial language and delivery. Father Barry was nearly perfect when he chose to exert all his powers; but he did not choose often enough, nor long enough. Father Barry was the regular professor of English reading and elocution, but his place was sometimes supplied by Dr. O'Brien. Dr. Moriarty himself not unfrequently assembled all the students, juniors and seniors, in the refectory; and it was a treat to listen to his resonant readings from Milton and Shakespeare. Mr. Bedford, while professor of physics and the elements of astronomy, established in his own rooms a sort of *academia* for the juniors. Here we had to read and recite our own compositions in prose and verse—often, I fear, very curious productions. The excellent practice of writing and delivering sermons, begun in the first year of theology, was carried out to the end of the course in a solemn and serious manner in the refectory in old days; and after the erection of the new buildings, in the *Aula Maxima*. There was always a professor present, who used to call on two of the students to criticize the sermon and the preacher, and sum up with a critique of his own. These exercises were carried on with earnestness and gravity. The students well understood their importance, and no higher ambition existed in the house than that of excelling in such exhibitions. Besides all this, the professor of purely sacred elocution, who, in later years, was Father Potter, required, I believe, from his class a short written homily—a sort of skeleton sermon—as often as once a-week. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that All Hallows at all times (but, I think, more in the beginning than now) sent forth a good proportion of ready and effective preachers. I think, bias apart, it excelled in this direction most colleges of England and Ireland. Yet, notwithstanding such excellence of

teachers and opportunities, great difficulties existed in the way of training the mass of the students in this particular department. The material to be worked upon, admirable in other respects, was utterly unformed and unpolished, as a general rule, in all that pertained to English literature and language. I knew men coming there who could teach any professor in the house in Greek and Latin classics, but who were unable to pronounce or compose correctly a dozen sentences of English.<sup>7</sup> Of course, there were many exceptions; and the Melleray boys, in particular, were far in advance of the others in point of previous English education. Some of those were speech-makers of no common type, and often proved it on public occasions—from their very entrance into the College. At a later period, when I returned to All Hallows as professor, a vast improvement had obtained in the preparatory English studies of the various schools in Ireland. Yet, I think that while the average was far better, the brilliant examples of oratorical ability were fewer, and less notable than in the early days.

I have left to the last the most important item of all in these reminiscences, and I feel that, to do it justice, it should be reserved for a future essay. I allude to the spiritual and religious system adopted in All Hallows for training priests for the foreign missions. I will only say now, that while the rule was, in letter, almost identical with the Sulpician, its method of application was less formal, and, so to speak, less mechanical. There was less of spiritual drill, less of moulding and modelling, more of play and scope for individual character, less shapeliness, and perhaps more substance. The essentials were, on this account, the more strictly enforced by superiors and attended to by the students—obedience, truthfulness, earnestness, spontaneous piety. The highest compliment reserved by his fellows for a student liked and esteemed was this, "*he is an honest man*;" and I think they meant more, and thought more, by it, than if they declared him to be a saint. The cultivation of *conscience* among the students was the great aim of the superiors in their capacity of spiritual directors. The unpardonable sin in their code was the least suspicion of pretence or "eye service" in acts devout and

spiritual. Their own example was a strong factor in producing a high standard of serious devoutness in the College. They were always with the students, not so much overseers as companions in all the chapel exercises. This was no light, though a self-imposed burden on cold winter's mornings at early meditation in the stoveless and heatless chapel when all assembled. Yet the professor who was a frequent delinquent in this practice was sure to fall in student estimation. Indeed such delinquency was rare.

I must needs here finish this chapter of reminiscences. A hundred incidents, eloquent of the hearty, humourous, holy spirit of All Hallows, crowd upon my memory. What yarns revive of Phil (Professor) Cooney; of *Mister Moran*, who is to be approached respectfully; of Tom the Peddler, who used to supply objects devout and objects useful—rosaries, scapulars, needles and thread, and—twist. Then the roll-call beats within of all the geniuses of the College. But enough, I think, has been said to note the character of All Hallows. I end by wishing the dear old place God speed in its new career—I should rather say in its new life. For old All Hallows is dead and can never revive. There is no doubt about that. The elements that combined to make All Hallows what it was, have no place among the things that be to-day. The tide of Irish emigration is dwindling to a stream. The agony of the nation, finding always comfort and relief in heroic works like that of All Hallows is, be it hoped, passed away for ever. A semi-depopulated land is left at home, a great and growing Irish race exults in its own strength abroad. The stock of the race smitten, but unexhausted, husbands its powers for a new and stronger growth, the branches quiver to return the living sap they so long drew from it. It is their turn now to feel the sacred emotion that "*Beatius est magis dare quam accipere.*" The field of the work of All Hallows grows more and more contracted as the Church in the various missions becomes better equipped and organized. Yet an immense harvest for the zeal of the Irish missionary remains. Even where other workers, either of the same or a stranger race, abound, the sickle of the Irish-born harvester will always be

welcome ; and always, as it has been, first and best in the field. So let All Hallows and its mission go bravely and hopefully on. It is in the right condition and the right hands now for bracing its nerves for a new departure. “ We ” all feel that, directed by a body of eminent Irish religious, the College will be in the future as devoted to faith and race as in the past ; and that even from far-off lands, many and many shall come to its halls for enlightenment in religion, and science. So that All Hallows may preserve to Ireland the glory of those ancient days when the brevet of the scholar and the missionary was this

“ *Invit ad Hibernos scientia mirabili claros.* ”

RICHARD HOWLEY, D.D.

## Theological Questions.

### DOMICILE.

“ REV. DEAR SIR,—A few remarks on the two enclosed matrimonial cases will greatly oblige.

“ A lady lives with her brother in Bray. Her brother gets married, she looks out for a situation, since she has no claim on her brother ; but just when she is about to leave her brother’s house a young man from Kildare, in every way acceptable, proposes for her hand, and is accepted ; she then remains in her brother’s house until two days before the marriage, goes up to Dublin, and if by any misadventure the marriage should not take place, she *would not on any account return to Bray to live with her brother*, but would go somewhere else to earn a living. Now can the parish priest of Bray go up to Dublin two days after the departure of this lady from his parish, and assist at her marriage ’n Dublin as *Parochus Tridentinus* ?

“ 2. A merchant has a number of business houses ; he engages a number of ladies at so much yearly, on condition that they at any time go as he orders them to his different establishments ; viz., in Belfast, Drogheda, &c. They cannot have the intention of remaining the major *pars anni* in any place. Do they ever acquire a domicile ? And can one of them who has been a year

or two in a place come back after an absence of four months to be married by the parish priest of her former residence to a young man residing in a neighbouring parish, who has a fixed home here, and a *Parochus Tridentinus*? Though she had acquired a domicile, I believe she had lost it by her absence from the parish for four months. Now, presuming that she is a *vaga*, can she insist on being married by the parish priest of the place where she formerly spent some time when the intended husband has a *Parochus Tridentinus*, who has an undoubted right to assist at the marriage?  
 "A READER."

## I.

Could we believe that the lady referred to in our correspondent's first question had really resided in Bray, we should say, without hesitation and without any theological examination of the case, that her marriage was validly solemnized in Dublin. For "an old parliamentary hand" like the Venerable and Right Reverend Pastor of Bray, would, most assuredly, not be likely to make a mistake even in the puzzling and intricate question of domicile. But as we believe that the "Bray" and "Dublin" of our correspondent's query, like the "Sempronius" and "Bertha" of the theologians, are purely fictitious denominations, usefully, no doubt, employed to localize our ideas, and to conceal the identity of the persons interested, we may be allowed to recall to mind some of the theological principles bearing on these questions.

1. In the first place, then, to acquire a domicile, a person must commence to reside in a parish, and have the intention of residing there permanently.

2. And, secondly, a domicile once established will continue until both these conditions cease.

3. In a past number of the I. E. RECORD we explained that a *conditional* intention of residing permanently in a parish is not sufficient to *originate* a domicile. This is not stated very explicitly by theologians; but it is taught at least implicitly, when they reject precarious residence as insufficient; and it will, we think, appear obvious to all from the following example. "A master, let us suppose, advertises for a resident servant, and clearly defines his

conditions. He will give the servant permanent employment and good wages. Prior, however, to completing the engagement, he requires two months' probation. He is an exacting master; and fifty per cent. of the applicants, failing to give satisfaction during the term of probation, are dismissed from his service. Nevertheless, a servant, N., applies for the situation, and enters on his term of probation. He intends to abide permanently in the parish, if he should give satisfaction to his master during the period of probation; but if not, to retire again from the parish." Now we contend that, during the term of probation, this servant, N., does not acquire a domicile in the parish. *Ab initio* he is uncertain how long he will remain. He may remain permanently, or he may leave within a week. His residence in the parish, from the beginning, and from the intrinsic nature of his engagement, is precarious; and he cannot be said, at least without qualification and restriction, to have the intention of residing permanently in the parish.

4. We have dwelt on the necessity of an *absolute* intention for the *establishing* of a domicile, principally on account of its importance in connection with the *cessation* of domicile, for "*Quibus modis domicilium contrahitur, iisdem etiam solvitur.*" And hence we require for the cessation of a domicile that the pre-existing intention of residing in the place, should *absolutely* cease. It is by this principle we explain the practice of priests who come, *e. g.*, from the country to Dublin, and assist at the marriages of their lady parishioners there, even though these ladies may never again return to their native parishes. For, prior to their marriage, these ladies have not *absolutely* severed their connection with home. They retain, at least, a virtual, conditional intention of returning. If one were asked: "Suppose on your arrival in Dublin you were to learn that your marriage should be postponed for a quarter, or absolutely abandoned, what would you do?" the answer in very many cases undoubtedly would be: "I should return home again." Hence in all these cases we say that the "*domicilium originis*" is retained. *His praemissis.*

5. To come, *tandem aliquando*, to our correspondent's

first question, we must distinguish two cases. (a) "If by any misadventure the marriage *should not take place*, she would not on any account return to Bray to live with her brother;" and (b) "if the marriage should be *postponed*, she would not return to Bray." If the lady were so disposed, that on no account would she return to her brother's house, even if the marriage were only *postponed*, then we think that the parish priest of Bray could not assist at her marriage in Dublin. But if she were prepared to return in the event of a *postponement*, then we think, she would retain her domicile, and the parish priest of "Bray" could assist at her marriage in Dublin. Dispensing with that inconvenient little particle "if," and considering the case *in concreto*, we think that the marriage was validly solemnized in Dublin. We believe that, if the lady were asked before leaving her brother's house: "Should your marriage be *postponed* for a month, what would you do?" she would answer: "I should remain in the meantime with my brother;" or, "I should return to my brother's house." And hence we think that the intention of residing with her brother would be *absolutely* revoked only by the actual celebration of the marriage, or by discovering that the marriage should be absolutely *abandoned*.

## II.

To reply to our correspondent's second question, we must distinguish different cases that may arise. 1. This merchant, who has undoubtedly a legal right to send his employees from one place to another in rapid succession, may, however, leave some of them for a long time in a particular place; and the employees themselves may have good reason to be certain that they will not be removed from a particular place. In this case, we should say, they may acquire a domicile or quasi-domicile, according to the permanency of residence which they can promise themselves in a particular place. 2. If, however, the merchant orders all his employees to different places in rapid succession, then manifestly they can acquire neither domicile nor quasi-domicile. 3. Coming to the particular case mentioned by

our correspondent, we think—(a) that the lady “who had been two years in a place, and was then removed,” lost her quasi-domicile at her removal, if she had had one; (b) when she “comes back after an absence of four months to be married by the parish priest of her former residence,” she again acquires her quasi-domicile, or she is a *vaga*—I assume she does not come back merely to be married, but that she is removed by her employer from the place where she has been four months; (c) as a *vaga* her *proprius parochus* is the parish priest of the place where she is to be married; (d) as it is the parish priest of the lady who usually assists at marriages, she can insist on being married by her own parish priest—the parish priest of the place where the marriage takes place. He is her *parochus Tridentinus*, and has a right to assist at the marriage, unless local law or custom should give the right to the *parochus sponsi*. Finally, (e) as the matter seems to be assumed in our correspondent’s letter, we take for granted throughout that the lady had lost her parental domicile.

D COGHLAN.

---

## Liturgical Questions.

---

WHEN SHOULD THE NUMBER OF PRAYERS SAID AT MASS  
BE ODD?

“REV. DEAR SIR,—In saying Mass: on a semidouble feast, when there is an *oratio imperata*, besides the three prayers mentioned in the Directory, is it necessary to add a *fifth* prayer in order to have an *odd* number of prayers?

“C. C.”

On a Feast of semi-double rite, not only is it not necessary to add a prayer to those prescribed by the rubrics and by the Ordinary, in order to make the whole number of prayers odd, but it is strictly forbidden to do so. When, for example, the very common case mentioned by our correspondent turns up, to add a fifth prayer, for the purpose of making the number of prayers said an odd number, would be

a grievous violation of a strict rubrical law. To confirm this statement it is enough to quote De Herdt,<sup>1</sup> who, however, merely echoes the teaching of Gavantus, Merati, Quarti, Janssens, and the other great classical writers on the liturgy.

“ In semiduplicibus [he writes] dominicis diebus infra octavam, aliisque, quae ritu semiduplici coluntur, tres dici debent orationes, *sed plures dici non possunt, nisi plures faciendae sint commemorationes.*”

Hence, the rule to be followed on a feast of semi-double rite is—1st, that three prayers must be said ; 2nd, the *oratio imperata* cannot be reckoned as one of these three ; 3rd, all the commemorations, that is, all the prayers prescribed by the rubrics or by the Ordinary of the place, must be said whether their number is under or above three ; 4th, if there is an *oratio imperata* to be said, then when the celebrant has said three prayers, or the prayers prescribed by the rubrics, if more than three, together with the *oratio imperata*, he *cannot* say an additional prayer.

The only case in which it is necessary for the celebrant to see that the number of prayers said be odd, is when he adds *votive* prayers ; that is, prayers prescribed neither by the rubrics nor by the Ordinary, but freely chosen by the celebrant himself. Such prayers cannot, of course, be said unless in a ferial Mass, the Mass of a feast of *simple* rite, a private Votive Mass, strictly such, and a Requiem Mass. In the case of a Requiem Mass, in order that the celebrant may recite votive prayers, certain conditions must be observed. The Mass said must be the *Missa Quotidiana* ; it must be celebrated as a Low Mass, and on a day not privileged.

D. O'LOAN.

<sup>1</sup> *Praxis Liturgiae*, tom 1, n. 76, 1.

## Correspondence.

---

### OLD ENGLISH AND ANGLO-IRISH.

“REV. DEAR SIR,—In the August number of the I. E. RECORD you printed a letter of mine on the correct English designation of *Sacramentum Ordinis*, whether it should be Sacrament of Order, or of Orders. I showed that before the sixteenth century it was uniformly spoken of as Order. I find two confirmations of this in a volume just issued by the Early English Text Society, called *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* In a rhyming translation of St. Edmund's *Speculum*, made towards the end of the thirteenth century, we read:—‘The ffifthe [*i.e.*, the fifth sacrament] is ordre, that giveth power,’ &c. (Page 247.) In an English version of Grostete's *Castle of Love*, of the early fourteenth century, it is said:—‘The sext [*i.e.*, the sixth sacrament] is ordour, that clerkes has on diverse wise.’ (Page 433.)

“It will interest your readers to learn that in this volume there is an Anglo-Irish piece. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there was a fashion in several countries of reading rhymed homilies in the pulpit. One of these for Corpus Christi is here printed. It exists in modified forms in three MSS. The oldest is in the north-English dialect, and a copy is preserved in the British Museum. But this homily or poem has been recast in the southern dialect, and this revision was probably made in the diocese of Leighlin. There is a passage not found in the oldest MS., which shows the time and place of the revision. The original had mentioned the pardons or indulgences granted by Pope Urban to those who assisted at the various offices of Corpus Christi. The revision adds that the last Pope John had doubled these grants, and then continues:—

“ ‘Meylerus, thorw goddis grace  
bisschop of leygh-lymme,  
he hath amendid al this cas  
thorw myht that god gaf hym;  
ffourti days to pardoun  
he gave therto, without drede,  
to alle that with good devocioun  
herin it or don it rede.’ ”

“*I.e.*, Meyler, through God's grace Bishop of Leighlin, hath enhanced the grant by the power God gave him, adding forty days of pardon to all who hear or read (the office) with devotion.

“Now, John XXII. died in 1334, and Miler le Poer, Bishop of Leighlin, in 1341. Between these dates then this additional clause was written. This will give special interest to a metrical Our Father, which is not in the original north-English homily, but is found in the Anglo-Irish transformation. It runs as follows:—‘Oure fader that in hevene is—Halewid mote thin name be—To thi kingdom mote come we—Thi wil in hevene and in erthe be do—Oure ech-days bred send us therto—And our dettis forgeve thou us—As we forgiven oure detouris—And lede us in to no fonding [*i.e.*, temptation]—But save us fro evil thing. Amen.’ (Page 190.) English prayers, it may be remarked, were frequently, perhaps generally, said in rhyme, which made it easier both to learn and to remember them, to those who could not read. In these, then, or similar, rhymes the Lord’s Prayer was said within the Pale in the fourteenth century.

“I am, Rev. Dear Sir,

“Yours very sincerely,

“T. E. BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R.

“St. Mary’s, Clapham, London.”

[We regret that we are obliged, owing to pressure on our space, to hold over for next month a letter on “Most Rev. Dr. Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, and some recent Criticisms upon him.”—ED. I. E. R.]

## Document.

### THE CONTROL OF THE SCHOOLS.

At the annual meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, held on the 11th of last October, the following important Resolution referring to the managership of the National Schools was adopted:—

“RESOLVED—The Bishops having ascertained that efforts are being made by a section of the Teachers’ Organization, to effect important changes in the Rules of the National Board, respecting the existing powers of the managers of schools, they think it right, not only for the protection of Catholic education, but in the interests of the teachers themselves, to make it known that they consider the managership of schools and the appointment of teachers to be

a question intimately and essentially connected with that moral and religious control over schools which the Catholic clergy consider their right and duty to maintain.

“Whilst fully and freely admitting the right of teachers to consult for their temporal interests, as teachers, and whilst anxious now, as they have always been, to promote the welfare and to advocate all the reasonable demands of the teachers, the Bishops confidently expect that Catholic teachers will have no part in any movement whose object or effect would be to destroy, or even weaken, the authority of clerical managers over the moral and religious training of the youth of our country.

“It may be well to inform the teachers, that it is owing solely to the rights they obtained through the managership of schools, that the clergy have hitherto tolerated the mixed system of primary education, and that should those rights be interfered with, the Catholic clergy could no longer tolerate that system, or confide in the teachers connected with it.

“We beg to express our regret for the decision of the Committee of the Privy Council in the case of the Leamy School Endowment, at Limerick, as we regard that decision as being at variance with the spirit and intention of the Educational Endowments Act of 1885, and inconsistent with the principles on which similar cases, notably those of Swords and the Royal Schools, have been decided, and as being an attempt to force on the Catholic poor of Limerick, a system of mixed education which they cannot in conscience accept, and which even the Board of National Education, in the administration of the public funds of the country, has been unable to maintain in practice.”

## Notices of Books.

SERMONS ON THE BLESSED VIRGIN. By the Very Rev. D. J. M'Dermott, Rector of St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, Pa. William J. Carey, Printer, Philadelphia, 1892.

THIS book contains eight sermons, in 183 pages of leading type. The subjects are:—"The Shadow of the Cross, or the Sorrows of Mary;" "The Testimony of Mary Queen of Prophets;" "The Spiritual Motherhood of Mary;" "The Immaculate Conception" (treated in three sermons); "The Solemnity of the Most Holy Rosary;" and "The Holy Name of Mary." These sermons are

chiefly controversial, or at least argumentative, and are intended more for mixed congregations than for the simple faithful. The author quotes from Newman, Ullathorne, and Passaglia—from Shakespeare and Wordsworth, and even borrows an illustration from the use of a Newtonian Algebraic formula. He writes eloquently and clearly—argues ingeniously, if not always logically, and makes copious use of apt similes. The following passage from his sermon on the “Spiritual Motherhood of Mary” (page 80) will give at once a specimen of his style and his reasoning :—

“As, at times, the orator must discard his loudest tones, and use the faintest whisper, to give expression to the strongest feeling, to the most intense passion, to the most momentous truths ; so, at times, must all formal titles be discarded, and the homliest terms used, to designate persons whose position and office transcends the power of all earthly dignities to ennoble, while it confers honour upon the lowliest name. The author of *Hamlet* understood this ; for when he designates him who was supposed to combine in himself all the graces of gods and men, he does not call him a gentleman, a prince, or a king, but a *man* :—

‘A combination and a form, indeed,  
Where every god did set his seal  
To give the world assurance of a man.’

Christ used the word ‘woman,’ they tell us, instead of the word ‘mother.’ (He is referring to the marriage feast of Cana.) Must there not then be a deep mysterious reason for this ? Had Christ, on this occasion, used the word ‘mother,’ He would have excluded Mary’s spiritual Motherhood of all men, and restricted the meaning of the term to His own relationship to Mary. The word *woman* is generic. No one speaks of the human race as descended from a mother, but from a woman ; so Christ was compelled to use the word ‘woman,’ to indicate Mary’s spiritual motherhood of the redeemed.”

It is only fair to say that this is one of the few passages in which his reasoning, in our opinion, is faulty. The above argument, if valid, proves too much.

In his first sermon, he does not treat of the seven dolours in order. Rather, taking us to an eminence, he gives us a view of the sea of Mary’s sorrows. He disposes ably of the Protestant contention that Mary was, for the most part, the unconscious instrument of the designs that God accomplished through her. We think, however, that he had fully proved Mary’s prevision of her Son’s suffering, without having recourse to the text from St. Luke i. 29, “who, having heard, was *troubled* at His saying, and

thought with herself what manner of salutation this should be." He contends that Mary "was also troubled in this, that she consented to become a mother in order that her Son might suffer a cruel death;" whereas, the text implies that she was troubled on hearing the salutation -- "Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou amongst women;" and before the angel announced to her that she was to bring forth a son. We think, also, that he takes a little too much rhetorical liberty when he says "For her, there were no joyful mysteries . . . all were, for her, sorrowful mysteries."

In his second sermon, he shows that Mary has been a great dogmatic power in the world. From the text, "From henceforth, all generations shall call me blessed," he establishes her claim to be entitled "Queen of Prophets." Eloquently, indeed, he describes how prose, poetry, art, and architecture testify to the fulfilment of the above prophecy. "It would be as easy," he writes, "for men to snatch a star from the firmament, as to blot Mary out of art."

His sermons on the "Immaculate Conception" are a splendid defence of Catholic doctrine, and, certainly, are worthy of a place in high-class Catholic literature. "Lying accusation" is rather a rough expression in such graceful composition, particularly when it is used to characterize what was, in bygone days, a *bona fide* contention. In his seventh sermon, he briefly explains the origin and excellence of the Rosary, and shows that Catholics, in their devotion to Mary, do not detract from the honour due to Jesus.

In his last sermon, taking the name of Mary to mean "Star of the Sea," he compares this world to a sea; life, to a voyage; men, to sailors; and Mary, to a guiding star, that never sets and shines on every shore.

From a careful perusal of his sermons, we have carried away the impression that Father M'Dermott is a man of sound learning and considerable literary attainments, who is capable of presenting Catholic truth with an accuracy and persuasiveness that must at once command the respect of his opponents and the admiration of his brethren. There is a great need at the present day of literary treatment of doctrinal subjects; and, notwithstanding the few faults, which we have pointed out, we welcome this little volume as a contribution towards the meeting of this want.

T. P. G.





274.1505

I 68

ser. 3

V. ~~XIII~~

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA



3 1262 09628 1786